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THE
MODERN PART
OF AN
Universal History,

FROM THE
Earliest Accounts to the Present Time.

Compiled from
ORIGINAL AUTHORS.

By the AUTHORS of the ANCIENT PART.

V O L. XXIX.



L O N D O N,

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OF THE

TWENTY-NINTH VOLUME.

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THE
MODERN PART
OF
Universal History.

C H A P. LXXVI. *Continued.*

History of the Kingdom of Denmark.

S E C T. VI.

*Containing all the public Transactions until the Reign of
Eric V. surnamed Plog-Penning.*

C A N U T E VI.

AS soon as the remains of Valdemar were honourably interred, Canute, his son and successor, repaired to Jutland to hold an assembly of the states, in order to redress those grievances which occasioned the late tumults. In his father's life-time he had been declared the immediate heir with all the solemnities of a coronation, so that he now entered upon the prerogatives of majesty without form or ceremony.

A.D. 1182.

The province of Schonen still persisted in its disaffection, and was now on the king's death grown more insolent and licentious. The malcontents were spirited up to fresh attempts by some artful persons, who encouraged them to wipe off the disgrace of the late defeats they had sustained.

A new revolt in Schonen.

Abfalon, the faithful minister of Valdemar, applied all the remedies in his power to bring them to a sense of their duty, but in vain; his good offices were returned with abuse, and the grossest insults. On pretence of defending their liberties, they moved the assembly to another place, and met all in arms, as if they were marching against an enemy. Abfalon retired to Zealand; and now the faction, having no one to restrain them whose authority they dreaded, or whose character they respected, broke out into the most ungovernable and riotous behaviour. They set fire to the houses of the nobility, seized upon all the placemen and officers of the court, and committed the most daring and open acts of rebellion. Observing that their faction preserved no order, and could have no stability without laws of subordination, they elected one Harold for their general; a man who, though descended from the royal stem, was deficient in every quality of a king and leader. Elated with his new dignity, Harold assumed the title of king, set up the royal standard, to which crowds of peasants daily flocked.

*The rebels
choose a
king.*

Notwithstanding this rage of disaffection, which had seized the minds of the common people, the nobility, gentry, and placemen remained steady in their loyalty, and by their vigorous endeavours drew together a body of forces to oppose the malcontents. The ardour expressed by both sides to come to an engagement is inconceivable. Passion and prejudice, void of all reason and principle, actuated both; and the closer their connections of neighbourhood and friendship had been before, the more violent was their animosity now. A battle was fought with such blind fury as deprived them of the power of destroying each other: after half a day spent in the most tumultuous and irregular fight ever known, where hurts and bruises were given instead of mortal wounds, Harold was defeated; the rebels were dispersed, and the royalists left masters of the field, with the glory of a bloodless victory.

*The rebels
defeated.*

But the malcontents soon recovered their spirits after this repulse, and began a second time to make head, though deserted by Harold, who, in a cowardly manner, had fled into Sweden. The approach however of Abfalon, with a body of forces, soon reduced them to order: upon which he called an assembly, revived several laws that had fallen into neglect, obliged the peasants publicly to abjure Harold, whom they had proclaimed king, and restored the former tranquillity of the province. The malcontents would indeed have been more severely handled by Canute, who now entered the province, and proposed giving the district

district of Frostherret to be plundered by the soldiers, had not Absalon interposed in their favour.

Next year Canute received a solemn embassy from the emperor Frederic Barbarossa, complimenting him upon his accession, and desiring the continuance of that alliance which had subsisted during his father's reign between the Imperial and Danish courts. The intention, however, of all these specious professions of friendship, was no other than to obtain some concessions in favour of the Vandals, and to persuade Canute to attend the aulic council in person, as a vassal of the empire. The Danish king, penetrating into Barbarossa's views, returned a modest refusal to these requests: upon which the emperor sent a reply filled with menaces, and commanding him, in a haughty strain of authority, to obey. His threats having no effect, he sent Sigefred, and his wife, who was Canute's sister, to Roschild, in order to move him by their influence; but Canute, by Absalon's advice, remained firm in his resolution to preserve the independency of his crown. To have his revenge, Barbarossa spirited up Bogislaus, now sole prince of the Vandals, since the death of Casimir, to begin a war with Denmark, promising him liberal supplies of men and money. But the Vandal prince, dreading the consequences of an open war with so potent a kingdom, and unwilling to disobey the emperor, began first to tamper with Jarimar his uncle, then governor of Rugen, and the vassal of Canute. Disappointed in this attempt, he sought an occasion to quarrel with him. Jarimar immediately dispatched an ambassador to acquaint the king with these transactions; and Bogislaus, pretending that nothing could be more agreeable to him than submitting the dispute to the decision of Canute and a general diet, sent ambassadors to court to plead his cause. While he was amusing Canute with negotiations, he privately raised a great army, and equipped a powerful fleet; then he sent to acquaint Barbarossa, that now he had it in his power to oblige Canute to submit to the terms his imperial majesty should think fit to prescribe. But his treachery and boasting soon met with condign punishment, through the vigilance of Absalon, that skilful veteran. No sooner was the minister made acquainted with Bogislaus's proceedings than he published an edict, obliging all men within the Danish islands, who had attained a certain age, to assemble under arms at an appointed rendezvous. The king was absent in Jutland, and the emergency of the occasion would not admit of the delay which would necessarily attend waiting for his instructions. A fleet was equipped with amazing expedition, the troops

A.D. 1183.

The insatiable conduct of Barbarossa.

He excites the Vandals to a war with Canute.

*Abfalon de-
feats the
Vandal
prince.*

were embarked, and under fail in quest of the enemy, before Bogislaus imagined that his intention was discovered. Abfalon had difperfed directions among the officers of the fleet, regulating the manner of engaging, exhorting them to perform their duty, and maintain the reputation of their country, by defeating once more thofe barbarians they had fo often vanquifhed. His instructions were obeyed; he came upon Bogislaus while he lay at anchor, at fome diftance from Rugen, feafting, caroufing, and waiting for the emperor's orders in what manner to difpofe of Denmark: he dreamt not of Abfalon's approach, and was attacked, defeated, and difperfed before he had time to recollect himfelf, to iffue out one fingle order, or make the fmalleft fhew of refiftance.

Barbaroffa was fo difappointed in his high expectations, that he gave up all thoughts of reducing Canute to the neceffity of ftooping to his will, and receiving the inveftiture of his kingdom from the hands of the emperor; for this Pontanus mentions as the principal object which Barbaroffa had in view. Nor did Abfalon content himfelf with this victory: he pushed his good fortune, attacked and took Wolgast, Wollin, and feveral other towns and cities, which he gave up to be plundered by his foldiers.

A D. 1185.

Next year the king in perfon marched into the Vandal country, traversed and laid wafte feveral provinces, without meeting any refiftance; the people indulging themfelves in gluttony and drunkennefs, as if in the midft of profound peace, the laft resources of defpair. Inflamed with the defire of rich plunder, the troops defired to be led from Grotzwin into Pomerania, difregarding all the difficulties of a march through a barbarous and mountainous country:

*The country
of the Van-
dals sub-
dued.*

But provisions failing, and the infantry being quite fpent with fatigue, the king brought back the army to Wollin, where, in a hot skirmifh, he defeated Bogislaus, and had near taken him prifoner, at the very time he was laying in ambufh for the Danes. This action, according to Pontanus, happened near the city Camin, in the Upper Saxony, in confequence of which Canute laid fiefge to it, but was prevented from profecuting it, by the intreaties and fupplications of the priefts and other religious perfons, who had come out of the city to deprecate his wrath.

*Bogislaus
fues for
peace.*

Bogislaus perceiving nothing but ruin and deftruction around him, went in perfon to Jarimar and Abfalon, to beg their interceffion with the king to procure him a peace; but Abfalon imagining his professions were not fincere, replied, that the foldiers were not yet fufficiently rewarded with plunder for the fatigues they had undergone, nor the

Vandals

Vandals punished enough for their perfidy. This answer determined Bogislaus to obtain peace upon any terms, which at length was granted, on condition that he should pay a prodigious sum of money specified, as a fine for his ill conduct, and indemnification for the expences of the war; that he should hold his title of duke at the hands of the king of Denmark, and acknowledge himself a vassal of that crown. This treaty he confirmed by hostages; after which he was sumptuously entertained by Absalon. Before his departure he performed homage to the king, and prostrated himself before him on the ground, protesting, that he held all his dominions by the bounty and clemency of Canute, and was willing to surrender them at his pleasure. This was a voluntary act of humiliation, which Canute, from a spirit of generosity, endeavoured to prevent, but in vain. Bogislaus was as mean in adversity as insolent in prosperity, and the king equally merciful and moderate to the vanquished. Thus the Vandals, who had cost Valdemar so much toil, treasure, and blood, were at length totally subdued by his son, and their country annexed as a fief to the crown of Denmark. Bogislaus, during his life, remained firm to his engagements, and on his death-bed strongly recommended it to the guardians of his children, to be entirely directed by Canute, in the partition of his dominions.

A.D. 1186.

Before the king returned to Roschild, Absalon perceiving a great concourse of clergy from all parts of Europe to this part of Germany, with the king's consent, convoked a general synod, and among other ordinations passed one decrec, that the same form of divine service should be used in all the parish churches within the Danish dominions, the same psalmody and chantings performed; and for this purpose certain forms of prayer and public worship were drawn up, in which Absalon was assisted by a great number of other learned bishops and divines.

A.D. 1187.

A set form of worship established in the Danish church.

About the beginning of the following year Bogislaus died, and his dukedom was divided between his sons Casimir and Bogislaus. A fresh contest likewise arose between Canute and the emperor Frederic Barbarossa. The emperor sent an embassy to invite the king to the celebration of the nuptials of his sister and the duke of Suabia, and to demand the remainder of her portion which Valdemar had promised, but hitherto remained unpaid. Canute suspecting some treachery, and recollecting the snares laid by Barbarossa for his father, the late enemy he had raised by his intrigues against himself, and his severe conduct to the duke of Saxony, answered the ambassadors, that as to what re-

A.D. 1188.

lated to the nuptials, he should be glad they were celebrated with all possible pomp; but that he must not go upon such an occasion out of his own dominions. As to the portion, it was unusual, he said, to pay the whole before consummation; and he therefore hoped the emperor would excuse his not complying with a demand so extraordinary and unreasonable. Barbarossa was enraged at this contempt of his authority, and sent back the princess, Canute's sister, with her portion and virginity, attended however with a splendid retinue, after she had lived seven years at the imperial court.

A.D. 1189.

*Henry
the Lion
recalled
from banishment.*

Next year the crusade was preached up in Germany; and the emperor, determined upon an expedition to the Holy Land, in order to recover Palestine out of the hands of Saladin and the infidels. To prevent any disturbances during his absence, he found it necessary to reconcile the differences between him and the courts of Denmark and Saxony. Henry the Lion was recalled from banishment, and restored to a part of his dominions; but we do not find any account of the negotiations between him and Canute; only it is said in general terms, that the emperor and king terminated all their differences.

A.D. 1192.

*Disputes
between
the king
and the
bishop of
Sleswick.*

From henceforward until the end of the year 1192, Denmark enjoyed profound peace, notwithstanding the disturbances raised by the ambition of Henry, in Holstein, and the neighbouring continent. Now at length the public repose was broke by the contests between Valdemar, bishop of Sleswick, and the king. This prelate was the son of Canute, slain by Swen at the public entertainment he made for him and the late king Valdemar, at Roschild. He now claimed not only his patrimony, but a share in the regal authority, as the son of Canute, the grandson of Magnus, and great grandson of king Nicholas. Perceiving that all his arguments were vain, unless backed with power, he applied for assistance to Adolphus, earl of Holstein, Bernard, duke of Saxony, and Otho, marquis of Brandenburg, all of whom agreed to attack Canute by land while the bishop invaded his coasts by means of a fleet. To render his measures more secure, the prelate went in person to Norway, and with magnificent promises engaged the king, or, as others affirm, his son Hacquin in his cause, obtaining from him thirty ships of war, well equipped.

Before Valdemar entered upon action, he was told it would be for his interest to make an overture of referring his cause to the king, and a general diet of the states. Hence it was not doubted but rather than hazard the loss
of

of all his dominions, Canute would consent to a partition of his kingdom ; or, at least, agree to give the bishop some honourable and lucrative government. These monitors, besides, hinted the inconsistency of his being at the same time a king and a bishop. Valdemar imprudently lent an ear to their admonitions, referred his cause to the diet, and was in the mean time seized and imprisoned, where he continued for the space of fourteen years, until he was discharged in the next reign by king Valdemar II. Thus ended this terrible storm, that threatened destruction to Canute ; though some writers relate, that the bishop was taken prisoner in a sea fight off the coast of Norway. His allies, ignorant of the prelate's fate, marched in a hostile manner to the frontiers of Denmark ; and, pitching their camp on the banks of the river Eyder, waited the arrival of Canute, says Pontanus ; though we rather imagine they here expected to confer on the operations with the bishop. After they had waited for several days, forage and provisions growing scarce, they determined to return home ; all besides Adolphus, who entered the Danish territories, and laid the country waste as far as Sleswick. But the news that his allies had actually retreated, that the bishop was made prisoner, and, above all, a repulse he met with from the king's forces, obliged him to purchase peace at a great expence, to prevent their cutting off his retreat.

The bishop is seized and imprisoned.

This year Philip II. of France, sent ambassadors to Canute, to demand in marriage his beautiful sister Ingeburga, called by French writers Gelberga. The proposals were accepted, four thousand marks in pure silver paid down for her portion, and a fleet equipped to conduct her with all possible pomp into France, where the nuptials were celebrated, and Ingeburga proclaimed queen, in the year 1194 ; or, as other writers relate, in 1195. This princess the king divorced the following year, under a variety of pretences which it would be unnecessary to recite in this place ; and, among others, on account of a fœtid breath, which he pleaded, from some of the Byzantine writers, was a sufficient cause. Her brother Canute applied to the pope, insisting that Philip should part with the wife he had married since his separation from his sister, and take back the injured and repudiated Ingeburga, who was confined in a strong castle. But the Danish historians mention nothing concerning the event of this application to his holiness.

A.D. 1193.

Canute's sister marries Philip II. of France.

She is divorced.

This year Canute ordered a muster to be made of all the men fit to bear arms in his dominions, and each province to fit out its proportion of shipping, every way equipped to

A.D. 1193.

*The power
of Den-
mark.*

put to sea, and enter upon action. The whole force of the Danish marine appears, from the estimate given by Pontanus, to have consisted of six hundred and seventy ships of war, besides the squadrons supplied by vassals, tributary states, and allies. When this powerful armament was ready to put to sea, then Canute declared his intention of attacking once more the Vandals and Prussians, who had abjured Christianity, and restored their idols and false gods, after having so long received the light of the Gospel. Wolgast, Stetin, and other towns and cities, opened their gates to a force they found themselves unable to resist; and thus the enemy were reduced to obedience as soon as Canute appeared.

A.D. 1196.

Next year he made an expedition to Livonia, with a view to establish Christianity among those northern barbarians, who as yet remained in the ignorance and obscurity of paganism. Some attempts to effect this purpose had been made by Valdemar and others of his predecessors; but for want of proper regulations among the missionaries, they all proved abortive.

A.D. 1198.

*Quarrel
between
Canute and
Otho of
Branden-
burg.*

About the year 1198, Otho, marquis of Brandenburg, made an incursion into Pomerania, and seized upon several castles and fortresses, which he claimed as his property. Canute, on the contrary, believed them to be his right, and accordingly determined to regain them by force of arms. Other reasons likewise concurred in lighting up this war, and, among the rest, a grudge which Canute bore the marquis on account the late assistance he had given to Valdemar, bishop of Sleswick. A fleet was equipped, and the command given to Peter, bishop of Roschild, and his brother Torbern. They were ordered to enter the river Warnow, while the king took up his residence in the island of Mona, to observe their operations and wait the event. Here they were joined by the Pomeranians, Vandals, and Mecklenburgers, the subjects or allies of Canute; notwithstanding which reinforcements, the bishop was defeated, made prisoner, and the Danish army obliged to fly with precipitation to their ships. Torbern was killed in the battle, and the bishop kept for two years a close prisoner, escaping at last by the connivance of the marquis, who was unwilling to be at the expence of maintaining a captive of such distinction.

Grown more bold by his good fortune, the marquis entering into an alliance with Adolphus, earl of Holstein, made incursions into Pomerania, Mecklenburg, and the country of the Vandals. He laid waste a great part of the government of Jarmaric, and proposed entering the territories

stories of Rugen, and invading the island of that name, had not the approaching winter stopped his progress.

In the ensuing spring Canute commanded his army in person, and entering Holstein, laid the territories of Adolphus waste. He was too securely encamped for the enemy to venture upon attacking him; and, without passing beyond the Eyder, he obliged Adolphus to sue for peace. After this pacification the king returned to Denmark, to be present at the last obsequies of his queen's mother, who died in his absence.

Canute obliges the enemy to beg peace.

The spring of the year 1199 was ushered in by a breach of the late peace. Adolphus, disliking the conditions imposed upon him, had again recourse to arms, and the king committed the care of the war to his brother Valdemar. This young hero now first appeared at the head of an army, and by his conduct gave strong prognostics of his future greatness. With inferior forces he met Adolphus, engaged and defeated him, with a dreadful slaughter of the enemy, Adolphus himself very narrowly escaping out of the field. Almost all the Holsteiners were either killed, wounded, or taken prisoners. Adolphus took shelter in Hamburgh, which was immediately invested by the conqueror, and taken, the unfortunate duke escaping at a postern-gate. Valdemar pursued his victory, and, in a short time, made himself master of all the fortified towns in Holstein, over-ran and totally subdued the principality of Schwerin, took Lubec after a vigorous siege, and, in a word, annexed a great part of the German continent to the dominions of Denmark, without meeting with one repulse during the glorious course of two campaigns.

A.D. 1199.

Young Valdemar defeats Adolphus.

While Valdemar was traversing these countries, Adolphus found means to repossess himself of Hamburgh; upon which the Danish prince immediately crossed the Elbe, and a second time laid siege to this city, which had not then attained to that height of power and opulence to which it afterwards arrived. The siege was carried on with such vigour, that the citizens, distressed for provisions, were obliged to capitulate. This incident brought on a conference between Valdemar and Adolphus, who waited on the prince in his camp. As soon as the inhabitants of Dithmarsh, then serving under Valdemar, were informed that Adolphus was in the camp, they rushed sword in hand to his tent, in order to revenge the ravages he had committed in their country. Their fury was such, that Valdemar and the guards could hardly restrain them from putting him instantly to death. At this meeting it was agreed, that the citadels of Hamburgh and Lawenburg should receive

Danish

Danish garrisons, and he put wholly into the hands of Valdemar, he stipulating on his part, that the citizens should remain in the full possession of all their liberties, immunities, and property. But Adolphus soon attempted to break his engagements, upon which he was seized and committed to the fortress of Seburg, where bishop Valdemar was kept a prisoner.

A.D 1201.

*Death and
character
of Absalon.*

This year died the brave, the honest, and the pious Absalon, archbishop of Lunden, the faithful servant of the crown, and patron of the people; the scourge of his country's foes, the protector of letters, the encourager of learned men, the rewarder of merit, and, in a word, the greatest ornament of Denmark. Posterity owes him this peculiar obligation, that he first persuaded Saxo-Grammaticus to undertake his history, and generously countenanced and supported him while he was engaged in that work, a circumstance which will transmit the memory of both with honour to the most distant ages. Andreas Swen, chancellor of Denmark, succeeded him in the archbishoprick: According to some authors, Saxo-Grammaticus died about this time, and a few months after his patron.

A.D 1202.

*Death and
character
of Canute.*

Valdemar having greatly enlarged the Danish boundaries, by the total reduction of Holstein, Stormar, the districts of Lubec and Hamburg, the country properly and anciently called Nordalbingia, but now included under the general name of Holstein, together with several other principalities, duchies, and earldoms, was advised to strengthen his alliances and the royal line by marriage. He chose Ingeburga, sister to Otho, duke of Brunswick; and the nuptials were celebrated at Hamburg with great magnificence, king Canute attending in person, and presiding at the entertainment. Valdemar had, for some years, enjoyed the government of Sleswick; and now his power was considerably increased by his conquests, all which Canute annexed to the duchy of Sleswick. The king returned to Denmark, and soon after was seized with a malady which carried him off in a few days, so suddenly, that some persons suspected he was poisoned, though by whose means remains a profound secret. He is celebrated as a prince of great piety and moderation, extremely chaste and temperate, but no great warrior. The conquests made during his reign are solely to be attributed to Absalon and Valdemar; but we cannot but commend the judgment of Canute in chusing such ministers and generals, and placing so entire a confidence in them, notwithstanding the obloquy and detraction of their numerous and powerful enemies. Canute is said to have passed some very wholesome and necessary laws during

during his reign, particularly one with respect to murder, by which it was ordained, that only the personal effects of the murderer should be confiscated, his real estate descending to his heirs and relations, that the innocent might not be involved in the punishment of the guilty.

VALDEMAR II.

IMMEDIATELY on the death of Canute his brother, A.D. 1203.
Valdemar was invested with all the badges of regal authority, and unanimously chosen to succeed to the throne of Denmark. Upon the first advice of the king's illness he set out for Roschild, and arrived before he breathed his last, though he was then speechless. Valdemar was received by the nobility and commons with the utmost joy. He was the son and very image of their favourite king, Valdemar I. His military exploits had gained him great reputation, and augmented the wealth and power of his country; and his private conduct had secured to him the esteem and affections of all to whom he was personally known.

With these advantages Valdemar entered upon the government of a kingdom, to preside over which he was equally entitled by birth and merit. The usual oath of allegiance was taken by the whole kingdom with uncommon alacrity; not excepting the newly-conquered provinces. He began his reign by enacting, with the consent of a general assembly, a variety of salutary laws, which the reader will find specified in Pontanus and the Saxon Chronicle.

Next he entered upon a treaty with Adolphus, duke of Holstein, then his prisoner, by which it was stipulated, that Adolphus should be set at liberty, provided he renounced all claim to the duchy of Holstein and the citadels of Hamburgh and Lawenburg; for we find that this last still remained in the hands of his adherents. By what means they got possession of it after it had received a Danish garrison we are not informed; the fact, however, is asserted by Pontanus^a.

Valdemar passing then into Schonen, held a diet, and framed a number of laws for the good regulation of the province.

This year it was that bishop Valdemar was released, after an imprisonment of fourteen years, on condition that he would never set foot again in any part of the Danish dominions; a hard sentence, which was soon mitigated at the

A.D. 1206.

*The bishop
of Sleswick
released.*

^a Pontanus, lib. vi. p. 297.

intercession of the queen, the bishops, and several of the nobility. He even obtained, through the influence of his friends, the means of being chosen bishop of Bremen, in the room of Hartwic, lately deceased. This election caused great disturbances in Bremen, Hamburg, and wherever the jurisdiction of this see extended; but the steady prudence of Valdemar surmounted all difficulties, annulled the election, and got Bucher chosen archbishop.

A. D. 1208.

This year produced insurrections and tumults among that people called Sujons, inhabiting part of Gothland, Sweden Proper, and Bothnia, which communicated the flames of war not only to Denmark, but almost to all the kingdoms of the North. Swercher at present swayed that scepter in consequence of an agreement, that the posterity of the kings, Eric and Charles, should alternately reign. But Charles's issue getting possession, they either proscribed or slew all the children of Canute, son to Eric, except Eric the youngest, who was called after his grandfather. This prince fled into Norway, and there concealed himself during the persecution carried on against his family; but making strong friends among the nobility and people, he now returned home, and laid claim to the crown. He succeeded so happily in alienating the affections of the people from Swercher, that he was already at the head of a strong party. Swercher perceiving the danger, left no stone unturned to draw Valdemar into his quarrel. He made large promises, used supplications, sent presents, and at length prevailed so far, that Valdemar sent a strong body of Danes and Bohemians to his assistance (A), under the conduct of Peter, surnamed the Elder, bishop of Roschild, who had been unfortunate in an action against the Vandals. Joining forces with Swercher, they gave battle to Eric, and, after an obstinate conflict, were totally defeated with prodigious slaughter. The number of officers and soldiers which the Danes lost was so great, that this was the most complete victory and memorable battle which had ever been known in these parts.

Swercher collecting his scattered troops, made head for some time against the victorious Eric, and at length came

(A) His first queen Ingeburga dying without issue, Valdemar soon after married Dagmar, daughter to the king of Bohemia. The nuptials were celebrated at Lubec, in the year 1205. By this means he became connected with Bohemia (1).

to a decisive engagement near Gistebrow, more unfortunate than the former, for here his army was overthrown and himself killed. Upon this event Eric assumed the regal authority, and Valdemar did not chuse to dispute it, imagining that he had already been sufficiently punished for maintaining the unjust cause of an usurper and murderer. In this war it was supposed that not less than fifteen thousand Danes, besides Bohemians, perished.

The Danish auxiliaries defeated.

Valdemar applied himself now to the fortifying his frontiers on the continent, and improving the new acquired dominions on that side. He demolished Wittenburg, and greatly enlarged Hamburg; after which he threw a fine bridge from north to south over the Elbe. But, in the midst of these employments, Lubec was entirely burnt down by an accident, only five houses escaping the flames; and this part of the town was distinguished, in the days of Pontanus, by the name of the Five Houses.

A.D. 1209.

Lubec burnt.

Next year Valdemar went upon an expedition against some pagan nations, inhabiting the banks of the Vistula, with a view to establish the Christian religion in those barbarous parts. What success he met with we know not, but he was soon recalled to be present at the birth of his eldest son Valdemar, who was born this year, and at the nuptials of his sister with king Eric, whom, but a little before, he held as an enemy to the kingdom.

A.D. 1210.

About this time was laid the foundation of the city of Stralsund, in Pomerania Royal, opposite to the isle of Rugen. Valdemar intended it both as a fortress and commercial town: nor were his expectations disappointed; for it became so frequented by the Saxons and other nations, that it soon rose to eminence. An attempt was made the following year by Casimir and Bogislaus to destroy it, but they were repulled by Jarimar and the inhabitants of Rugen, assisted by a body of Danes. This year the queen, being delivered of another prince named Canute, died, greatly lamented and sincerely regretted both by the king and people. In memory of her the castle of Droningholm was built, that name importing the Queen's Island.

A.D. 1211.

Stralsund founded.

In the year 1213, Valdemar determined upon an expedition against the Pomeranians; and with that view arrived in Demin, the citadel of which he rebuilt, and fortified in the strongest manner.

A.D. 1213.

Valdemar goes in person against the Pomeranians.

About the same time he sent ambassadors to congratulate the new emperor Frederic II. on his accession, and procure his investiture of the countries he had lately conquered in Germany. This was a compliment which Valdemar prudently chose to pay, rather than have his right disputed, though

though it was what his father so positively refused to Barbarossa. His request was granted; a formal instrument, confirming him in his right, was made out, and the ambassadors were dismissed, after many distinctions conferred on them.

In the mean time the Danish forces and fleet were making some progress on the coast of Pomerania. Stetin was besieged in form, and taken, together with a number of other cities, towns, and fortresses. Upon this occasion the count of Schwerin paid homage to Valdemar, and took an oath, that, when the king required it, he should always have a body of forces ready to march at his command.

A.D. 1214.

*Disputes
between the
king and
bishop of
Sleswick
renewed.*

Burcher, archbishop of Bremen dying this year, Gerhard Osnaburgh was put in by the pope in his room. This election being disagreeable to the people, they sent to bishop Valdemar to assure him, that, if he could procure a proper and sufficient force to support him, they were ready to receive him as their archbishop, and would even join him with all the power they could raise to expel Gerhard. Immediately on this notice the bishop applied himself to Otho, marquis of Brandenburg, then highly offended with king Valdemar, because his fleet had lately taken some forts which Otho claimed as his right. He, therefore, lent bishop Valdemar a numerous corps of auxiliaries. He was likewise assisted by Otho, who had been deposed from the imperial throne by the pope, and was desirous of seeking his revenge in this opposition. Henry Palatine joined in the confederacy, and was the chief instrument of fixing Valdemar in the see of Bremen, and deposing Gerhard.

The pope and king Valdemar were fired with resentment at this transaction. The one anathematized, and the other resolved to punish Valdemar and the confederates by more effectual means. Equipping a fleet with all possible expedition, he entered the Elbe, and laid siege to Stade; the citizens having, contrary to the oath of allegiance, received bishop Valdemar. Henry Palatine, brother to the emperor Otho, lay at some distance with a considerable corps, with which he annoyed the besiegers, and relieved by all possible means the garrison.

A.D. 1215.

Otho, the deposed emperor, believing that now a proper opportunity offered of invading Denmark, forgetting all his obligations to king Valdemar, raised an army, and marched to Hamburg, to which he laid siege, in conjunction with his brother Henry. Pressed hard with the vigour of the besiegers, the garrison capitulated, notwithstanding speedy relief was expected from the approach of king Valdemar and the emperor Frederic, the former having with him

him an army of sixty, or, as others relate, of forty thousand men. Otho, leaving a strong garrison in Hamburgh, quitted it with his army in a precipitate manner, not chusing to come to an action with Valdemar. Perceiving himself deserted by the German princes, he relinquished his claim to the imperial diadem, and retired into a private station, in which he died about three years after.

The winter came on before Valdemar had made any great progress in the war; only Stade received his troops: but early in the spring he invaded Lower Saxony, and subdued all the country belonging to Henry Palatine. Next he marched against Hamburgh, which he closely invested, while the garrison resolved upon making a vigorous resistance. New works were raised to annoy the besiegers; but the courage and obstinacy of the garrison and burghers were at length subdued by the perseverance of Valdemar, and famine, which obliged them to surrender at discretion.

A D. 1216.

*Valdemar
invades the
Lower
Saxony.*

Returning to Denmark, he held a general diet in the island of Samsoe, at which his son Valdemar was unanimously chosen successor to the throne. Thence he passed into Jutland, where the general diet was no less unanimous in granting him whatever he required; and, to crown the felicity of the year, his third queen, Berengaria, brought him a young son, whom they baptized by the name of Eric.

A.D. 1217.

In the course of the following year this young prince was crowned and proclaimed king, by the name of Valdemar III. to obviate all disputes about the succession. The coronation was performed at Sleswick, in presence of an infinity of people of all ranks, who flocked from every quarter of the kingdom to behold the solemnity.

A D. 1218.

About this time Valdemar received advice, that the Livonians, assisted by the Muscovites, Lithuanians, and other northern barbarous nations, had driven from their habitations all those who had embraced Christianity, and taken an oath of allegiance to the crown of Denmark. Fitting out a powerful fleet, he immediately set sail for that country, with a resolution to punish this infraction of the treaty subsisting between the two nations. He no sooner landed in Livonia than his troops were seized with a panic, at the sight of such a powerful army of savages as they saw assembled on the mountains. It is said that the king himself was somewhat dismayed, at so unusual and horrible a spectacle as a prodigious army clothed in skins, more resembling wild beasts than the human species; but, encouraged by the bishops of Lunden and Arhusen, who assured him of victory while he was fighting the cause of Christ, he made a short speech to the

*Valdemar's
expedition
to Livonia.*

foldiers,

*He defeats
the Muscovites and
their allies,*

soldiers, ordered public prayers to be read between the ranks, and then marched with intrepidity against the enemy. After a warm conflict the Danish standard was lost; a circumstance that dispirited the troops, and made them give way; until heaven, says Pontanus, was pleased to send down another standard. Upon the appearance of this, they rallied, attacked the confederate barbarians with astonishing resolution: and, notwithstanding their prodigious numbers, overthrew them with incredible slaughter ^b (A).

This signal victory was obtained near the fortress of Valdemar, so called from Valdemar, in memory of this glorious event, by which the Gospel was once more restored among this rude and ignorant people.

*An estimate
of the re-
venue and
force of
Denmark.*

How potent and flourishing the kingdom of Denmark was at this time appears from a kind of estimate of the revenues arising from the tributary provinces, or those countries which had been conquered by Valdemar, and of the standing forces of the whole kingdom. This curious account Pontanus extracted from Witfeld, a writer of those days, who copied it exactly from a parchment register kept by Nicholas Bilde, a sort of steward to Valdemar. From the provinces were daily sent in twenty-four lasts of oats, twenty-four lasts of rye, and half the quantity of wheat; together with thirteen talents of cheese and butter, nine of honey, twenty-four oxen, three hundred sheep, two hundred hogs, and six hundred marks of coined money. This was the certain revenue; to which was added near an equal sum from adventitious circumstances; such as fines, forfeitures, taxes on law-suits and pleadings, with a variety of other contingencies; the whole amounting to a hundred thousand marks a day, or twenty-three millions seven hundred and thirty thousand pounds per ann. a sum scarce credible. Without all doubt, we have either taken the mark at too high a value, or Witfeld's register greatly exaggerates the account ^c.

With this revenue were kept for constant service fourteen hundred great and small ships for the king's use, each at a medium, carrying one hundred and twenty-one soldiers, making the total of standing forces, besides garrisons amount

^b Pontan. lib. vi. p. 309.

^c Ibid. p. 306.

(A) We will not spend time with Pontanus in examining into the truth of the ecclesiastical standard, and the effects of the bishop's prayers: these are the

traditions of ignorance, and pious frauds of the churchmen, which it would be unnecessary to expose in this more enlightened age.

to one hundred and sixty-nine thousand four hundred fighting men. Such was the prodigious wealth and potency of this kingdom in the reign of Valdemar II. if we are to credit the accounts of contemporary writers; and yet we must observe, that at this time it was greatly fallen from its former splendor, when the crowns of England, Sweden, and Norway, were annexed to that of Denmark (B).

From the year 1218 to the present year, nothing memorable happened, besides a remarkable comet, which our author calls a malignant star, that foreboded many calamities to the North, in which quarter it appeared. The rise of these is variously related: Crantzius says, that Henry, count of Schwerin, whom we have called Henry Palatine, desirous of effecting a perfect reconciliation with Valdemar, obtained a passport, and went to wait on the king at Roschild; that Valdemar dictating terms which he deemed too hard and unreasonable, he took the resolution of putting him to death, or spiriting him off, for which purpose he had kept a vessel, ready to hoist sail at a minute's warning; that the king, being one day hunting, was met on his return by Henry, whom he invited to his tent, pitched in the fields, for a rural refreshment, which opportunity the treacherous guest seized of carrying him away, gagged and bound, putting him on board ship, and sailing strait to Germany: and lastly, that, after having exposed this great prince to public derision, he shut him up a prisoner in the castle of Daneberg.

Valdemar treacherously carried into captivity.

Witfeld assigns a different cause for Henry's resentment. He says, that this prince going on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, left his beautiful wife and children under the protection and care of Valdemar. The king, now a widower, was struck with the personal qualities of Henry's wife, and debauched her: however, Pontanus assigns a variety of reasons why greater credit is due to the former relation. In this confinement the great Valdemar continued for three years, according to the most authentic documents of these times; though, from a monody quoted by Pontanus, his imprisonment would seem to have lasted upwards of eight years. All this time Denmark was in the most distracted situation. Valdemar was equally beloved and esteemed by his subjects, who would have released him by force, had

(B) This estimate was made in the year 1221, and is of so extraordinary a nature, that we cannot expect the reader's im-

plicit faith in it, though we think it so curious as to deserve a place in our history.

they not apprehended the cruelty of Henry towards his prisoner, had such measures been followed. The highest ransoms were offered for his liberty; but that treacherous prince was inexorable. At length the bishops, nobility, and people, joined with one voice in petitioning the intercession of the emperor Frederic II. A diet of the imperial states met of consequence; and Valdemar might have been set at liberty if he could have been brought to relinquish his late conquests; but to this proposal he would give no ear: his life, he said, was only valuable while it was useful to his people; and should he consent to part with conquests which had cost so much blood and treasure, his subjects would have little reason to wish for his liberty at the price of such an indignity to the crown of Denmark. At length, however, this noble obstinacy was overcome by the intreaties of his subjects and children, who represented the calamitous state of the kingdom; the opportunities offered to ambition and treason; the losses consequent on the vacancy of the throne, infinitely more pernicious to the people than the severest terms the enemy could impose; with a variety of other arguments, which operated on the mind of this great prince, because they had the appearance of public good. The terms were hard, but they were the best that could be procured. Valdemar was set at liberty for a prodigious ransom in money, having agreed to relinquish Holstein, Schwerin, Hamburg, and the other towns and fortresses on either side the Elbe; and sworn solemnly to maintain this compulsive contract, and never to enter on any measures to punish Henry, or any of the other princes who had so treacherously combined against him.

The conditions of his release.

A D. 1226.

The treaty was signed on the 25th of March, 1226, according to Pontanus; after the ratification of which the king returned home disconsolate, enraged, but more than ever beloved by his subjects, who now became better acquainted with the sublimity of his virtues by this trial of adversity.

Previous to the king's release, the lords of those districts which he had conquered before and since the late king's death, were busied in recovering their rights, which they had completely retrieved before they ventured to set him at liberty. Albrect, count of Orlemund, Valdemar's lieutenant in these parts, endeavoured to oppose them, and for that purpose raised a number of forces, with which he gave battle to the enemy, but with a fortune no way proportioned to his zeal and fidelity. After this victory they easily recovered the whole country they had lost, and obtained an oath of allegiance from the inhabitants.

Such

Such was the situation of the Danish provinces in Germany at this time; but Valdemar's misfortunes were not yet at an end. The Lubeckers, fired with the imaginary freedom which the neighbouring states had recovered, entered upon a secret negotiation with the emperor Frederic, about throwing off the Danish yoke. Their measures were taken so prudently, that the citadel was seized, and the Danish garrison made prisoners, before they had the least intimation of the intention of the citizens, who assembled under pretence of choosing new magistrates on the usual day. In order to protect them against the consequences of this revolt, they had first signed a treaty of alliance with Albert of Saxony, and all the neighbouring princes, who engaged in this confederacy at the instance of the emperor, who was then upon bad terms with Valdemar, and eager to extend the influence of the imperial crown. All these circumstances, together with the disputed election of Nicholas Stigoth, chosen bishop of Roschild, much against Valdemar's inclination, determined him to look about for means to disengage himself from these ties and incumbrances, so irksome to a prince of his spirit. The method in which he had been spirited away into captivity was infamous; the conditions upon which he was released were oppressive; the oath he had taken not to seek revenge, altogether compulsive; the revolt of the Lubeckers, a fresh provocation; and this election of the bishop of Roschild, a flagrant indignity and open defiance of this authority. Without having recourse to what was thought the supreme power invested by the Almighty in the pope, to absolve from oaths and engagements, it would be no difficult matter to acquit Valdemar upon the principles of reason, for a breach of a contract so iniquitous and shameful: this at least may be said, that if ever prince was excusable for an infraction of a solemn treaty, confirmed by oath, Valdemar's conduct may certainly admit of some palliation. He applied to the pope, was absolved from his engagements, raised a great army, and entered Holstein with all the resentment of a prince highly injured. Seizing upon Idshoa, and other places in this duchy, he gave them up to be plundered by the soldiers, and then laid them in ashes. Leading his army back to Bornholm, he was met by the bishop of Lubeck, the archbishop of Bremen, Albert, duke of Saxony, the duke of Holstein, the earls of Schwerin, Oldenburg, and Mecklenburg, with several other German princes, at the head of a prodigious army. A battle was fought with incredible fury, and with such terrible slaughter on both sides, that the shields and helmets of the soldiers, to use an expression of

*The city of
Lubeck re-
volts.*

*Valdemar
is defeated.*

our author, floated in blood. The event was long doubtful, until Valdemar unhappily received a wound in the eye, which forced him to leave the field. His troops dispirited, without the presence of their monarch, gave way, and at last a total rout ensued, chiefly owing to a strong reinforcement of fresh troops which the Lubeckers brought up to support the enemy.

In this unfortunate engagement Valdemar lost an eye; his best troops were destroyed, and his most experienced generals killed or taken prisoners; but he was not dismayed. On the contrary, he returned to Denmark, collected his scattered army, and began making new levies with so much vigour, that by the next spring he took the field with a more formidable power than before. Both armies encamped on the opposite sides of the Elbe; but the remembrance of the last battle made them equally dread a fresh trial of courage. Valdemar laid siege again to Idsboe; but the enemy's approach obliged him to relinquish it. He then entered the country of Dithmarsh, which he laid waste, and rendered a perfect desert. Returning then through the Northern Holstein, he ravaged the whole country, and retired to Denmark, with intention to augment his power, and end the war by some decisive stroke.

*Lawen-
burg sur-
renders to
the enemy.*

During his absence, Albert of Saxony seized upon Ratzburg and Molna, and laid siege to Lawenburg, which the garrison defended with such obstinacy, that duke Albert was forced to enter upon a negociation with them. He proposed, therefore, setting Albert, count of Orlemund at liberty, who had been for many years detained a prisoner in Schwerin, provided they would surrender the town; but the brave garrison would accept of no terms without the consent of their king; and for that purpose sent to Valdemar for instructions. The king was eager to procure the release of Albert; he was likewise apprehensive that the garrison could not hold out until he was in a condition to relieve them; it was therefore his advice, that they should capitulate on the best terms they could obtain. Accordingly Lawenburg was surrendered, the garrison marched out with military honours, and Albert of Orlemund was set at liberty, after a long imprisonment, in which he had been treated with the most cruel severity.

A.D. 1228.

*His son
Valdemar
killed by an
accident.*

After this transaction Valdemar would seem to have dropt all intention of pursuing revenge. For the two succeeding years we find no warlike preparations going on, nor yet was there any treaty set on foot for a general peace. It is possible that the unfortunate death of his son Valdemar, who was shot accidentally at a party of hunting, might have
broke

broke his resolutions ; and, indeed, this is the cause ascribed by historians for his indolence, though it did not happen until the year 1231.

As soon as the public grief had in some measure subsided for the death of a prince so amiable as the young Valdemar, a diet assembled for fixing the succession. Eric, his second son, was chosen by unanimous consent ; and his coronation performed with the same solemnities observed in that of his brother. Provision was made for all the other male children, by assigning them certain governments, with a kind of supreme authority. Abel, the third son, was created duke of Southern Jutland ; and Canute, the fourth son, held Bleking with the same titles and authority. No sooner was Abel invested with the ensigns of his place than he began assiduously to cultivate the friendship of Adolphus, duke of Holstein, by marrying his daughter, without any regard to the injuries he had done his father, and the quarrel subsisting between them, Ambition was the motive for this alliance : he resented the preference given to his brother Eric, and resolved to strengthen his own interest, with a view to claim the crown at his father's decease. Eric and his friends were aware of his designs, and, in order to counteract them, proposals of marriage were made to a daughter of the duke of Saxony, to whom Eric was married in the year 1237. Either marriage was displeasing to Valdemar, the fathers of both ladies having long been his bitterest enemies ; and he prognosticated the effects which would necessarily attend an alliance so unnatural. Hatred, however, to the Lubeckers made him enter into a treaty with Adolphus, who had quarrelled with them. The king not only reinforced him with a strong body of land-forces, but likewise sent a fleet up the Trave, blocked up the mouth of the river with strong chains and booms to prevent any succours being sent into the city, and engaged Adolphus to lay close siege to it by land, while his fleet invested it on the side of the river. The particulars of this siege we know not, only that the Lubeckers, finding themselves hard pressed for want of provisions, were busied in altering the channel of the river, when a large fleet of their merchantmen arriving seasonably with a fair wind, broke the chains, supplied the garrison, and was probably the occasion of raising the siege ; although the Danish historians ascribe it to some other views, upon which Valdemar and Adolphus retired. What these designs were we are not told ; though we are left room to conjecture, that a war which happened between Denmark and Norway, about this time, was the occasion of Valdemar's withdrawing his forces. But of this war we neither know the cause, the particulars, nor the event,

*Lubeck
besieged.*

A.D. 1239. King Eric, in his Annals of Denmark, takes notice of a great war carried on by Valdemar, this year in Livonia, in which a prodigious army of Muscovites was defeated, a number of towns taken, and almost the whole country subdued under the dominion of the crown of Denmark. The royal writer is, however, so concise in his relations, that we know little more than that there was a war, which terminated fortunately to Valdemar.

*A new
body of
laws com-
piled.*

Having put an end to these foreign tumults, which had so drained the kingdom of men and money, the king now applied himself to the framing of laws, encouraging industry, and easing the subject from the weight of the heavy taxes necessarily imposed to support the honour of the crown, and the indignities put on the whole kingdom. For this purpose a general diet was held at Verdenburg, and a new body of laws framed out of the imperial, civil, and canon laws, each of which had before been used in different parts of the kingdom. Upon this occasion were settled the rights of the prince and people, and all circumstances criminal, civil, and ecclesiastical; so that from this time we may date the origin of that constitution, which subsisted until the great revolution in the year 1665.

A.D. 1240.

*Valdemar's
death and
character.*

Valdemar had now attained to an advanced age. He had seen his kingdom raised to the highest pitch of glory and power, through his own merit; he had seen it sink into the deepest distress, from an accident which only affected his person; but that fully demonstrated of what importance his virtues were to the good of the nation; and now he saw it again restored to peace, tranquillity, good order, and felicity, by means of his prudence, discretion, and moderation. Thus satiated with esteem, glory, and worldly grandeur, this great prince resigned his last breath in the month of April, 1241, leaving his unhappy people a prey to the ambitious and unnatural contentions of his children.

S E C T. VII.

*Containing the Transactions of Denmark down to the Year
1337.*

ERIC V. surnamed PLOG-PENNING.

*The origin
of the civil
divisions in
Denmark.*

N O sooner were the last obsequies paid to the memory of the late glorious monarch than his son Eric, some years before chosen his successor, mounted the throne at the age of twenty-five. Canute, his brother, by the same father, was at this time governor and duke of Bleking; he soon possessed Laaland, and in time acquired the power
and

and title of duke of Faltstria. Abel, his full brother, was duke of Sleswick and all South Jutland, and Christopher of Faltstre. Besides these provinces, the brothers had their separate fortunes assigned them, independent of each other; a regulation the most erroneous of Valdemar's reign, though intended for the mutual good of all his children, among whom he endeavoured to share his affection equally. Each possessing a sovereign independency, a rivalry ensued. It made room for intrigue, and all the engines of ambition, which soon suppressed every emotion of brotherly love. Abel, even in his father's life-time, wholly estranged himself from his family, and united closely with his wife's friends, the most inveterate foes of his own blood.

What first gave occasion for an open rupture was a design Eric set on foot to recover all that country north of the Elbe, which had been so unjustly extorted from his father in exchange for his liberty. Holstein was comprehended in this district; and Abel, being not only the son-in-law of Adolphus IV. of Holstein, but the guardian of his children, since that prince's retreat into a monastery, thought himself obliged, in honour and interest, to defend their rights. With this view he entered into an alliance with the archbishop of Bremen, and other ancient foes to his father. He refused all the equitable proposals offered by Eric; and, by the spring of the year 1242, brought matters to such a crisis that they were ripe for an open rupture,

A.D. 1242.

War commenced.

Eric, finding his brother deaf to all his remonstrances, raised an army, equipped a fleet, and landed his men near the promontory of Eldenez. Nor was Abel less vigilant; for here he met him with a power not inferior to the king's. Both armies were ready to come to an action, when some mutual friends interposed, and by their good offices happily effected a compromise for that time, on this condition, that the young princes of Holstein should be brought home from Paris, and the management of their own affairs committed to them. All the allies on either side were comprehended in this treaty, and the fore, which had for years disunited the different parts of Valdemar's kingdom, was suddenly skinned over by the art of state-empirics, who had neither honesty nor ability to probe it to the bottom, and remove the original cause of the disorder.

A peace concluded between Eric and Abel.

The young princes of Holstein being now returned home, to the great joy of their subjects, the guardianship was taken out of Abel's hands; yet, though this bone of contention between him and Eric was taken away, there occurred another handle of dispute. Eric demanded ho-

A.D. 1244.

War renewed between the brothers.

mage for the duchy of Sleswick, which Abel positively refused, claiming it as an independent sovereignty. Hostilities commenced upon this refusal, and perpetual incursions were made into each other's territories. Sleswick was invaded by the elder brother, and the younger retaliated by making descents on the Danish islands; but before the end of the year this irregular and piratical war was terminated by the interposition of some mediators, who were well disposed to both parties.

It was about the close of the year 1246 that Eric resolved to revenge the insults which the Lubeckers had committed against his father and himself. As they were not comprehended in the late treaty between him and Abel, he made no formal declaration of his intention, but ordered their ships to be seized wherever they were found, and sent a squadron up the Trave to block up the city, and ruin their commerce. Those merchants, in their turn, made descents on the coasts of Denmark; and having the address to engage the princes of Holstein and archbishop of Bremen in their quarrel, brought Eric to think of a peace before any decisive blow was struck, that wise monarch not chusing to involve himself in another quarrel with the German princes.

The Lubeckers make descents on Denmark.

A.D. 1247.

No sooner had he terminated this quarrel than the dispute with Abel was renewed. Canute and Christopher, the two younger brothers, joined with Abel in refusing homage to Eric, and he, in his turn, insisting upon it, both sides had recourse to arms. Abel first commenced hostilities by making a descent in Fionia, burning Othonia, the capital of the island, and seizing upon Saneburg, which he claimed as his right; and accordingly garrisoned with a strong body of troops. Eric arriving soon after with his army before the place, took it, laying the whole in ashes. Afterwards making a descent in Falstria, and the dominions of Christopher, he obliged him to acknowledge his sovereignty. This advantage was succeeded by another; for he took Canute prisoner, and confined him in the castle of Stigen, from whence he was delivered by the Lubeck fleet, which took and destroyed the fortresses.

Abel and his associates carried on the war by sea with great vigour; while the king, calling in the Vandals as auxiliaries, entered Holstein, took Oldensloa, and obtained a vast booty. Canute and Christopher seized upon all South Jutland; and then investing the city of Ripen, soon became masters both of it and the citadel, making Eschil the bishop, with all his children, prisoners. Eric, on the other hand, got possession of Laaland, Falstria, and all the other

other territories of Christopher, who broke his engagements with the king; to which he added Bleking and Canute's duchy of Schonen, annexing them all to his crown. Thus the war was pursued with great animosity, but without any decisive blow, for the whole year. At the close of the campaign a truce was agreed upon, and some mutual overtures were made towards an accommodation; but the truce was short, and all endeavours to work a reconciliation proved ineffectual. The young princes had alienated the affections of a great part of the nobility, clergy, and people from the king. This consideration made them the more indifferent to a peace, and added new fuel to the flames of war; so that early in the next spring it was renewed with redoubled vigour. Denmark was rent with civil divisions and external enemies. The Lubeckers harassed the coasts with their shipping; and Eric had his revenge by means of the Vandals, who ravaged Holstein until they were defeated by Abel. However, the most signal advantage was gained by the king in person, who gave battle to his brother Canute, defeated, and made him prisoner. Afterwards he suddenly attacked Flensburg, at that time a very opulent mart, set fire to the town, and laid it and all the neighbouring country in ashes. He had now got two of his brothers in confinement; a success which only increased the number of his enemies, and irritated the nobility against him. This circumstance determined him to set Christopher at liberty, on no other condition than that he should pay him homage, and acknowledge his sovereignty. Christopher readily accepted the terms, was released, and became his brother's vassal. He even attended him in a sudden irruption he made into Holstein, while the diet of that duchy sat; from whence, after having burned the town, he carried a great number of the nobility prisoners into Denmark, all of whom were ransomed at a high price.

A D. 1248.

*The king
defeats his
brother.*

Next he defeated the Lubec fleet in the Sound. At this time he had given instructions to Henry Meldorp, governor of Rendelburg, to seize the first opportunity of Abel's absence to make an irruption into Sleswick. His orders were punctually executed, and some of the chief cities and fortresses taken by surprize. Eschil, the bishop, was likewise punished by the loss of some valuable effects, for having changed sides, and taken part with Abel, through the influence of the archbishop of Bremen. In a word, all Sleswick was subdued almost as soon as entered, by means of the active and vigilant Henry, reputed one of the best officers in the service of Denmark.

*The Lubec
fleet de-
feated.*

This

This series of good fortune did not long continue. Abel, the two princes of Holstein, and the archbishop of Bremen, took vigorous measures for the recovery of Sleswick. A numerous army was raised, the Danes driven out, and almost all Jutland laid waste; however, the enemy were forced to retreat with precipitation, on advice that Eric was marching with an army of Zealanders to attack them.

In the mean time Gerhard, the archbishop of Bremen, died, and in his room was chosen Hildebold, a prelate who did not so sanguinely embrace the cause of Abel. There were not wanting some friendly mediators among the German princes, connected by marriage to the rival brothers, who wished to see this unnatural war, so ruinous to the subject, ended in an amicable manner. John, marquis of Brandenburg, married to Sophia, the king's sister, the duke of Lunenburg, and Albert of Saxony, interested themselves in a particular manner; but Eric was obstinate in demanding homage, and Abel no less positive in refusing it, so that the war went on in spite of all endeavours to terminate it by the most friendly remonstrances.

At length Sophia, the marchioness of Brandenburg, at that time far advanced in her pregnancy, undertook a journey to Denmark, hoping by her presence to work on the minds of her brothers; but she was taken with the pains of labour at Flensburg, where she miscarried and died in a few days. This circumstance, with the wise conduct of the bishop of Lunden, at last terminated their differences upon the following terms. Abel had the title of duke independent, but paid homage for South Jutland: Canute was restored to his dominions, which he was to hold upon a feudal tenure: each side was to indemnify the losses sustained by the other. All the allies of either side were comprehended in this treaty; and lastly, the king and Abel ratified it not only by a written agreement and a solemn oath, but by twenty hostages mutually exchanged. Moreover it was stipulated, that whatever party should be guilty of the slightest infraction of so solemn a convention, the hostages should have the free liberty of joining themselves to the opposite side. Towards the close of the year the treaty was solemnly signed, sealed, and executed; upon which all Denmark rung with joy, and the most riotous expressions of public satisfaction.

*Treaty of
peace con-
cluded.*

A.D. 1249.

Next year a diet was held at Roschild, in which the king, in a laboured harangue, expressed his eager desire of propagating the Christian faith among the barbarous nations of the North; and explained the expediency of reclaiming all the former possessions of Denmark in Livonia, and

and along the frontiers of Russia, which had been lost amidst the late civil commotions. The diet giving their assent to his proposal of undertaking an expedition thither, he then laid before them the exhausted condition of the treasury, and the necessity there was for raising the proper supplies by an additional tax. This was a certain sum to be paid by each plough, under the name of Ploschat, or, as Eric the historian calls it, Ploch, or Plog-Penning, by which term the king was afterwards surnamed.

*Origin of
Plog-pen-
ning or,
plough-tax.*

When the king's instructions for collecting this unusual tax in Schonen arrived, all the people murmured, and threatened to take up arms if any violence should be offered in levying a tax which they thought oppressive and iniquitous. Matters ran so high, that Eric, believing his presence was necessary, went thither, and began to harangue the people in the mildest terms; but their indignation rose to such a pitch, that he was forced to withdraw himself precipitately to Helsenburg. Thither the malcontents pursued him, laid siege to the citadel, and would have taken their king prisoner, had he not prudently escaped in the night at a postern-gate. As soon as the king returned to Zealand the tumult subsided, but still the tax was unpaid. Eric enraged, not only at their refusal in the present emergency of the state, but at the late insult offered to his person, raised an army, and marched to Schonen. Nor were the malcontents backward in their warlike preparations, for they met him in the field, gave battle to their king, and were overthrown, and forced to pay the tax they had so obstinately refused.

*The inha-
bitants of
Schonen
revolt.*

Having settled the affairs of the kingdom, and made the necessary preparations, Eric set sail for Livonia, where he was extremely successful in all his operations, though we find no particular account of them. We are told he was suddenly called back by some disputes which had arisen concerning the execution of the late treaty with Abel. The dukes of Holstein demanded the town of Rensburg, agreeable to the article, that all parties should enjoy their former rights. This town was situated in their dominions; but Eric claimed it in right of conquest and possession, prior to this last war. All the negotiations set on foot were fruitless; and the Holsteiners united themselves to the bishops of Bremen and Paderborn, determined to maintain their cause by force of arms. Meldorp commanded the garrison for the king, the enemy marched to lay siege to it, and Eric raised forces to relieve, with all expedition, this brave officer. On his arrival at Danewark, that strong frontier, he bethought him of a visit to his brother Abel, who had

*War be-
tween Eric
and the
princes of
Holstein.*

taken

taken no part in this quarrel, in order to prevail on him to use his influence with the allies to come to a reasonable composition, telling him that he was quite weary of war, and shocked at the late effusion of Christian blood. The king was well received, Abel promised his utmost endeavours should not be wanting; but the demon of ambition had got possession of his heart. He had laid a plan for the destruction of his brother, who was spirited off in a boat, murdered at sea, and his body thrown overboard. This horrible act was perpetrated by the hands, and originally schemed by the villainous heart, of Gudmund, a prelate banished Denmark on account of his vices: but nothing can palliate the conduct of Abel, whose ungovernable ambition had stimulated him to a breach of the first duties of humanity, and urged him to the most ungenerous violation of the rights of hospitality, as well as the cruel and shocking crime of fratricide.

Abel treacherously murders the king his brother.

A.D. 1250.

Character of Eric.

In this manner died Eric, a prince whose failings were totally obscured by his excellent qualities both of the head and heart. He had the greatest probity of soul, as well as the truest piety, without any tincture of the superstition of the times. His reign would have been happy to his people, and glorious to himself, but for that single error in the great Valdemar's conduct, which enabled the younger brothers to claim an independency on the elder. Without great military talents his courage and good sense gained him the reputation of an able general. His politics were sound, but clear; they were dictated by honesty and sound judgment, without any of those dark windings, and that unfathomable mysteriousness, which have falsely acquired the reputation of deep policy, for no other reason than that they equally confound and perplex the contriver and the world. In a word, Eric was generous, sincere, brave, and liberal, strenuous to maintain the dignity of his crown, but unambitious of extending his prerogative beyond the measures of equity and prudence. This moderation, however, may be denied by those who ascribe to ambition the desire he had of reducing his brethren under his sovereignty. We think otherwise. The provinces assigned to them had always been dependent on the crown: it is probable that Valdemar meant they should continue so; if not, certain it is that he had no power to make this partition without the consent of the states, and yet we find it confirmed by no other authority than his last will.

Abel endeavoured to screen his own guilt by promulgating a report, that Eric had perished at sea by the vessel's foundering. At first this story met with credit, although there

there were not wanting persons who suspected his treachery. In a short time all was discovered by the mangled body of the king, which was thrown by the waves on the shore, taken up by some monks, and privately deposited in the monastery of St. Laurence. Before his death Gudmund had extorted from him a confession of the place where he had deposited his private treasure; but, on examination, nothing besides a few jewels and rich garments were found.

A B E L.

ERIC dying without male issue, the states assembled for the election of a sovereign, and though they detested Abel on account of the unnatural crime he had committed, yet they chose him king for conveniency, and to avoid the civil wars which would necessarily ensue from setting him aside. By this means they indisputably re-united the duchy of Sleswick to the crown; they run no hazards from the power of Abel, who would probably have joined himself to his late allies, had his claim been overlooked; they annexed Sweneburg and Schelfscore, the hereditary patrimony of Abel, to the Danish dominions, and gained many other advantages; all of which, in our opinion, were more than counterbalanced by the crimes of the new monarch; but the diet thought otherwise. As yet indeed the murder was not clearly proved upon him; for the royal body had not appeared till after the election. He had, by ambassadors, modestly pleaded his right, and defended his own character with such arguments as weighed with a majority: he declared, that the vessel had been overset by the great number of people which had entered her in a tumultuous manner, with a view of doing the king honour by a splendid retinue; but this relation was not only contradictory to the report he had ordered to be published, but inconsistent with itself, as the king alone, of all the passengers, was missing. However, he granted extraordinary immunities, and distributed presents among the bishops and inferior clergy, by whose influence chiefly he gained his point. In a word, he was crowned in less than two months after his brother's death, having first solemnly sworn that he had no concern in it; but that Eric was killed by some soldiers at the instigation of private enemies. It is strange that so respectable and wise an assembly should be capable of putting themselves under the authority of a person, whose equivocation and different accounts were the strongest proofs of his guilt, and who, to the unnatural crime of fratricide, superadded that of perjury and subornation; for he had procured twenty noblemen to join with him in the oath.

Abel elected king, and the diet's reasons for choosing him.

Abel

*Abel is
strung by
his own
conscience.*

Abel had not long enjoyed the diadem before his conscience began to torment him. In examining Eric's will, he found that the deceased prince had resolved upon abdicating the crown and retiring to a monastery; and that he had appointed him his successor, provided the consent of the diet could be obtained. He likewise found a legacy to himself, an entire forgiveness of all that was past, and the most affectionate expressions of regard for all his brothers, and Abel in particular. These circumstances pierced his breast like daggers, called to his remembrance the virtues of his brother, and rendered him, though the greatest, yet the most miserable person in Denmark, because he was the most guilty.

Before his accession to the throne he had sent his eldest son, Valdemar, to be educated in France; he now recalled him, to invest him in the duchy of Sleswick, though his brother Christopher had applied for that dignity. In passing through the bishoprick of Cologne, the young prince was seized by order of that prelate, and detained four years in prison. For this act of violence we find no cause ascribed, besides the detestation in which the bishop held the whole family, since the murder of Eric.

Towards the close of this year a diet was held, in which it was enacted, that Canute and Christopher should remain in full possession of the dominions left them by Valdemar; that a general tax should be raised for the payment of the crown debts contracted in the last war, and for redeeming the castles and forts pledged to neighbouring princes, in order to raise money.

*A congress
for settling
the disputes
between
Denmark,
Sweden,
and Nor-
way.*

During the late wars between Eric and Abel, some disputes had arisen between Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, about certain frontiers, which the circumstances of the state would not then permit Eric to adjust. Now a congress of plenipotentiaries of the three nations was fixed to settle the matter in an amicable manner, and instructions were given to the Danish ambassadors by the diet, and not by the king; whence we may conclude, that the general assembly of the states assumed to themselves more power in this than they had done in former reigns; and that the hatred of the people to Abel laid him under certain restrictions unknown to his predecessors.

It was at this diet that Abel, finding the treasury quite exhausted, assigned lands to Henry Meldorp, in lieu of a large sum of money due upon arrears. This transaction occasioned some disputes between them, which terminated in blood; although the circumstances that attended it are very obscurely related by all the writers we have seen.

Crantzius

Crantzius^d assigns a different cause for this quarrel, affirming that the Emdeners, and the inhabitants of Rendsburg, Frederickstadt, Tonningen, and those towns and countries situated between Sleswick and Holstein, refusing to pay the new-laid tax, so irritated the king, that levying an army he engaged and defeated them; but the rebels making head the next day, attacked the king in his camp, and after an obstinate conflict routed his army, and slew him, on St. Peter's day, in the year 1252. It was some days before his body could be found among the prodigious carnage that was made, to which his single arm had greatly contributed. As soon as known, the royal corpse was taken up and carried to Sleswick, where it was buried with the magnificence suitable rather to his birth than to his virtues. Abel, it must be acknowledged, was brave, and possessed many of the other qualities of a great monarch; but ambition was the prevailing passion of his heart. This had suppressed all the dictates of humanity, and the strongest natural affections; so that though he breathed his last gloriously, he left his memory stained with the horrid crimes of fratricide, perjury, and subornation. He died admired for his virtues, detested for his vices, dreaded for his power, but unlamented by all who had any regard for honour, humanity, and truth.

Abel defeated and slain.

His character.

CHRISTOPHER I.

ABEL left two sons, the eldest of whom, Valdemar by name, was still a prisoner at Cologne. Matilda, his mother, and now queen-dowager, used all her endeavours to have him elected, though a captive, and she made a very considerable party in the diet in his favour. However, it was resolved by a majority to bestow the crown on Christopher, brother to the late king, in order to avoid the disturbances which his power might probably occasion. In a word, the same reasons influenced them in the present election which had prevailed in the former, without the objections that lay against Abel, as Christopher's character was unstained by any crimes of a deep dye. Indeed, the people were somewhat prejudiced, though unjustly, against the innocent Valdemar, on account of the guilt of his father.

The reasons which influenced the diet to elect Christopher.

Before his accession Christopher had married Margareta Sabiria, daughter to the duke of Pomerania.

In the beginning of the following year he took upon him the guardianship of Abel's children, and demanded an oath

^d Crantzius, p. 102.

of allegiance from Henry Meldorp, who held the towns of Sweneburg and Schelfscore, part of the patrimony of Abel. They had been pledged to Henry, and being a man of great spirit and warlike abilities, he insisted upon holding them in his own right, until they should be redeemed by the payment of the money he had lent them. This dispute terminated in blows; Christopher was defeated, and many of his nobility were slain. Rendered more bold by his victory, Henry laid all the adjacent country under contribution; but hearing that Christopher was marching towards him with a very powerful army, to which he could only oppose a handful of men, he took ship and retired out of the kingdom. Christopher laid siege to the two cities in dispute, took, and razed them to the ground.

This transaction was soon followed by a quarrel with the princes of Holstein. Christopher went over to South Jutland to receive an oath from the people, as the guardian of his nephews. The Holsteiners believing he had some other design, requested, by ambassadors, that he would restore their patrimony to his nephews, who were now of age to manage their own affairs, and put the duchy of Sleswick into the hands of some disinterested person, in trust for the lawful heir. This demand the king refused, affirming that it was a fief of the crown, and was always conferred on one of the king's children. They persisted, and he was obstinate. At length matters came to a crisis, and the contest was left to the determination of the sword.

*War between
Christopher
and the
princes of
Holstein.*

Before hostilities commenced, Christopher called a diet, and had the address to procure a decree, whereby Abel's children were excluded the succession, and the crown settled upon his own issue male, provided he should leave any behind him. Immediately he equipped a fleet, and attacked Sanderburg, the walls and fortifications of which he demolished. In the mean time Hacquin, king of Norway, whether in alliance with the princes of Holstein, or whether he seized this opportunity of revenging some injury received from Christopher, we are not told; but he invaded Halland with a great fleet, laid the country waste, and committed terrible ravages wherever he went, leaving at last his life in the country, as an atonement to the unhappy people for the losses they sustained by his cruelty.

All this while Christopher opposed, in person, the Holsteiners, who were joined by the Brandenburgers, Lubbeckers; several Vandal cities, and Henry Meldorp, who was greatly instrumental in forming this confederacy. The allies made their first attack on Sleswick, whence they carried off the bishop and a number of the nobility. The

shores

shores of Schonen swarmed, and were continually harrassed by the Lubec and Vandal pirates, where, at last, they met with a squadron of the king's ships, and fought a bloody and drawn battle. Meldorp invaded Zealand; he attacked the island of Mona, and there forced the strong castle Stega. Passing from thence into Falslria, he subdued Nicoping. Nothing could be more vigorous and active than the operations of the confederates during this campaign. Nor was Christopher idle; but he was distracted amidst the variety of his enemies, and unable to oppose himself to them all. Seasonably for him some of the German princes offered their mediation, and a peace was concluded on these terms, viz. that Christopher should restore to his nephews the duchy of Sleswick at a certain time appointed, and put them in immediate possession of their patrimony in Denmark: that they should sign the decree passed at the diet of Neoburg, whereby they were excluded the succession, resigning all their right to Christopher and his issue: that Christopher should indemnify them for their losses by the war. Other articles were added, to which both parties subscribed; the duke of Pomerania and the Vandal princes being appointed guarantees for the performance of the treaty.

A.D. 1253.

A.D. 1254.

Peace concluded.

Christopher had scarce breathed after this war, before he was engaged in another quarrel. The archbishop of Lunden dying, Erland, bishop of Roschild, was chosen to succeed him, without the king's consent or knowlege. It was then customary that no bishop could be removed from his see, or any way promoted, without such election was ratified by the king. They were likewise obliged to serve in the wars, except the contrary was permitted through the special grace of the sovereign. Erland, however, secure of the pope's protection, not only disregarded these forms, but totally changed the ecclesiastical laws and statutes of Schonen for new ones of his own. Christopher was so incensed at this haughty conduct, that he fitted out a fleet against him, entered the river Sley, invested Gasenburg, and demolished its fortifications. Finding his schemes thwarted by Matilda, the queen-dowager, he determined to secure her interest, by settling South Jutland upon her; but this design Erland prevented, by marrying her to the duke of Swedeland, though she was actually betrothed to the bishop of Othon.

A dispute between Christopher and the bishop of Lunden.

We hear no more of the quarrel between the king and the archbishop; for Valdemar being now set at liberty by the intercession of his uncle John, it required all Christopher's attention to adjust matters between them. This aim

A.D. 1255.

was effected by resigning to him the duchy of Sleswick, which was done by the king's delivering him a standard in the usual form, and receiving from him an oath of allegiance, and the ceremonies of vassalage.

A. D. 1256.

In the course of this year Christopher sent ambassadors to Rome, to congratulate pope Alexander on his accession to the papal dignity, and to procure from him a confirmation of the sovereignty of the Vandal country, granted to his father Valdemar by the emperor Frederic. His request was granted; but the clergy, excited by Erland, instigated the common people, and they refused to admit his authority. They went farther, and even committed outrages on the Danish frontiers, seizing towns, demolishing forts, and burning villages. The incensed king gave them battle, and defeated them with great slaughter; but was prevented from punishing them as they deserved, by the menaces of the archbishop of Lunden and bishop of Roschild, who applied to the pope to retract the grant he had lately made, in case the king should refuse to make up matters with the insurgents.

Erland, archbishop of Lunden, exerted more than a papal authority in Schonen. He abrogated laws, formed statutes, and passed decrees at pleasure, to the great discontent of the king and people. Christopher having summoned a diet of the people at Neoburg, Erland, as a mark of disrespect, convoked, at the same time, a synod of the clergy, to prevent the bishops from attending the king's summons. He had even the presumption to desire the king would adjourn the diet until the business of the synod was first ended. Christopher received this message with disdain; and persisting in his design of holding a diet, Erland passed a decree in defiance of his authority, which set the clerical function above sovereignty itself, and shewed how necessary it was to clip the wings of that sacerdotal pride and ambition, which rendered the ministers of Christ the pests of society, and the disturbers of the public tranquillity.

Christopher, determining to humble this headstrong prelate, assembled another diet at Vartenburg, at which were present the dukes of Pomerania, Rugen, and other great vassals of the crown, who had been prevented by the hard frost from attending the last diet. Here he drew up an indictment against Erland, containing the following charges: 1st, That without the royal assent, or even knowlege, he had usurped the archbishoprick, and even presumed to ordain other bishops by his own sole authority. 2d, That after having sworn allegiance to himself and son, he refused to crown either,

*Christo-
pher's
charge
against
Erland.*

and

and interdicted those persons who had performed the duty. 3d, That he had forbid the bishops, under pain of excommunication, to serve in the wars at the king's express command; though, by the laws of the land, they were bound to do this as well as the laity. 4th, That by unseasonably convoking a synod, in contempt of the royal authority, he had occasioned great loss to the nation by procrastinating public business. 5th, That in this synod he had passed certain decrees diametrically opposite to the laws of the kingdom, and extremely destructive of the public weal. To these articles of indictment were added several other heads equally grievous. The haughty prelate was now forced to stoop, and bend his proud neck to sovereignty. He petitioned the prince of Pomerania to intercede with the king; but Christopher was deaf to all apologies. He insisted on the archbishop's answering to every separate article of the charge; however, time was granted, and the prelate respited until the next diet.

Next year the quarrel was dropt, without any apparent reason, just as the diet had met; and soon after resumed, upon account of the archbishop's excommunicating a certain lady of quality without assigning a just reason for such a sentence. The end of this dispute was depriving the archbishoprick of Lunden of all the extraordinary privileges and immunities conferred on it by former kings of Denmark, and reducing it to the condition of other dioceses, over which it was raised, by the king's favour, to Eschil, the former bishop. A D. 1257.

Nor was the prelate enough humbled with this indignity. He had brought over to espouse his quarrel the bishops of Othon, Roschild, and Ripen, with other dignified personages of the church, as well as the duke of Pomerania. Relying upon their powerful interest, he grew more insolent, demanded several privileges which former archbishops had never claimed, and was just on the brink of renewing the contest with redoubled warmth, when Valdemar of Sleswick's death for a time diverted the king's attention to other objects.

In the letters patent, by which Valdemar held Sleswick, no mention was made of his heirs: his brother Eric demanded it, however, as his right; and the king claimed it as his, saying, that the letters patent certainly intended that it should fall back to the crown, by their making no provision for the natural heirs. Thus a fresh war was kindled: Eric raised forces; but the king marched against him with an army so powerful, as forced him to relinquish the defence of Sleswick, which fell an easy prey to the king.

A.D. 1258.

*The pride
of Erland.*

king. Having placed garrisons in all the castles, he returned to Denmark, and, calling an assembly at Othon, had his son Eric declared his successor. He intended that he should be crowned also, but the archbishop of Lunden not only refused to perform the solemnity, but prohibited all the other bishops of the kingdom, under pain of interdiction from fire and water, as well as from administering the sacrament. The diet was then removed to Haffnia, where Eric was crowned by the nobility, and consecrated by the hands of a private clergyman, who despised the menaces of the archbishop when it interfered with the duties which he owed to his king and country.

This solemnity being performed, the king informed the diet, that he had certain advice of the ill offices done him at Rome by the archbishop of Lunden, who had persuaded the pope, that Abel's children were excluded contrary to the general sense of the people, and by the king's single authority; that Erland had entered into a written engagement with the bishops and Abel's children, that he would support them against all the king's force in maintaining their right to the crown: that he had represented the king as an enemy to the ecclesiastical order, who had embraced all opportunities of oppressing them: finally, that Erland had compelled the dowager, Matilda, to give her hand to the duke of Swedeland, after she was betrothed to the bishop of Othon. Upon maturely weighing all the particulars of this charge, it appeared to the diet, that there was no security for the king's person and government, unless the archbishop and some other sacerdotal incendiaries were taken into custody. Accordingly the archbishop, his archdeacon, and the bishop of Ripen, were seized; the bishops of Othon and Roschild escaping upon the first alarm. Immediately the whole kingdom was interdicted, agreeable to the resolution of the last synod, in case violence should be offered to a bishop. The king wrote to the pope, representing to him the haughty conduct of the archbishop, the injustice and absurdity of a prelate's assuming to himself a share in the royal prerogative, and the hardship that he should have it in his power to interdict a whole people on account of his resentment to one man.

*The king
writes to
the pope.*

These remonstrances were no sooner dispatched to Rome, than he ordered all priests within the kingdom, and persons exercising the sacerdotal function, to administer the communion, under the penalty of losing their tithes and stipends. In the mean time the bishops of Roschild and Othon were busied in levying forces, having engaged in their alliance the duke of Pomerania, the princes of Holstein,

stein, and Jarmerci, prince of Rugen. Christopher made preparations to weather this storm, by entering into a treaty with Hacquin, king of Norway, and Birger, duke of Swedeland, who was married to the dowager Matilda. Matters were drawing fast to a crisis, and open hostilities must have soon commenced, had not Christopher's death, and the prudent conduct of Margareta, his widow, put an end to the warlike proceedings. With respect to the cause of this prince's death there are various relations. Some think he died a natural but sudden death; while others, with more probability, insinuate that he was murdered by the contrivance of Arnefast, bishop of Arpius, who had been promoted to that see by Erland against the king's will. Others attribute the action to the same bishop; but render the means still more infamous, affirming, that he poisoned the bread which he administered to the king in the eucharist: a villainy so enormous as to merit little credit, did not history produce other instances of the same nature.

Christopher's death and character.

A.D. 1259.

As to Christopher, he was rather a deserving than a happy prince. He found the treasury exhausted on his accession, the people violently incensed against the late king, yet a strong faction in favour of his children; and it was his misfortune to involve himself farther, though unavoidably, by entering into disputes with the clergy. At his death he left things in much the same situation; the treasury exhausted, and the nation split into two powerful factions.

ERIC VII.

CHRISTOPHER's death made room for his eldest son Eric. As the young king had not yet attained to full age, his mother Margaret, a lady of prudence, virtue, and piety, took into her hands the reins of government. Her administration began with troubles, occasioned by the pope's letters to Jarmerci, prince of Rugen, inviting him to attempt releasing the archbishop of Lunden. Notwithstanding Jarmerci was a vassal of the crown, at the pope's desire he made a sudden descent on Zealand, and was met there by a tumultuous army, which Margaret had raised on a sudden to oppose him. A battle ensued, and the Danes were defeated, leaving ten thousand dead on the field. The bishop of Roschild renewed the interdiction, and forbid Christian burial to those brave fellows who had lost their lives in the cause of their young king. All the country was laid waste, and Haffnia taken and plundered. Not content with laying Zealand waste, Jarmerci

Margaret, regent of Denmark.

passed to Bornholm, and, investing the strong castle of Hammehuse, took it, put the garrison to the sword, and subdued the whole island.

In the mean time Margaret, with her son Eric, took shelter in Fionia, where, and in North Jutland, levies were making to renew the war with all possible diligence. Happily for them, the fierce Jarmerci was slain while he was plundering a monastery, an incensed nun having stabbed him in the groin with a knife. Being rid of this enemy, Margaret settled the difference about his wife's fortune with the marquis of Brandenburg, and thus gained him over to her interest.

A.D. 1260.

Towards the beginning of this year Eric was a second time crowned at a public diet, having now attained the age of eleven years. It was the opinion of the diet that the archbishop should be set at liberty, and reinstated in his diocese; but this favour the refractory prelate refused, insisting that all should be laid before the pope. However, being now at liberty, he went into Sweden, from whence he sent the most virulent letters against the king to Rome. Margaret and Eric, desirous of a reconciliation with the church, replaced all the other bishops in their respective sees; but, incensed at Erland, they were no less obstinate than the archbishop. At the same time pope Alexander dying, Urban IV. was elected in his room; to gain favour with whom, ambassadors were sent by Eric to congratulate him upon his accession, and obviate all the accusations which probably would be laid against him by his rebellious clergy.

*Young Eric
lays claim
to Sles-
wick.*

Before these disputes were terminated, Matilda, widow of Abel, and wife to the duke of Swedeland, instigated her son Eric to claim the duchy of Sleswick, to which he was the nearest heir, his brother Valdemar having died without issue. The inhabitants were well disposed towards him; the princes of Holstein preferred him as a neighbour to the powerful king of Denmark, and determined to support him; other princes likewise countenanced and lent him forces, which, with those he had raised, composed a considerable army. King Eric and his mother Margaret led an army against him, Findan Ivan commanding under them. A battle was fought near Lopeid with great fury, a prodigious number was slain on both sides, and the Holsteiners were beginning to fall back in disorder, when Findan Ivan, won by the enemy's gold, treacherously drew off the Danish troops, suffered himself to be taken, and his king to be defeated and made prisoner with his mother.

A.D. 1261.

*The king
and queen
taken pri-
soners.*

After

After this event Eric took possession of Sleswick without resistance, the king was sent prisoner to Alsen, the queen and the bishop of Sleswick, who likewise fell into the enemy's hands, were closely confined at Hamburgh, and the latter loaded with chains by order of Erland, archbishop of Lunden. This prelate, upon the news of Margaret's defeat, returned from Sweden, and now grew insolent without controul. The sound policy of Margaret rendered her confinement short: she wrought matters so with Albert of Brunswick, that he interested himself in her release; and she no sooner obtained her liberty than she diligently applied for the king's and the bishop's enlargement, which *They are released.* was, in a short time, effected by means of a high ransom, and a promise to marry his sister to Albert of Brandenburg, as soon as she should have attained a proper age.

The king and Margaret were now at liberty to revenge the injuries Erland had done them during their confinement. They accordingly drew up a heavy charge against him, which they sent to pope Urban, beseeching, that, to establish the tranquillity of the kingdom, he would withdraw him from the diocese of Lunden. Urban granted their request, and wrote a severe letter to that purpose to Erland; but his holiness died before his orders took place; and in order to ingratiate himself with Clement VI. the succeeding pope, the archbishop proposed making a tour to Rome. Soon after the pope sent his legate to Denmark: he was graciously received by king Eric, promised fair; but in a short time took part with the archbishop; summoned the king and queen-mother to appear before him at Sleswick, which they refusing, he set out for Lubec, and was followed thither by all the bishops of Denmark. From Lubec this spiritual tyrant thundered out his impotent anathemas, interdicting the king and queen-mother, together with all the nobility of the court; after which fulmination, he departed for Rome, attended by Erland (A). *The pope's legate excommunicates the king and queen.*

A D 1265.

From this time Denmark enjoyed a profound peace, until the year 1270. Eric was busied in framing new laws,

(A) Eric, in order to conciliate matters with the holy see, made some concessions to the archbishop, and paid him besides a sum of money: that prelate returning from the council of Lyons, in the year 1274, died at Rugen, and thus rid the king of his greatest enemy: then the interdiction was taken off, the pope being desirous of pursuing the war against the Saracens (1).

(1) Pont. lib. vii. p. 366.

A.D. 1270.

*Eric sends
an army to
Livonia,
and defeats
the barba-
rians.*

giving directions for the strict execution of the old, replenishing his exhausted treasury, and recruiting by every possible means the almost wasted constitution and spent strength of the kingdom, when the Muscovites, Lithuanians, and Semigallians, made a sudden irruption into the province of Estonia, or that part of Livonia subject to the crown of Denmark, which had been conquered by the predecessors of Eric. They had over-run great part of the country, and reduced the inhabitants to great distress, before Matthias with the Danish fleet came up. On his arrival he landed his troops, fought and defeated the enemy; but pursuing them with too great eagerness, he was slain in the chase; a loss that greatly damped the joy of the victory.

*War be-
tween the
king and
duke of
Sleswick.*

To this transaction succeeded a war with Eric of Sleswick, occasioned by a variety of circumstances. The king could not digest the manner in which that duchy had been wrested from him, though in fact it was but a poor equivalent for the crown of Denmark. He had received complaints from the inhabitants of several grievances which Eric refused to redress. This prince had likewise refused to appear before the king's tribunal when cited as a vassal; and a dispute arose between them about Alsen and other neighbouring islands in the Baltic. Eric commenced hostilities, by entering the duchy with a powerful army, and seizing upon the fortresses of Tunder, which he razed. Thence he marched to Handerslaw and Flensburg, making himself master of both cities, and indeed of almost the whole duchy, without any considerable opposition.

Eric and his wife dying about this time, the king took upon himself the guardianship of his three sons, Abel, Eric, and Valdemar, all minors, and constituted John Witting governor of Sleswick. This was cause of fresh troubles; for the princes of Holstein, cousins to the deceased Eric, believing this charge ought by right to devolve upon them, resolved to claim it by force of arms. They crossed the Eyder with an army to attack the king, who, unwilling to enter upon another war, gave the government of the duchy to the eldest son of Eric, and thus compromised matters.

A.D. 1277.

*Affairs of
Sweden.*

This year Eric entered into an alliance with Magnus duke of Nicoping, who had fled from Sweden to crave his assistance against Valdemar. This prince had usurped the whole dominion, allowing nothing to the younger brother. Magnus hastened back with the Danish reinforcement, and soon compelled Valdemar to rest satisfied with an equal share of dominion; but a quarrel soon arose between the king

king and Magnus, who having now gained his ends, refused to pay the sum stipulated for the assistance afforded by Eric. Nay more, he began to commence hostilities, and entered Schonen with an army, after he had publicly broke off the late treaty. Here he laid waste a great part of the country; but was at length stopped in his cruel and ungrateful progress by Uffo, whom the king had sent to oppose him. A battle ensued, Magnus was repulsed, and forced to quit the province with disgrace. Farther to revenge the insult, Eric sent privately to Valdemar, that if he would hold his crown of Denmark, he would restore him to the full dominion of his kingdom. His proposals were readily accepted, Valdemar raised an army, and was joined by a strong body of Danes; but both were defeated, a prodigious number slain, and Valdemar, escaping with difficulty out of the field, was forced to seek shelter in Denmark. This victory was obtained by Charles Uffo, general to Magnus, and one of the best officers of Sweden.

Valdemar made but a short stay in Denmark; for as soon as forces were raised he entered Gothland, plundering and leaving waste all before him, as if he had been in an enemy's country; nor did Magnus oppose him, as he intended to procure a peace by resigning this province to Valdemar. With this view he sent to Eric, to acquaint him that he was ready to pay the promised subsidy, provided he withdrew his troops; which proposal Eric accepting, a peace was concluded.

About the beginning of this year a war broke out between Denmark and Norway, owing to Eric's withholding the portion of Ingeburga, daughter to Eric VI. and wife to Magnus, king of Norway. Magnus arriving with a great fleet in Schonen, landed his troops at Scanora, where he was met and defeated by the Danish army, leaving five thousand of his men dead on the field of battle. Thus repulsed, he returned with all expedition to Norway, and Eric hearing that the sons of the king of Sweden had served in the army of Magnus, led his troops to waste Gothland, which he plundered and laid desolate in revenge. Magnus of Sweden, unwilling to break the peace, which had so lately been concluded, proposed an interview with Eric, in order to adjust the difference between them. They met on the frontiers of Gothland, and Eric agreed to indemnify the loss which Sweden had sustained from this invasion, by remitting half the subsidy to be paid by Magnus. On the other hand, the castle of Lodosa was pledged to him in security of the payment of the remaining moiety; and thus

A.D. 1278.

*A rupture
between
Denmark
and Nor-
way.*

the

the two princes were again reconciled, to the great joy of both kingdoms-

A.D. 1280.

*A detail of
the war.*

Having now some little respite from foreign wars, he held a diet at Neoburgh, in order to redress some grievances of which the people loudly complained. Of these we know nothing more than that a decree was passed on this occasion, which formed a supplemental part of the laws of Zealand. The controversy between him and Valdemar of Sleswick about Alsen, and the other small islands situated round it in the Baltic, was submitted to the determination of a board of decemvirs, chosen by both sides. Their verdict was, that Valdemar should hold these islands of the king, paying him a certain yearly revenue in acknowledgement.

*Death and
character
of Marga-
ret.*

The year 1282 was ushered in by a pestilential disease, by which great numbers of men and cattle were swept off; and this was preceded, says our author, by a strange appearance in the air of two dragons fighting, the infallible prognostic of dreadful calamities. Terrible fires happened in different parts of the kingdom, especially in Lunden, which destroyed a multitude of houses and churches. To crown the misfortunes of the year, Margaret, the king's mother, died, deeply regretted by all degrees of people, after having, with great discretion and policy, governed the kingdom and her son for the space of twenty-three years.

A.D. 1284.

The death of this excellent princess raised many enemies to Eric, whom her prudence had long repressed. Valdemar duke of Sleswick laid claim to his patrimony, and determining to support his demand by force, united himself to the count of Halland, and Stigot, tribune of the Danish knights, as we find him termed by our authors, though they do not explain the nature of this office. The count had indeed the same reasons for beginning a war; and Eric, to avoid one, ceded South Jutland to Valdemar, and Halland to the earl, reserving only his own sovereignty; but not satisfied with these concessions, they still persisted in their resolution to break with the king, to which rupture they were incited by Hacquin of Norway's resolution to renew the war which his father Magnus had dropt after his repulse in Schonen. Hacquin began with ravaging the coasts of Denmark, burning Scaga, a town in North Jutland, and grievously distressing the inhabitants of the seashore. Valdemar at the same time was raising a storm in the South: resolving to settle a plan of operations with Hacquin, he set sail for Norway, and was taken on his way by a Danish squadron, and carried prisoner to Elsinore.

Here

Here he was closely confined for some months, and then set at liberty, at the intercession of several princes, on signing an acknowledgment of his errors, and giving up all his pretensions to Alsens, and the other places he had claimed as his right. This instrument was guarantied by the princes who procured his liberty, all of whom took an oath to declare against him, should he infringe any single article of the deed he had now solemnly signed and sealed.

Eric, having finished this transaction, and patched up a peace with the king of Norway, comforted himself with the pleasing hope of enjoying the remainder of his life in tranquillity; but he was treacherously murdered a few weeks after by a band of conspirators, including the chief nobility of the kingdom, among whom was James count of Halland. The cabal consisted of nine persons, each of them having their particular grudge against the king, whom they accused of incontinence and avarice, the weak apologies of treachery and rebellion. They perpetrated their design as the king was making a progress to North Jutland to administer justice, and settle the state of the province, piercing him with fifty wounds, while he lay fast asleep in his chamber at an inn in Warburg, where he had taken the diversion of hunting for a few days. The murderers were a long time unknown, and might perhaps have ever lain concealed, had not their consciences risen in judgment against them. Imagining there was no security for them in Denmark, they fled to Norway, by which means the whole plot was discovered, and their names transmitted with ignominy to the latest posterity.

A.D. 1286.

Eric murdered.

Thus died Eric VII. in the flower of his age, and with the reputation of several virtues, which he obscured by lust and avarice. He had debauched the wives and daughters of several of the nobility, and by this conduct drew upon him their indignation. The large sums amassed by his rapaciousness had filled his private coffers, while the public treasury was empty, and the people oppressed with poverty. These vices were, however, more than sufficiently punished by the nature of his death; and it is probable, if he had lived longer, that experience would have in some measure corrected them, on perceiving how odious they were to his subjects.

His character.

ERIC VIII. surnamed the PIOUS.

ERIC the Pious, surnamed likewise Menved, succeeded to the crown of his father Eric VII. As he was yet a minor, his mother and the senate governed the kingdom; and Valdemar of Sleswick was appointed his guardian.

The

The first act of Eric's authority was holding a diet at Schellicore, where he proposed means for revenging his father's death, and punishing the murderers. The conspirators wanted not friends, who gave them immediate intelligence of the resolutions of the assembly: upon which they planned a scheme for seizing the king's person, and taking the supreme government into their own hands. Secret as this plot was kept, Valdemar got some intimation of their design. Having first removed the king out of danger, he doubled the guards round the city, and took such effectual measures as frustrated the conspiracy, and obliged the conspirators to fly the kingdom.

This year likewise a strange prodigy, at least what was thought so in those dark ages, appeared in the heavens. Three suns were seen all together, each incircled by a beautiful rainbow; but this is a phænomenon easily accounted for by every person who has made natural philosophy his study. It was then esteemed the harbinger of dreadful calamities.

A.D. 1287.

Inquiry into the conspiracy.

A second diet was held at Neoburg; and here a resolution was taken, that the care of making an inquiry into this horrid plot should be committed to Otho of Brandenburg, Witillaw of Rugen, the princes of Holstein, and others of the Danish nobility, to the number of twenty-seven persons. The committee, upon examining proper evidence, cited James, count of Halland, Canute Stigot, Nicholas Halansfar, Peter Porse, Peter James, Nicholas Canute, Ago Caccius, Ranno Jona, and Orvid Benedict, before them; pronounced them guilty of parricide and high treason, the enemies of the king and kingdom, outlawed by the laws of the land, and their estates confiscated to the crown.

The conspirators are outlawed.

The conspirators, failing in their last attempt, had taken refuge a second time in Norway, where they swore allegiance to the king, who was at that time on bad terms with Denmark, and received from him the castle of Congele, strong by art and nature. They likewise resolved to fortify, in the strongest manner, Hunelstrals, Warburg, and other places belonging to the count of Halland, against all the attempts of the Danes; and thus a war was again commenced between Denmark and Norway, which continued for the space of nine years, almost to the utter ruin and destruction of both kingdoms.

War with Norway.

A.D. 1288.

In the beginning of the year 1288, Hacquin proclaimed war, upon the same pretences which both he and his father had used in the preceding contests. He likewise screened the injustice of his cause under the specious pretext of revenging

vengeing the injury done to some of the first nobility in Denmark, by robbing them of their estates, and banishing them the kingdom, without form of trial, or proof of their guilt. However false this last pretext might be, it gave a better aspect to his cause, and made the Norwegians, as well as neighbouring nations, unacquainted with the true state of affairs, applaud his motives. Little was done for this year besides making vigorous preparations; but in the spring of the following, Hacquin attacked Elsinore, and burnt it to the ground. He steered thence to Haffnia; but not venturing to land, he turned his course to the islands Amagria and Mona, which he laid waste. He afterwards sent Contorius Cruter with a squadron of light frigates to make an attempt on Scanora; but this officer returned with the loss of two thirds of his whole fleet.

In the mean time the outlawed conspirators ravaged the coasts; and Stigot, after destroying Brasingburg, made a descent on Samsoe, whence he carried off some plunder. He next went to Torneburg, where king Eric used frequently to pass a few days, and this place he burnt. From hence he steered to Falslria, and, laying desolate the city Nicoping, invested the citadel. The Norwegians, thinking to make an easy prey of a squadron of Danish ships lying off the island Laaland, were themselves defeated with great loss. This check obliged Stigot to raise the siege, and retire with all possible expedition to Hacquin, who was then at Amagria. Here joining forces, they sailed to Strebecopia, burnt it, and then returned to Norway.

*Detail of
the war.*

Eric, willing to spare innocent blood, sent ambassadors with proposals of peace. He offered to pay to Hacquin his mother's portion, provided he would separate himself from the parricides, and quit the defence of a cause which a good prince ought to blush for having ever engaged in: but Hacquin insisted upon terms for the conspirators, which broke off the negotiation. The queen now brought on a treaty of marriage between the king and Ingeburga, princess of Sweden, and daughter to king Magnus. As soon as the terms were settled the parties were betrothed; and, to connect the families more firmly, she contracted her daughter with the son of Magnus, both crowns soliciting for a dispensation at Rome.

In the summer of this year Hacquin and the exiles again put to sea, plundered and burnt the towns of Alburg and Swenburg in Jutland and Fionia, ravaged part of Laaland, and then returned unmolested to Norway. But the exiles remained with part of the fleet in the Baltic, and fortified Sproa and Hielm, from whence they proposed harrassing

A.D. 1189.

the

the coasts of Denmark. Nor did Hacquin remain long in indolence. Next year he returned, and made an unsuccessful attempt on Corfora. Again he turned his arms against Holben and Nicöping, both which cities he burnt and destroyed. All this while the exiles were ravaging Middleford, and other places of less consideration. Stigot, their admiral, had by this time so fortified Hielm, that it became a place of great strength, and a safe retreat; for though the island be small, yet its lofty and craggy situation renders it extremely difficult of access.

Until the year 1293 we find nothing material recorded, besides the rebuilding of Haffnia, and the death of Stigot, who resigned his last breath with a heroism which would have reflected honour on a better life, and in the true Roman spirit. Assembling his friends round him, he spoke to them in the following manner: "You see, my friends, what our situation is. We have weathered every storm, by means of the harmony subsisting among us: we have succeeded in every enterprize from the same cause. Now that I am about to part with you for ever, observe this my last request, that you still preserve the same unanimity, and God will prosper your undertakings. Chuse another leader in my room; obey him as you have done me; and let not the ambition of any individual ruin the confederacy, and destroy the column of honour we have been so long erecting. In this consists your whole strength: like this bundle of twigs, while you cleave together, you are incapable of being broken; apart, you are weak, and may be turned, twisted, and snapped at pleasure." With these words he yielded up the ghost, and delivered Eric from one of the most formidable of his enemies.

A.D. 1293.

Towards the close of this year a congress was settled, at which Eric and Hacquin were to preside in person, for the adjusting of their differences. The princes met; but parting without having come to any conclusion, Hacquin equipped a fleet, and recommenced hostilities, making a fourth descent on Denmark, to the great loss and terror of the inhabitants. He took the ships of Denmark at sea; some he plundered, others he destroyed; but in general he sent them into his ports, where both ships and cargoes were confiscated.

Not long after Ranno Jona, another of the conspirators, was taken in Roschild, and broke upon the wheel; and the archbishop of Lunden was, by the king's order, thrown into prison, together with his archdeacon. This latter escaping,

caping, went to Rome, and, by his manner of relating things, incensed his holiness violently against the king.

On the back of this transaction a dispute arose between Eric and Valdemar, duke of Holstein, concerning some frontier towns, to which both claimed a right; the king of Norway, believing this a seasonable opportunity for pursuing the war, entered into a league with Valdemar, and renewed his depredations on the Danish coasts. A. D. 1298.

During these transactions, the bishop of Lunden effecting his escape from Sedgburg-castle, went first to Bornholm, and from thence to Rome, where he added fresh fuel to the fire already kindled by his archdeacon. In consequence of his representations, the whole kingdom was laid under a new interdiction, and the king mulcted to pay the archbishop an immense sum of money, to indemnify his losses and disgrace. Eric had sent his brother Christopher and his high chancellor to Rome, to plead his cause: he now lost it, and blamed his brother, as either corrupt or indolent; a charge which produced a quarrel between them. Whether the affront put upon the king at Callenburg was an effect of this difference, or the cause of it, we know not: history only relates, that Christopher's garrison in that place shut the gates upon Eric, just as he was preparing to enter the city. The king, highly incensed at the indignity, returned with a body of forces, in order to punish the offenders. Christopher was penitent, or rather he professed his ignorance of the whole; but nothing less than the death of the principal officers in the town could satisfy the king. *The bishop of Lunden escapes out of prison.*

The next year was spent in a series of altercation with the pope's legate and the bishop of Lunden. The legate had entered wholly into the interest of the latter, insisting upon terms which the king determined not to grant. He had likewise refused to pay the fine imposed on him by his holiness; and imagining the pope had been deceived by a false representation of the nature of the dispute, he remitted to Rome a fresh appeal, and heavy complaints both of the legate and archbishop. A. D. 1299.

In this situation stood things between his majesty and the pope, when ambassadors arrived at Roschild from Lubeck, soliciting Eric to take upon him the protection of this commercial city, then greatly distressed by a number of surrounding enemies, who envied her rapid progress, and cast an eye of desire on the immense wealth she had treasured up. Eric accepted the proposals, and a treaty was agreed on, whereby he undertook to defend the Lubeckers against all their enemies, in consideration of a subsidy of seven *Treaty with Lubeck.*

seven hundred and fifty marks in silver yearly. On the other hand, they were to act as vassals to the king; and to have in pay a certain number of forces, and a fleet ready to be put in motion at the king's call. The Lubeckers were in the mean time to trade freely to all the ports of Denmark, as long as this treaty remained in force; and the time was limited to the term of eleven years.

A. D. 1300.

*Congress
for a peace
between
Denmark
and Nor-
way.*

This year a negociation for a peace between the crowns of Denmark and Norway was set on foot by the duke of Langland, who offered his mediation, and renewed the very terms which had been proposed some years before, when the convention was broke off on account of the conspirators, whom the king refused to include. With this view he passed over to Norway, and obtained from Hacquin a promise that he would meet Eric at Corföra, each attended by a few nobility, and submit their differences to the arbitration of any six persons to be chosen, three by each party, provided that Eric's consent could be gained. Eric easily assented to a proposal so equitable, and immediately granted passports to Hacquin and his retinue; but he forbid the regicides to be of the number. After the commissioners had taken a solemn oath to be swayed by no private or national motives, they entered upon business; but could come to no determination, and thus the congress broke up without the happy fruits expected from it.

*The pope
removes
the inter-
diction.*

In the year 1302, the king sent the most plaintive and supplicating letters to the pope, intreating that he would be pleased to remove his heavy curse, under which the kingdom had laboured for some years past, and receive himself and subjects again into the bosom of the church, allowing them the free use of the holy communion, from which they had so long been interdicted. His holiness, moved with his supplications, granted his request; the interdiction was taken off, and the whole kingdom rung with joy, as if some very signal advantage had been obtained. Such was the ascendancy this politic and truly artful spiritual sovereignty had obtained over the minds of princes, rather ignorant than devout, rather superstitious than pious.

*War re-
newed
with Nor-
way.*

In the course of this year the war between Norway and Denmark was again renewed. Nothing, indeed, could be more irregular than the operations of both kingdoms; for, although no peace had been concluded, hostilities frequently ceased for a year or two, and then were resumed by making a descent on each other's coasts. Hacquin fitted out a fleet, and ravaged the Danish islands; while Eric laid siege to Hunelstrals, Warburg, and other places on the sea coast; yet

yet at the same time a convention was sitting for settling a peace. It would seem that James, count of Halland, had attempted the relief of these garrisons; but failing in his attempt, he surrendered all North Halland to Hacquin, and made it over to him in perpetuity, putting himself and children under that monarch's protection; and making no other terms, than if it should happen that Hacquin, by any favourable turn, should ever procure a confirmation of this deed by Eric, he would then appoint his eldest son governor of the country.

Next year nothing remarkable happened, besides that the king published another proclamation, citing the regicides to take their trial according to law. We have already seen that they were convicted, and their estates confiscated; to what purpose, then, this new proclamation was issued, we know not. Certain it is, that none of the conspirators obeyed the summons, and we hear of no new sentence passed upon them.

In the year 1306 Eric raised an army to support Birger, king of Sweden, his brother-in-law, who was driven out of his kingdom by his brothers. He led his troops to the frontiers of West Gothland, where he was met by the enemy. Both armies encamped within sight of each other for some days; and at length a truce, for one year, was agreed to by Eric and the Swedish princes. Notwithstanding this, Valdemar, duke of Finland, one of the brothers, passed into Germany, where, levying a body of horse, he made a descent on Schonen, ravaged the country, and carried off Christopher, king Eric's brother. At the same time the Norwegians landed at Tormburg, which place they invested; but were repulsed, and driven to their ships.

A.D. 1306.

Eric supports his brother-in-law, Birger, king of Sweden.

In the following year Eric resolved to return the insult offered by the duke of Finland, in contempt of the late truce. For this purpose he raised an army, took with him Valdemar of Sleswick and his brother Eric, marched into the enemy's country, and came within sight of their army; yet, after all, no battle ensued. The rigour of the winter was so great, that the soldiers could not handle their arms; besides, the Swedes on his approach sent to demand equitable terms of peace, to which they declared they would cheerfully subscribe. Accordingly a cessation of arms was agreed upon, and preliminaries to a peace were settled, though never kept. It was the same with respect to a truce established with Norway, after a very tedious negotiation. In truth, Eric wanted vigour; he was easily amused with any pretext that could keep him from enter-

ing upon action; his enemies perceived his weakness, and converted it to their own purposes.

A. D. 1308.

— —
*The war
renewed
with Swe-
den.*

*Eric re-
duced to
great
straits.*

*Eric com-
plains to
the states of
his brother
Christo-
pher*

Two years after the preceding truce, Eric again renewed the war with Sweden, in behalf of his brother-in-law, who had all this time lived an exile in Denmark. His army consisted of sixty thousand fighting men, commanded by himself in person, and under him the chief nobility of the kingdom. Five thousand horse were levied in Germany, and with these forces he entered West Gothland, and laid siege to Nicoping. The enemy, commanded by duke Eric, finding themselves unable to raise the siege by venturing a battle, were extremely diligent and alert in distressing the king, by cutting off all his convoys and forage. For three months Eric lay before the city; but carried on his operations slowly. His generals had quarrelled, military duty was relaxed, and disgrace and ruin approaching by large strides; when his majesty, despairing of success, broke up the siege, and entered upon a negotiation for peace. Terms were settled, the treaty was signed, and the care of the Danish army committed to Christopher, the king's brother, who was to conduct it into Denmark. In his march he set fire to a great number of villages, and committed many other disorders, contrary to the truce the king had just signed; upon which the Swedes lodged a complaint against him, and he was deprived of his commission, and likewise of the duchy of Halland, which the king had bestowed on him a little before. Christopher immediately quitted the army, and joined the king's enemies. Eric drew up a charge against him, which he presented to the diet of the states; and Christopher put in his answer so clearly to every article of the impeachment, that the diet interested themselves in his behalf. They besought the king that he would restore him to his favour, and at length procured not only his leave to return, but the duchy of Halland, upon the same terms on which he had held it before. Before this diet broke up, Birger, so long exiled from his own kingdom, was likewise restored, and a peace concluded between him and his brothers. A remonstrance was lodged against king Eric, by Hacquin, king of Norway, complaining that he had often refused the most equitable terms of accommodation, and broke off all conventions just when matters were on the point of being adjusted. But to this Eric replied, that no terms could be equitable, or indeed honourable to him, that included a pardon for the murderers of his predecessor. However, what this remonstrance could not effect was brought about by a difference which arose between Hacquin and Eric, duke of Swedeland. Hac-

quin

quin demanded the restitution of Congel, Warburg, and other garrisons, committed in trust to duke Eric, which he refused, on being disappointed in his expectation of marrying the king of Norway's daughter. Eric of Denmark thought this the fairest opportunity for establishing a firm and solid peace between the courts of Denmark and Norway; accordingly he proposed a treaty of marriage between Magnus, son to Birger, king of Sweden, and Ingeburga, daughter to Hacquin. The terms were accepted, the marriage solemnized in Haffnia, Ingeburga declared queen of Norway in failure of the male line, and a solid peace concluded between the three northern powers, which were all brought into a strict union by this alliance.

Treaty of marriage concluded between the son of Birger and daughter of Hacquin.

Next year Eric likewise spent in giving peace to his neighbours, and tranquillity to his own subjects. The princes of Holstein were reconciled to Denmark, and a certain controversy with Wratisslau, prince of Rugen, was amicably terminated. Games and tournaments were instituted at Rostock, to celebrate this happy event; and Denmark, perhaps, never saw a more joyful occasion^c.

A. D. 1310.

But this calm, so necessary and seasonable to a country exhausted, was not of long duration. The duke of Mecklenburg was desirous of solemnizing his nuptials at Rostock; but the citizens had denied him admittance. Incensed at this indignity, he complained to Eric, who wrote a peremptory order to the citizens to do honour to the duke; but they persisting in their refusal, he equipped a fleet, and sailed to the coasts of Lower Saxony. Towards the land the city was invested by the duke of Mecklenburg, Valdemar of Brandenburg, and the neighbouring princes, while the king's fleet blocked it up on the side of the gulf or mouth of the river Warnow. Here he sunk ships, laid booms across, and raised works on each, to guard which he left a slender garrison, and returned home; but he was scarce gone when the besieged, in a sally, destroyed all his works, and opened the passage, building strong towers on each side to prevent his entering with the same ease a second time. Then they entered into a league with some neighbouring states, equipped a fleet, and invaded Denmark, where they burned Sconora, Falsterboe, Amagria, Elsinore, and other cities.

A. D. 1311.

Rostock besieged by the king.

This was an insult which Eric resolved to revenge. He sailed directly for the Warnow, attacked the towers they had built in his absence, and, after several furious attacks, which continued for three days, took them by assault. He

^c Vid. Aust. citat. ibid.

next drew lines round the city, blocked it up by sea, and, through dint of perseverance, reduced the inhabitants to such distress, that they turned their resentment against the senate, and broke out into an open revolt. They affirmed, that their liberties were sold to the king, and that the mouth of the river was blocked up by their connivance. Enraged at this notion, they flew like maniacs round the streets, seized and put to death several senators of the first distinction, tortured others, and at length, tired with slaughter and barbarity, sent to king Eric to deprecate his wrath, ask pardon for their rebellion, and sue, in the most submissive terms, for peace. The king, whose temper was prone to mercy, heard their supplications, and pitied their condition; but the affairs of his kingdom requiring his immediate attendance, he referred the burghers to the duke of Mecklenburg, to whom he recommended the mildest treatment. A cessation of hostilities was granted, and commissioners were appointed to settle the preliminaries for a thorough agreement. The treaty was to be negotiated without the walls, but the duke determined otherwise; and being implacable against the citizens, he found means to convey a party of choice soldiers, in two covered waggon, that were entering the city. These seized upon the gates, and set them open. The duke with his whole army rushed in, and an obstinate battle ensued in the market-place, when the duke perceiving matters like to prove too hard for him, proclaimed the king's orders, that justice should be administered by law, without having recourse to the sword; and that his only motive for seizing the city was to provide his troops with better quarters during a negotiation that might prove tedious. The citizens no sooner heard this declaration than they drew off, and permitted the duke to quarter his troops without molestation. They were mulcted to pay, at three installments, the sum of fourteen thousand marks in silver, or that value in scarlet cloth, and other merchandize, to indemnify the king, the duke, and the marquis of Brandenburg, for the expences of the war^f.

*The city
taken.*

A.D. 1312.

*Conspiracy
discovered.*

This year a conspiracy formed against the king's life was discovered by Eric of Langland's wife, after his death. She had found a letter in his cabinet, containing an account of the plot, and the names of all the conspirators, and plainly shewing that her husband was deeply engaged in this villainous design. Weighing her duty to the king against the regard she ought to preserve for the memory of her husband,

^f Vid. Pontan. lib. vii.

at length she determined to reveal the whole, which she did, by presenting the letter to king Eric. The affair was kept a profound secret, until the diet was assembled, and then the king ordered the paper, signed and sealed by the conspirators, to be produced. As soon as the astonishment of the people ceased, they requested that the conspirators might be seized and punished. Immediately Andrew Hogby and Nicholas Ranno were put in irons, and broke on the wheel, ending those lives in misery which they had spent in planning the most villainous and horrid designs. All the others, among whom were several bishops, particularly those of Roschild, Othon, Wiburg, and Sleswick, were pardoned, on account of Eric's great regard for their sacred function, which it would seem was a protection for treason and the most nefarious crimes; only a new oath of allegiance was required of them, which they were at liberty to break as they had done the former, since they were tied down by no pledges or other security for their good conduct ².

Towards the close of this year a new congress was settled, at which Eric, Hacquin, Birger, duke Christopher, Valdemar and Eric, dukes of Swedeland, with several other princes, assisted in person. Here it was proposed to establish the late peace, concluded between these princes, upon a more solid basis, as difficulties occurred which had then been passed over unobserved. The congress sat for near a twelvemonth, and at last all particulars were adjusted to the satisfaction of every individual.

At this period an insurrection appeared in North Jutland, excited by some of the nobility, who instigated the people to refuse payment of the taxes imposed by the king and diet. They soon broke out into acts of violence, and murdered the steward of the household, whom the king had sent to appease them. Upon this outrage, the king put the army in motion, and was marching against them, when the insurgents thought it adviseable to submit, and throw themselves upon his clemency. Eric pardoned them, but imposed a new tax, by way of fine, which was continued for a long time under the name of Galdecorn; and to awe them for the future, he erected four strong castles in the province, in which he placed numerous garrisons: but the nobility did not escape with the same favour. Four were proscribed and banished, and Peter Porsius pardoned, on condition that he took an oath at the high altar, to break off all correspondence with his late friends, the enemies of

A.D. 1313.

An insurrection in Jutland.

² Meurs. lib. iii.

his country, and to remove with his whole household into Zealand within the year.

A.D. 1314.

*Dispute
between
Denmark
and Bran-
denburg.*

A dispute also arose between Eric and the marquis of Brandenburg, about Stralsunde, the inhabitants of which had made several incursions into the territories of the prince of Rugen, the king's vassal. These the prince retaliated, and was supported by the king, while the city of Stralsunde was protected by the marquis. Things were likely to terminate in an open rupture between the two courts, when the marquis, apprehensive of the consequences, made overtures which were accepted. The city of Stralsunde was forced to break off the alliance with Brandenburg: it was obliged to relinquish the forts built, and encroachments made on the territory of Rugen; to acknowledge the sovereignty of prince Witislaw; to restore all the prisoners, and to indemnify him in the expence of the war. But the next year the citizens of Stralsunde broke the first article of this treaty, by joining the marquis; and soon after they shewed how little they regarded all the others, by marching in an hostile manner into the territory of Rugen, plundering and destroying the country as they went. Witislaw dispatched an account of this transaction to Eric, who, without delay, sent Olaus, a nobleman of distinction, to the marquis of Brandenburg, with remonstrances against his conduct, and insisting upon the execution of the late treaty; but Olaus returned with nothing more satisfactory than a declaration that the marquis had not attempted any thing against the crown of Denmark. Witislaw was in the mean time pressing for a reinforcement, that he might be able to take the field against the enemy, which the king sent with all the expedition possible; but before the Danes arrived a peace was settled upon much the same terms as the former.

*War be-
tween Den-
mark and
Branden-
burg.*

Again the war broke out between Denmark and Brandenburg, Christopher, the king's brother, and several of the nobility, adhering to the latter. The allies fitted out a fleet at Stralsunde, and made a descent on Fionia, where they took by assault the city Swenburg, and defeated Flepp, governor of the island, who had collected a tumultuary army to oppose them. Eric, on the first notice, sent Harman, count of Glica, with seven thousand men, to lay siege to Stralsunde, and soon after reinforced him with a strong body of Swedes, which Berger had detached to his assistance. On his arrival in Germany, Harman was joined by a great number of princes and noblemen, vassals to the crown of Denmark. The duke of Saxe Lawenburg had, in particular, exerted himself to distinguish his loyalty, in which he was unfortunate; for encamping, with his own troops, near

near Stralsunde, before the Danes arrived, he was attacked by a body of the enemy, who sallied out of the town, defeated, and taken prisoner. In a few days the rest of the army came up and invested the town. The siege was carried on with very little success for several weeks, and finding that the king did not arrive, as was expected, with an army, Harman and the princes agreed to break up their camp. Eric, indeed, being averse to war, resolved, if it could be effected, to accommodate matters. This disposition induced a number of the neighbouring German princes to offer their mediation. Accordingly, a peace was concluded, and all the places which the marquis of Brandenburg and his allies had seized, were restored. The marquis was tied down to a strict observance of the articles of the preceding treaty, and took an oath not only to refrain from all attempts against the district of Rugen, but to repel, with his whole power, any attempts that should be made by any other prince whatsoever. In a word, Eric acquitted himself so well in the negotiation, that notwithstanding the advantages the enemy gained in the war, through his inactivity, he had a peace upon the same terms he might have expected from the most vigorous and successful operations in the field.

Christopher, the king's brother, could not however obtain the terms he expected; and for that reason went over to Sweden, where he lived in exile until the year 1318. When the king was taken ill with that disorder which put an end to his life, he expressed his desire of being reconciled to him, and accordingly granted him a free pardon, without stipulating any terms; soon after which act he died; appointing Christopher his successor, and earnestly recommending it to the nobility round him to support his claim ^a (A).

A.D. 1318.

Eric dies.

Eric is greatly extolled for his piety, sound policy, and justice. None of the wars in which he was engaged were

^a Crantz. p. 309.

(A) Pontanus and Meursius this opinion of him. But we both allege, that he exhorted them not to elect his brother king, knowing well how unfit he was to govern a great kingdom; and indeed Christopher's conduct would seem to justify are inclined to believe from the free pardon he granted him, and upon the authority of Crantz, that he actually named him to the succession (1).

(1) Pontan. lib. vii. Meurs. lib. ii.

so important as to gain him the reputation of a great warrior; yet notwithstanding his pacific disposition, he seemed by no means wanting in valour and military talents. This at least we may affirm, that whatever his success was in the field, he always came off with honour and advantage in every peace which he made. He left behind him no children, though he had fourteen by his queen Ingeburga. This was the greater misfortune, as no part of Eric's character was more remarkable than his paternal affection ^b.

S E C T. VIII

Containing the Reigns of Christopher II. Eric IX. and Valdemar of Sleswick; the Expulsion and Restitution of Christopher, &c. to the Year 1337.

C H R I S T O P H E R II.

ERIC was dead before Christopher received advice of his pardon. Immediately he hastened to Denmark, and finding the throne vacant, he supplicated in the most abject manner, not only the nobility and clergy, but the very dregs and refuse of the people, for their interest at the ensuing election. He distributed presents, and dispersed promises among them with great liberality; in a word, he was the first king of Denmark we find mentioned in history, who obtained his crown by bribery, corruption, and arts unworthy of a prince. His half-brother John, earl of Wagria, canvassed for votes in much the same manner, but with less success; for though the principal persons in the kingdom were disposed to elect Eric, duke of Sleswick, in order to unite that duchy to the crown, yet the vulgar, and Christopher's party, prevailed. He was accordingly seated upon the throne, after a warmly contested election, towards the beginning of the year 1320, about two years after the late king's decease. It would seem that a particular oath was administered to him, different in some respect to that taken by his predecessors; for we find it recited at large by Pontanus, containing in substance,

A.D. 1320.

Christopher obtains the crown by corruption.

The oath administered to Christopher.

‘That the bishops, clergy, and religious societies, of all orders, should be preserved in the full possession of all their liberties and immunities: that the sacerdotal function should be bestowed or permitted, to none but persons duly ordained according to the canons of the church; that fo-

^b Pontan. & Meurs. *ibid*.

reigners, and those who were unacquainted with the vernacular language, should be excluded from all preferments in the church : that a clergyman should, on no account, be tried in a civil court, and subject only to the laws of the spiritual court : that the clergy pay no taxes ; that monasteries should be under no obligation to maintain horses and dogs for the king's use : that knights and noblemen have the privilege of acquitting their vassals accused and convicted of crimes, on their paying a fine not exceeding four marks ; that barons be not obliged to serve in the wars beyond the frontiers of the kingdom : that should they be taken prisoners, the king should redeem them within the space of one year, otherwise they should be exempted from serving a second time ; nor shall it derogate from their honour, that they refuse their service : that the king should neither proclaim war, nor conclude peace, without the consent of the bishops and nobility : that no German, or other foreigner, hold the government or command of any castle, citadel, city, town, or other fortress within the kingdom ; nor occupy any posts or places of any kind or denomination : that all the garrisons of North Jutland, except the fortresses of Coldingen, Scandenburg, and Ripen, be demolished : that a free pardon shall be granted to all outlaws, and their heirs : that no person be prosecuted on account of his attachment to the late king ; on the contrary, the king shall, at his own cost, support all causes for the defendant carried on upon that account : that the king exert his utmost endeavours to quiet and heal up all differences and parties among his subjects : that merchants be free of all duties and entries in the ports of the kingdom : that no constraint or authority, not permitted by law, be laid upon the peasants by the king's officers : that an annual diet be held at Neoburg ; that all the laws passed by Valdemar be preserved in their full force, and their defects supplied only with approbation of the diet : that no person be summoned to the king's court, before his cause has first passed through an inferior court : that no person be condemned to death, or have his goods confiscated, but by public sentence and trial : that all taxes imposed since the death of Valdemar, and particularly the plog-penning be abolished : that all causes be first tried in the court of the particular diocese where the parties reside, next in the provincial court, afterwards in the king's council, and lastly, before the diet, provided such appeals be requisite, and the parties not obliged to come out of their own province : that all places belonging to the crown, pledged to the nobility, shall remain in their hands, unless

unless redeemed at the stated price : that the king summon no subject to appear at any court beyond the limits of his own province : that he be liable to all the late king's debts : that he make not the least alteration in any of the laws or constitutions of the kingdom.' To these articles several others of less consideration were annexed, all of which the king solemnly signed and sealed, a great number of the chief clergy and nobility subscribing as witnesses ^b.

From this oath, or rather instrument, to which the king assented by oath, it appears how limited the regal authority was at this early period ; yet it is probable, from many circumstances, that formerly the prerogative was more extended. The diet had scruples about the character of Christopher, and these induced the people to lay him under restrictions formerly unknown ; and perhaps his own method of applying for their votes had given them the first intimation of this fit opportunity of stretching the privilege of the subject. It is probable too that the clergy had a considerable share in Christopher's election, as we see their immunities secured in a very particular manner.

Immediately the fortresses in North Jutland were demolished, agreeable to the oath, the people pretending that they served as strong-holds for the leaders of faction, though in fact they looked upon them as the means whereby the crown retrenched their own licentious spirit.

A D. 1320.

This year the Swedes rebelled against Magnus, son to Birger, and drove the latter out of the kingdom, together with his queen Margaret. The old monarch sought protection in Denmark, and was received indeed by Christopher, though with less warmth and cordiality than he had formerly experienced from Eric, who had a soul capable of feeling the misfortunes of others.

In the year 1322 the king called a diet, in order to settle the succession, as his health was extremely infirm. He had interest enough to have the crown settled in this his own family, and his son Eric declared presumptive heir, the partner of his authority, and associate in the throne ; at the same time he had him crowned by the bishop of Lunden.

C H R I S T O P H E R II. and E R I C IX.

*Eric IX.
elected an
associate in
the throne.*

It was not before the year 1323, that the public tranquillity began to be disturbed, by the king's neglect of the solemn engagement he had entered into at his accession. His brother's debts he refused to pay ; at least he prevaricated in

^b Pontan. lib. vii. Meurs. lib. iv.

such a manner, that many of the creditors became bankrupt, on account of the large sums due to them from the crown. Besides, he demanded large sums from the clergy, and took back by violence the places he had given in security for the payment of crown debts. These proceedings inflamed the nobility, who immediately flew to arms, and among the first Nicholas Olajus, formerly tribune of the knights, and Canute Persius, late created duke of Halland. To these the archbishop of Lunden joined his interest, together with that of several of the first nobility in Schonen, with all their friends and vassals. Barnevin, a duke and man of distinction in the Vandal country, assembled a number of adherents; in a word, a powerful confederacy was formed against Christopher.

*Christopher
trespasses
upon his
coronation
oath.*

Barnevin commenced hostilities, by making a descent on Schonen, and passing from thence into Zealand, where he destroyed all before him with fire and sword. The king raised a force to oppose him with all expedition; but Barnevin had made himself master of the strong citadel of Hameren near Bornholm, which he garrisoned, and then retreated in good order, before the king could come up. It was not possible for Christopher to pursue him, for the winter came on with so rigorous a frost, that the Baltic was frozen over for forty days, and passengers walked from Denmark upon the ice to the neighbouring kingdoms, as if it had been firm land. He was eager, however, to regain the citadel of Hameren, and ordered Peter Wendell to invest it with a body of troops. Wendell obeyed his master's orders, carrying on his operations with so much vigour, that the garrison surrendered prisoners of war in the space of a few days, in spite of all the endeavours of the archbishop of Lunden, who left no measures untried for its defence.

This year the king gave his daughter in marriage, with a portion of twelve thousand marks in silver, to Lewis of Brandenburg, son of Lewis of Bavaria, and by way of security for the payment of the money, certain crown lands in Livonia. By this step he hoped to strengthen his interest, and gain allies who might be useful in supporting him against his refractory vassals.

A.D. 1324.

*Lewis of
Brandenburg mar-
ries Chri-
stopher's
daughter.*

In the course of the following year died the duke of Sleswick, leaving behind a young son called Valdemar. The king believing that the guardianship of this minor belonged of right to him, entered the duchy with an army, and seized upon all the cities, towns, and fortresses, except Gottorp, which he invested: Gerhard, count of Rand-

burg, uncle to the young duke, assuming his right to the guardianship, was provoked at Christopher's conduct. He accordingly raised a body of forces in Holstein, gave battle to the king before Gottorp, defeated him, and raised the siege. To this contention were added fresh troubles, owing to the death of Wittislaw, prince of Rugen, who held this territory and Stralsunde as fiefs of the crown of Denmark. He was however no sooner dead, than the country was over-run by the neighbouring Vandal princes, whom the king determined to expel by force. In order to support the expences of such a war, he levied a tax upon his subjects, by renewing the plog-penning, contrary to his oath. Next he raised an army, subdued the surrounding country, then invaded the island, which he reduced, and punished those who had been instrumental in inviting the Vandal princes.

The plog-penning tax renewed.

The renewal of plog-penning had a bad effect: it made the discontent more general; when a tax equally oppressive, but levied in a different manner, and under any other name, would have been tolerated. To this was added another piece of misconduct, which enraged the clergy, the most dangerous enemies to a prince, by reason of their influence with the people. Some alterations which he made in Cnaredrope monastery in Zealand, without consulting the bishops, was construed into a contempt of the whole order: the bishops began to fulminate, and the inferior clergy to preach against the government. Christopher was accused of perjury, of a design to extirpate the sacred function, and trample on the neck of liberty. The bishops cried out, that their privileges were grossly infringed: the nobles exclaimed, that he aimed at absolute power, the ruin of the nobility, by refusing to pay his brother's debts, and recovering by force the pledges they held in security of payment. The people murmured at the weight of taxes, and especially at plog-penning, the most grievous of all taxes, because it fell wholly on the poor labourer. Rebellion talked aloud, discontent appeared in every quarter, and soon a confederacy was formed to depose Christopher and his son Eric. The duke of Halland, Canute Porsius, the archbishop of Lunden, Laurence Jonea, Lewis Everstein, and a great number of nobility, published a proclamation, inviting all the friends of liberty to throw off the yoke, and oppose the rapid progress of tyranny and oppression. They declared the government of Christopher was no longer tolerable; they therefore resolved to withdraw their allegiance, and use their utmost endeavours to depose him.

Christopher resided in the castle of Wartemburg when this proclamation appeared: he saw Jutland, Schonen, Zealand

Zealand, and Fionia, united against him; but, instead of applying lenitives, he used force, and sent his son Eric against the rebels, proposing to follow him directly with a strong reinforcement. He advised him, indeed, to terminate matters, if possible, in an amicable manner, rather than hazard a battle; but it was now too late to heal the wound, which nothing less than extirpation could cure. Eric marched to Torneburg, and was there surrounded by the malecontents, who besieged him on every side, and, in less than a week, made him and his whole army prisoners. The news of this disaster soon reached Christopher: he found himself unequal in strength to his subjects, seized on his treasure, and fled with it to Germany, accompanied by his sons Valdemar and Otho. There he laid his circumstances before the Vandal princes, and his son-in-law, Lewis of Brandenburg, craving their assistance in restoring him to his throne.

*Christopher
abdicates
the crown.*

In the mean time the malecontents, perceiving that the crown was abdicated, entered into a strict league with Valdemar, duke of Sleswick, then twelve years of age; whereby they engaged to stand by each other, and oppose all Christopher's attempts to recover his throne, and the guardianship of Sleswick. Christopher, collecting together a fleet, by means of his son-in-law and the Vandals, returned to Denmark, and made several unsuccessful attempts to recover the crown he had lost by his own imprudence.

A. D. 1326.

VALDEMAR of SLESWICK.

THE nobility, and principal persons concerned in the league, resolved now to cut him off from all hopes of ever returning. With this view they assembled at Neoburg, and, with the consent of the people^a, publicly raised Valdemar of Sleswick to the throne (A). In order to bind the clergy strongly to his interest, he began his reign by conferring favours on them. He confirmed the diocese of

^a Meurs. lib. iv. part. iii. p. 70. Pontan. lib. vii.

(A) We must observe that many objections were raised against the legality of this election. The king alone had power to convoke a diet; but here the league assumed to themselves a regal authority. Pontanus says, that Valdemar was elected by an assembly of the nobility, without once mentioning a general diet, or the votes of the different states. The event shews what the general opinion was, for Valdemar enjoyed his new-acquired dignity but a short time.

Sleswick;

Disturbances in the kingdom.

Sleswick, and all the churches, fees, and monasteries of the kingdom, in all the privileges and immunities which they had ever enjoyed. The same favour he granted to a number of cities and corporations. He made over South Jutland to his uncle Gerhard of Rendsburg, and his heirs, to be held as a fief of the crown. He granted several other privileges to the nobility and people, the more firmly to attach them to his interest; yet, after all, his reign was so short, that he scarce deserves to be ranked among the kings. Valdemar had raised his warmest friends to so high a pitch of authority, as drew upon him the envy of others, who thought their services merited the same regard. His youth gave room for cabal and faction: each strove who should govern the young monarch, and of consequence the whole kingdom. Unfortunately no regent was appointed, but that power was lodged in the hands of the nobility, or rather in those of the king's chief favourites (B). The public repose was first disturbed by a difference between Uffe and the archbishop of Lunden. Next Eric, son of Valdemar, king of Sweden, arrived in Denmark, to lay claim to his mother's fortune. Many malecontents appeared in Schonen, Fionia, Zealand, Jutland, and other parts of the kingdom. But what furnished the first opportunity for open rebellion, was a tax imposed on the Zealanders, in order to redeem some of the crown-lands. The people refused to pay the tax; they took arms to support their refusal; but were soon crushed by the sudden arrival of a party of the king's troops. To this dispute was added a contest between the duke of Mecklenburg and the children of Vitislav, prince of Rugen, about the district surrounding the island. The latter had recourse to king Valdemar, or rather to his uncle Gerhard, who sent a body of horse to their assistance, defeated the duke's troops, and then concluded a treaty with him, which was soon broke after the departure of the Danes.

A.D. 1328.

Christopher takes measures for recovering his crown.

All this while Christopher was busied in forming a plan for the recovery of his crown. He wrote to several of the bishops and nobility, who, he knew, were dissatisfied with the little share they had in the government of affairs. He used every possible endeavour to draw off his brother, the earl of Wagria, from his allegiance to the king: he engag-

(B) Meursius affirms, that Gerhard, the king's uncle, had all the authority of regent; yet we do not find his name men-

tioned in any of the public acts. On the contrary, they are all signed by a great number of different persons.

ed the bishop of Cologne, by a subsidy of twenty thousand marks in silver, to assist him with all his force in deposing Valdemar; he solicited the princes of the empire, and even the emperor himself, for succour. In these applications his son-in-law of Brandenburg exerted himself, having made a visit in person to the emperor to plead the cause of Christopher. He dispersed declarations through every part of Denmark, promising to redress all grievances, and never to undertake any public affair without consulting and obtaining the consent of a general diet.

While Christopher was employed in this manner, the marquis of Brandenburg took his son Valdemar to his own court, in order to have him instructed in those arts becoming a prince. He obtained letters from the emperor, addressed to Gerhard, and the other nobility of Denmark, recommending to them to chuse umpires, who should equitably adjust the differences between Christopher and his subjects, and the claims of the present and the late king. But the only answer returned to these letters was, that Valdemar possessed the crown by a regular and lawful election; therefore the proposed umpires were altogether unnecessary.

Christopher could obtain nothing more than these letters of request from the emperor; however, he procured promises from the archbishop of Lunden, the bishops of Arhusen and Ripen, together with a number of the nobility, that their services should not be wanting, provided he appeared in Denmark with a proper force to support their rising.

About this time it was that Canute Porcius insolently seized some effects, the property of the inhabitants of Werle, who had always been the fast friends of Christopher. They had now an opportunity of serving him, under the mask of defending their own rights; and for this purpose they formed an alliance with Magnus, king of Sweden. Then Christopher, assisted by their forces, and likewise the troops of Mecklenburg, together with a body raised by the count of Vagria, and some other noblemen in his interest, passed with a fleet to Laaland and Falsstre, laying siege to the city of Nicoping, which he took. Proceeding from thence to Wartemburg, he defeated a large body of peasants, who were assembled to oppose him. He then published a proclamation, promising a free pardon to those who would, before a certain day, return to their duty and allegiance.

A.D. 1329.

*Several
princes
take arms
in Christo-
pher's be-
half.*

The

The Danes were now tired of their new government: they saw that all places of profit and trust were possessed by Germans, and felt all the inconveniences and oppression in the minority of Valdemar, which they dreaded from Christopher. They began to reflect on the conduct of both reigns, and concluded in favour of the banished king. In effecting this change in their sentiments the bishops were greatly instrumental. Every fault in the administration of Valdemar was exaggerated, and all the errors of the former reign varnished over and extenuated. The inhabitants of Zealand, Falstre, and Laaland, first openly espoused the king, together with the archbishop of Lunden, the bishops of Ripen and Arhusen, as well as a great body of the nobility of Schonen. Their first transaction was to make a sudden attack on Haderslave, where Eric was confined, and, after having rescued him, to dispatch a body of troops under his command to favour the motions in Zealand ^b.

*Eric re-
scued out of
prison.*

Then a diet was held at Roschild, where they were again taken into favour by Christopher; the king promising a full pardon on the one hand, and they the most faithful services on the other.

C H R I S T O P H E R restored.

HAFFNIA was now surrendered by Inquar Hiort to the king; some jealousies arose between him and the count of Wagria, which had nearly blighted all his hopes, and destroyed his cause in this its promising situation. From some expressions, as well as the haughty conduct of the count's officers, Christopher apprehended, that he secretly aspired at the crown; and that all the steps he had seemingly taken in his favour were only blinds to throw a shade over some deeper design. Filled with this idea, he suddenly dropped his operations against Valdemar, and was contriving the means of countermining the count, when the bishops and nobility, foreseeing the consequences of such a division, applied all their endeavours to close the breach. They succeeded, the parties met, and Christopher made over Zealand, Laaland, Falstre, and Schonen, as pledges for the payment of the expences the count had been at in his service.

Unhappily, this re-union could not be effected on the conditions stipulated, without wronging others of the king's best and most powerful friends. Almost all Schonen had been mortgaged to Lewis Everstein; other lands had al-

ready been given to others of the nobility, and, in particular, both the Hallands to Canute Porcius. It was necessary then that a new treaty should be framed, without the inconveniences which attended the present. Accordingly it was stipulated, that Canute should enjoy Halland; but give up North Aisbaen, Callemburg, and Samsoe, to the Werle family, to which they belonged by a previous contract; that Everstein, his heirs, and brother Albert, should resign all claim to Elsimburg, which was immediately to be put in the king's hands. Several lesser exchanges and alterations were made, which it would be unnecessary to recite, as they no ways affected the future transactions. Sufficient it is to observe, that Christopher's party was again united; and that he published a declaration, that all differences between him and the count of Wagria were removed; that Femeren was given to the count, to be held as a fief; that Laaland and the fortress of Alholm were pledged to him, as security for two thousand marks of silver lent to the king; that he held Schonen and Zealand, until other loans to the crown should be paid off; besides the city of Callemburg, which the king held only in trust for him, and for the present convenience of affairs: that all those places specified in the treaty should belong to the duke of Mecklenburg, Canute Porcius, the archbishop of Lunden, and the other persons there mentioned, on the terms stipulated; and lastly, that the slightest infraction should be punished with the fines, forfeitures, and other penalties agreed upon.

Thus Femeren came into the hands of the count of Wagria, who was at the same time declared potentate and superior of Normer, Holstein, Laaland, Faltre, Schonen, and governor of Zealand, all these jurisdictions being held under the crown.

Valdemar and his uncle Gerhard were now reduced to great necessities, their chief protection consisting in the severe and rigid conduct of Christopher, whose haughty asperity rendered him every day less popular. This insatuated prince was elated with the sudden revolution in his favour; he forgot all the consequences of his past misconduct; proposed nothing besides the extension of the prerogative, and seemed entirely ignorant how delicate, how capricious are the humours and disposition of a free people, who enjoy the privilege of electing and deposing at pleasure. He considered himself as the king, not the servant of the public; and, intoxicated with this notion, treated with contempt, nay punished his best friends, for having

*Christo-
pher's mis-
conduct.*

the affection and integrity to point out his errors, and advise him to different measures. An instance of this spirit occurred in the case of the bishop of Borgland, an honest prelate, who took the king roundly to task, and was rewarded for his wholesome advice by imprisonment, from whence he escaped, fled to Rome, and proved a thorn ever after in Christopher's side, who he saw was incapable of reformation. On the bishop's first arrival in Rome the whole kingdom felt the weight of his resentment; for it was immediately laid under an interdiction, which continued for the space of seven years, in spite of all endeavours to have it removed.

Christopher having engaged the nobility of Jutland against Valdemar, he doubted not but they alone would be able to reduce him and his uncle Gerhard, while he himself might enjoy the fruits of this sudden and unlooked-for prosperity in repose. Accordingly they laid siege to Gottorp, where Valdemar resided; but were forced to decamp with great precipitation, upon hearing that Gerhard advanced to give them battle.

*Valdemar
resigns the
crown.*

After this transaction the count of Wagria set a treaty on foot for a general peace. He saw that Denmark would never be happy under two kings of opposite interests; he foresaw the bloodshed and civil wars that must ensue from such a rivalry, and unnatural partition. He therefore proposed to Valdemar, whose power was now in the wain, to accept of a certain yearly revenue, and resign his whole right to Christopher; but this could not be done without satisfying Gerhard, who claimed Sleswick as an hereditary fief. In exchange for this he received the island Fionia, on the same terms, with this condition only, that he should supply Christopher, in all his wars, with five hundred horse at his own private expence. Valdemar laid aside the royal badges, accepted the annuity, and retired to his own duchy of Sleswick. In order to draw the knot of union the harder, Eric, Christopher's son, married Gerhard's sister, widow of the elder Eric; and thus Christopher was fully restored to the crown and sovereignty of Denmark, of which his conduct shewed him altogether unworthy.

A.D. 1330.

*Queen
Euphemia
dies.*

The joy that succeeded this happy end to civil feuds was allayed by the death of queen Euphemia, a daughter of the house of Brandenburg, and a princess of excellent qualities. She left Christopher six children, two of whom afterwards succeeded to his throne.

A.D. 1331.

This year a controversy arose between John, count of Wagria, and Gerhard, earl of Fionia, the cause of which
is.

is not related. It is, however, of consequence, as it involved Christopher in a war, and obliged him to take the field in defence of John, to whom he owed his crown and kingdom. Christopher and Eric were busied in levying forces. John determined to join them near Odisslaw. It was of the greatest importance to Gerhard to prevent this junction, as the combined forces would be too strong for him; and he exerted his endeavours with an application proportioned to the emergency. He sent to the diocese of Bremen, to Westphalia, and to the counts of Brockhurst, his kinsmen, to meet him, with certain auxiliaries, at Rendsburg, giving them, at the same time, sufficient intimation of his design. After having assembled his whole army, he marched towards Gottorp, met Christopher and John on the road, and engaged them. The battle continued for the whole day with unparalleled obstinacy and fury: Gerhard was like to be worsted, but finding means to disperse money among Christopher's troops, he soon retrieved his affairs, and gained a complete victory, the king and Eric escaping out of the field with great difficulty. Otho, Christopher's second son, with a great number of nobility and private officers, were made prisoners; but Gerhard himself was wounded, and well nigh trampled to death, when he was thrown from his horse in the heat of the action.

*Christopher
and Ger-
hard quar-
rel.*

Gerhard, on this victory, entered into an alliance with his nephew Valdemar, the late king, who now began to harbour thoughts of remounting the throne. Several of the chief nobility already declared for him; so ready are men, upon all occasions, to embrace the stronger party, and pay their court to prosperity. Even Stigot, a nobleman but lately favoured with considerable donations by Christopher, now fell off from his friendship and gratitude. His inclinations altered with that prince's fortune, as if nothing was due to a king who had nothing more to bestow. His views were, however, disappointed; for the count of Wagria persuaded Christopher to make peace on the terms proposed by the conqueror, which were moderate, beyond expectation, no attempts having been made to deprive him of his crown.

A.D. 1332

*Peace con-
cluded.*

Christopher was scarce arrived in Zealand, when he had advice of the death of his son Eric, from a bruise he had received in the late battle. He ordered the corpse to be brought to Roschild, where it was interred with great fu-

*Disturbances in
Schonen.*

neral pomp, and deposited among the remains of several kings of Denmark (C).

About this time great disturbances arose in Schonen. The inhabitants complained loudly of the oppression of the foreign governors set over them; and particularly remonstrated to count John against the conduct of Eyger Brocktorp, governor of Helsenburg. They took arms, assembled in a large body, and, ranging the country in a riotous manner, put the Holsteiners to death wherever they found them. The Holsteiners, who were the foreigners so odious to the people, were consulting measures in the cathedral of Lunden for appeasing the tumult, when the discontented populace broke in and slew three hundred of them. Afterwards, when they perceived that their resistance only served to add weight to their yoke, Christopher's late defeat rendering him unable to assist them, they made an offer of the country to Magnus, king of Sweden. This prince, glad of an opportunity to extend his dominions, graciously received their proposals, and met them at Calmar, to adjust the conditions of this surrender. Here were present several of the nobility, who cheerfully ceded the sovereignty to the king, provided he would protect them in all their liberties, a condition to which he readily subscribed.

*The
Swedes
join the
rebels.*

This news no sooner reached the Holsteiners than, despairing of being able to maintain possession of the country by force, they quietly evacuated it. Count John himself yielding to necessity, and the power of Sweden, ceded almost all the other places pledged to him, for the sum of seventy thousand marks, which Magnus agreed to pay at a certain time. Thus the Danish dominions were divided and sold to a foreign power, in consequence of that weak and ill-judged partition made at the restoration of Christopher.

A.D. 1333.

*Christopher
made pri-
soner.*

Next year proved fatal to the liberty and life of Christopher; for, going to Laaland with a small retinue, he was seized by Hennick Bred, and John Ellemose, favourites of Gerhard, and carried prisoner to the castle of Allholm. As this action, however, was committed without consulting Gerhard, and only on a presumption that it would be agreeable to him, he ordered the king immediately to be set at liberty, apologizing in the best manner he could for the

(C) According to Pontanus at Sora, in the ground appropriated to the kings of Denmark (1).
the body was embalmed in the Egyptian manner, and interred

(1) Pontan. lib. vii. p. 454.

indignity

indignity offered to his royal person : but the king did not live long to enjoy his freedom. The shock he received by this sudden fall from the pinnacle of grandeur so much affected his constitution, that he fell ill, and died in a few days at Nicoping, and was buried with his queen at Sora.

Christopher was a headstrong prince, violent, but unsteady in all his pursuits. His pride, however, was what chiefly affected his interest. The arrogance with which he governed lost him a crown, which he acquired by a servile humility. Twice driven from his throne, he died at last of grief, contracted rather from disappointed ambition than contrition for the misconduct that occasioned his loss. Since his restoration he possessed none of the hereditary dominions of Denmark besides Scanderburg of Jutland, and Neoburg of Fionia, all the rest being given as pledges of his gratitude to the instruments of his remounting the throne (D). Halland, Holbec, Calemburg, and Samsoe, were held by Canute Porcius ; Schonen, Lyftre, and Bleking, by Magnus, king of Sweden, to whom they were lately sold ; John, count of Wagria, had the jurisdictions of Zealand, Falstre, Laaland, and Femeren ; Gerhard of Jutland and Fionia, and Lawrence Jonea of Langland and Arras ; the king only preserving the sovereignty, together with a few inconsiderable islands, and the cities we have mentioned.

His character.

(D) Pontanus says, that he was so much hated, that his memory was stigmatized with very bitter lampoons, which were publicly recited round the country. He speaks reservedly, though it is probable he had seen some of those pieces, and refrains from inserting any of them, out of respect and tenderness to this unfortunate prince (2).

(2) Pontan. lib. vii.

S E C T. IX.

*In which the History is deduced to the Reign of Eric X.
in the Year 1412.*

I N T E R R E G N U M.

*State of
Denmark
during the
interreg-
num.*

UPON the death of Christopher, an interregnum for seven years ensued. The condition in which he left the kingdom was truly deplorable; parcelled out under different princes, who had all separate interests, designs upon each other, no less jealous of encroachments on their own rights than ambitious of extending them to the prejudice of the others. For the space of three years Denmark, however, enjoyed profound peace; and the public repose was first disturbed in a manner very little expected, considering the present situation of affairs.

A.D. 1337.

It was about the beginning of the year 1337, that Otho, second son to the late king, made a generous and noble attempt to recover the throne of his ancestors. He levied forces in Laaland, and the neighbouring continent, in hopes that, could he drive Gerhard out of Jutland, he should easily make his way to the crown: but this veteran foldier and politician was not to be taken in the snares laid by a youth. He discovered Otho's intentions, surrounded him at Jemptland, and carried him prisoner to Sedgburg castle, where he was kept in close confinement until his brother Valdemar released him, on his accession to the throne.

*The king
of Swe-
den's de-
signs on
Denmark.*

Magnus, king of Sweden, having unexpectedly come to the possession of Schonen, thirsted ardently after all the rest of Denmark. He wrote to pope Benedict XIII. beseeching his holiness to confirm this province to him and his successors, and permit him at the same time to subdue the rest of the kingdom, now usurped and rendered miserable by the tyranny of a set of petty princes, who, unaccustomed to authority, knew not how to govern. To influence pope Benedict the more powerfully, he promised to hold his conquests of the holy see, and to pay him the usual tax collected for the church. Benedict, however, was so prudent and just as not to grant his request.

*Valdemar
of Sles-
wick re-
sumes
thoughts of
reinstating
himself on
the throne.*

Nor were there wanting other candidates for the crown. Valdemar of Sleswick, who had long laid aside all thoughts of remounting the throne to which he had been once elected, now resumed ambitious views at the instigation of his uncle Gerhard. Several of the nobility cast their eyes towards young Valdemar, Christopher's son, who was now

at

at the emperor's court. They sent him letters assuring him of their fidelity, and of the affection of the people in general, who were eager to be united under one prince, and earnestly exhorted him to make use of his interest in Germany to procure a sufficient force to cover their insurrection in his favour. While each of these princes was laying projects, and concerting means for executing his designs, the unhappy Danes were miserably oppressed with exorbitant taxes, famine, and pestilence. The peasants neglected to cultivate lands which they held upon so precarious a tenure; this omission begot poverty, which co-operating with the peculiar disposition of the air, and the unwholesome diet on which they were forced to live, produced a direful plague, that more than half depopulated the face of the whole country. The poor dropped down dead in the streets with disease and hunger; the gentry themselves were reduced to a state of wretchedness; the whole kingdom was sinking into ruin, and yet ambition, treason, plots, and contrivances, engrossed the whole attention of the great.

The miserable condition of the country.

Gerhard proposed to his nephew to exchange the duchy of Sleswick for North Jutland, which province he believed would more commodiously assist Valdemar's designs upon the crown. A treaty for this purpose was drawn up and signed; but the inhabitants so highly resented their being disposed of like cattle, from one master to another, that they refused to pay the usual taxes. Gerhard resolved to compel them to their duty, and led ten thousand men, which he levied in Germany, into the midst of the province. Providence interposed in favour of the poor inhabitants, and raised up an enemy to this tyrant, who determined to sacrifice his life, or rescue his country. Nicholas Norevi, a man in great esteem for his public spirit, his courage, prudence, and learning, beheld with sorrow the condition to which Denmark was reduced. He had long meditated a variety of projects for its relief; but circumstances were unfavourable, and his own interest and fortune too slender to effect such great designs. Things were at last in such a train, that he believed the whole depended on his single arm. Young Valdemar, Christopher's son, had a number of powerful adherents in the kingdom; his most dangerous enemy was Gerhard, and could he be removed, the greatest difficulty of uniting the kingdom would be surmounted, at least the Jutlanders would be relieved from the oppression of a tyrant, who was now preparing for them the keenest scourge of oppression. Nicholas resolved this circumstance in his mind, and, after mature de-

Ambitious designs of Gerhard.

The noble attempts of Nicholas Norevi.

liberation on the means, took the resolution to dispatch him, persuading himself that no method of ridding a whole kingdom from misery, could justly detract from the character of the deliverer. Collecting a body of forty chosen horse, he marched in the night to Randershusen, where Gerhard had fixed his head-quarters, seized upon the sentinels, and pushed on to Gerhard's lodging, which he forced open. Gerhard was awaked with the noise, and seeing Nicholas enter with a party of armed men, began to supplicate him in the most pathetic terms to save his life, offering to subscribe to any terms he should think fit to impose; but Nicholas was determined. He thought the life of the tyrant a just atonement of the injuries the people had suffered; he considered, that his death alone could deliver them from the schemes and artifices of a man, who had a head to contrive, and a hand to execute the most daring and ambitious designs: he therefore plunged, without farther deliberation, his sword into his breast, and then made his retreat with all possible expedition, after having given the alarm to the whole army, by sounding horns and beating drums. Nicholas was pursued and overtaken by a party of Gerhard's army, through which he fought his way and escaped, after having encountered the greatest dangers; and Gerhard's sons hearing of his death, retired precipitately into Holstein, leaving the army, chiefly composed of Holsteiners, to be cut in pieces by the enraged peasants, who fell upon them from every quarter.

*Gerhard
killed.*

Still, however, the Holsteiners kept possession of the citadels and fortified places, from which Nicholas resolved to dislodge them. He accordingly raised a body of forces, attacked and took Landen, a castle situated on the river Scherne; after which exploit, he laid siege to Alberg; but the garrison making an obstinate defence, he turned the siege into a blockade, by which he reduced them to great extremity. The governor sent an express to the sons of Gerhard, acquainting them with his condition, and the impossibility of holding out but a few days longer, a circumstance which determined them to march with the utmost expedition to the relief of a place so important. They came up with Nicholas just as the governor was ready to surrender, gave him battle, and were defeated, though Nicholas was unfortunately killed before he reaped the fruits of his gallantry, and his country enjoyed that liberty to which he had so bravely led the way^a.

^a Vide Pont. Meurs. & Crantz. *ibid*.

Jutland having thus recovered its freedom, all the rest of Denmark was fired with the same views. Zealand first openly declared itself and took arms: here Henry, Gerhard's son, maintained several garrisons and cities, which he resolved to defend in spite of all the power of the inhabitants. For this purpose he drew together an army; but in the mean time a tumult arose among the peasants on account of a Danish nobleman slain by the Holsteiners, an outrage which so irritated the people that they fell upon the Holsteiners sword in hand. Having slain three hundred of them, they drove the rest out of the island, and elected Valdemar, Christopher's son, for their sovereign.

A.D. 1340.

VALDEMAR III. surnamed ATTERDAG.

TO this prince's elevation the emperor Lewis greatly contributed, at whose court Valdemar was bred. He summoned a congress at Spandaw, in the March of Brandenburg; at which were present Lewis of Brandenburg, Barnim of Pomerania, Henry, John, and Nicholas, sons of Gerhard, with several other princes and noblemen. With the three latter princes, and Valdemar of Sleswick, the marquis executed a treaty, that Otho, Christopher's son, should be set at liberty, provided he would resign his right to the crown to his brother Valdemar; that he should be put into the hands of the king his brother, or of the marquis; that king Valdemar should marry the duke of Sleswick's sister, and receive for her portion eighty thousand marks, to be deducted from the sum for which Fionia and Jutland were pledged; that Valdemar should not protect the murderers of Gerhard, but openly declare against whoever should espouse them. A variety of other particulars were included; but what occasioned the greatest difficulties, and took up the most time, was the redemption of the lands pledged by the late king to those princes who had contributed to his restoration; even this, however, was settled in a satisfactory manner, both to the king and people; though not altogether so to the persons who held those lands, and were in hopes it would be out of the power of the crown to redeem them.

Valdemar III. raised to the throne.

The first act of Valdemar's reign was to confirm the nobles, clergy, and people, in the full possession of all their rights, privileges, and immunities, which had been greatly retrenched during the interregnum. An act of oblivion was likewise passed, in order to cancel the remembrance of all such actions as would serve only to disturb the public tranquillity. He next entered into a compact with Henry and Nicholas, sons to Gerhard, concerning Fionia, importing,

A.D. 1351.

Valdemar confirms the privileges of the people.

porting, that, provided the king died without issue, the island should remain unalienably their property; otherwise it should return to his family, whenever they found it convenient to redeem this and the neighbouring islands. It was farther agreed, that if the brothers committed any infraction, or breach of the conventions of Lubeck and Hallsenburg, the king should, in that case, have power to seize the royal garrisons in Zealand, and likewise the castles of Neoburg, Orkela, and Hinnsefulve. We see how favourable all these treaties were to Valdemar, who seemed determined to make use of the first opportunity of reclaiming all the crown-lands, which had been so iniquitously sold by the late king, or rather seized upon by those pretended friends who exalted him to an empty title, only to enjoy solid profits for themselves.

*Grant of
the clergy.*

In the next place, the king turned his thoughts to the redemption of the remaining fortresses in the hands of the Holsteiners; and to enable him to effect this purpose, the clergy granted him a silver cup from each church, which was melted down and coined, though never applied to the purpose intended. Long arrears were due to the army; they began to murmur, and it was thought expedient to pay them.

*War with
the earl of
Wagria.*

In the course of the following year a war broke out, on the following account. Valdemar insisted, that Callemburg and Samsoe could not be ceded by his father to Canute Porcius, as a former grant had been made of them to Eric, duke of Swedeland, at the time he married Ingeburga. Eric was alive when this last grant was made, consequently it could not be valid; but as he was now dead, these places reverted to the crown as fiefs. On the contrary, the count of Wagria maintained his right to Callemburg, which had been made over to him by Canute Porcius, in consideration of an equivalent. Valdemar invested the place, and John levied troops to relieve it, forming likewise an alliance with Ingeburga, the earl of Holstein, and the Vandal cities, from which he received strong reinforcements. He marched so suddenly upon the king, and was so seasonably supported by a sally from the town, that Valdemar was defeated, and obliged to raise the siege. Upon this event, a treaty was set on foot, and it was agreed, that the dispute should be left to the arbitration of four persons on each side, of probity and understanding, who should meet at Rosehild, and determine either according to the rigour of the law, or agree upon such an accommodation as they saw would be for the mutual interest of the parties. It was farther stipulated, that if either

*Congress
for esta-
blishing
a treaty.*

party

party refused to accede to the award of the commissioners, these latter should be obliged to make oath they had decided according to the best of their judgment: but in case it should happen that the commissioners could come to no agreement, that then the archbishop of Lunden should take cognizance of the affair. As for other disputes between the king and the duke, they were submitted to the arbitration of an equal number of judges, in order to remove all cause of dissension between the two princes. We hear nothing more of the principal quarrel, and are only told that the king and Ingeburga amicably agreed, that the fortress of Callenburg should remain in his hands, and she, in return hold, during her life, North Halland as an equivalent; which last clause was never executed.

The Danes now began to resume their ancient courage, on seeing a legitimate prince seated on the throne, and the Danish dominions, so lately divided among a number of petty tyrants, united into one sovereignty. They more and more breathed out their resentment against all foreigners, who fattened upon the spoils of the land, and enjoyed the chief places of trust and profit. For a number of years Denmark had been the theatre of continual domestic and foreign wars, which filled every place with confusion and dismay. One of the most powerful kingdoms on earth, after having given law to such a number of other nations, fell at length under the dominion of some insignificant vassals, who laid desolate her fairest provinces, and ruined and oppressed her inhabitants. Now she began again to taste the sweets of liberty, and to resume her wonted freedom. Jealousy soon brought them to blows with those hated foreigners; and the son of that Nicholas who had shewn the first dawn of liberty, by putting count Gerhard to death, now led the way, says Pontanus, to the full exertion of its natural rights. This author relates, contrary to the testimony of some other historians, that this patriot assembling a small number of Jutlanders, the inveterate enemies of the house of Holstein, marched to Lundenes, where he razed a fort which Henry of Holstein had built on the river Scerne. Henry flew to the protection of this place; a battle was fought, and the brave Nicholas died victorious, with his arms in his hands, after having performed actions of astonishing valour ^b.

A.D. 1342.

The people incensed against the Holsteiners.

Another remarkable battle was fought, on this occasion, between Frederick Laahen, grand marechal of Denmark, and Marchard, lord of Scandia, and governor of the for-

^b Pontan. lib. viii.

trefs of Wardenburg. The action was obstinate and bloody; but victory at length declared for the mareschal. With this action civil contention for a time subsided, on the king's promise to suffer the duke of Holstein to remain in possession of all the strong holds according to the stipulations in the last convention.

A D. 1343.

In the following year Zealand was ravaged, both by foreigners and the inhabitants of the island. Coge, one of the finest cities in the kingdom, was reduced to ashes, and several others were miserably pillaged. It would seem that new disputes had arisen between the Danes and Holsteiners; for they fought a bloody battle near Flasmol, in which the Danes were defeated, and Boic Folk, one of their generals, and the king's prime favourite, was taken prisoner. The disgrace was sensibly felt by the Danes, and they omitted no opportunity of revenging it. Wherever they met the Holsteiners they fell upon them, and massacred them without pity, or distinction of age or sex. In a word, the tumult was not appeased before they had satiated their revenge with the blood of three hundred of these foreigners.

*Valdemar
forms
schemes for
redeeming
the crown
lands, and
recovering
Schonen.*

But if Valdemar glowed with impatience to see Jutland in the hands of the Holsteiners, he was still more incensed that Schonen should have become a Swedish province, and that the inhabitants should be daily more attached to their new sovereign, on account of the privileges and immunities he liberally and politicly heaped upon them. Yet was it was impossible for him, in the present unsettled state of affairs, to attempt the recovery of this valuable province by arms: he thought it more adviseable to smother his resentment until he should be more firmly established on the throne. Accordingly a treaty was signed between the two crowns, or rather the preliminaries to a treaty, in which it was stipulated, that the utmost endeavours of both parties should be exerted to terminate all differences between the king and the subjects of each, and to cut off all cause of future dissensions. Such was the substance of the whole; nothing more than vague and general promises of friendship appeared, without any other meaning, probably, on either side, than to deceive and lull each other into security.

*The bishop
of Arhus
arrested.*

About this time Swen, bishop of Arhus, and Paul, deacon of Roschild, were arrested by the king's orders in the public streets, and conducted prisoners to Padeborn, a fortress in Zealand. We are not informed of Valdemar's reasons for committing such violence on the persons of two prelates of distinction; it is however agreed by all historians, that a council of the clergy met at Wedel, and laid the

the whole kingdom under a severe interdiction on account of this action. It does not appear that Valdemar was greatly disconcerted by this denunciation of the bishops, for we see him bestowing the same attention to the recovery of the hereditary domains of the crown, and the island of Falstre and city of Nicoping actually wrested out of the hands of the count of Wagria, to whom they had been pledged by Christopher.

Towards the beginning of next year, Valdemar's queen, Hedwigg, was delivered of a prince, whose birth annulled the cession that was made of Fionia in favour of the house of Holstein. A new treaty was concluded therefore between the two courts, in which Valdemar revoked the clause respecting Fionia; they mutually promised assistance against all enemies whatsoever, the king only excepting the king of Sweden and the duke of Stetin, with whom he was in strict alliance; and it was agreed, that if any unforeseen difference should arise, it might be referred to the arbitration of Valdemar, duke of Sleswick.

A.D. 1344.

A young prince born.

No sooner was this treaty signed, than Valdemar employed Nicholas of Limbec, whom he had just created mareschal of Denmark, to negotiate with the princes of Holstein concerning the redemption of Seburg. The ransom was paid, and the two prelates of Arhus and Roschild were set at liberty; then the bishops took off the interdiction, about which Valdemar had given himself but little trouble, though the people began to express great uneasiness.

Callemburg was, in the mean while, surrendered to the king by Ingeburga, widow of Canute Porsius, agreeable to the late convention; but the king of Sweden kept her out of possession of Halland, under pretence that this province was annexed to his crown by the same title as Schonen. This however was a mere pretext in order to cover more secret designs; for it is certain, that Halland had never been engaged to the count of Wagria, having only been given under the name of a government to Eric, father to the present king of Sweden. Valdemar was incensed at this conduct, but he found it convenient still to suppress his resentment, while Ingeburga remained alone the sufferer, being equally deprived of Callemburg and Halland, its equivalent^c.

Callemburg surrenders to the king.

About the close of the year a general diet was held at Wiburg; from whence the king marched directly against the Friselanders, who had refused, for a series of years, to

The king marches against the Frieslanders.

^c Vide Pontan. lib. viii. Meurs. lib. iv.

pay a certain tribute to which they had been formerly subject. He entered their country in an hostile manner, and found no great difficulty in reducing them to obedience. Having finished this expedition, he made another to the island of Zealand, and laid siege to a new fortress the Holsteiners had built near Næstwed, contrary to the late treaty. Valdemar insisted, that either it should be delivered up to him, or dismantled; and the princes of Holstein were strenuous in having the price it had cost in building paid to them, and liberty to carry off all their effects; both which demands the king refused. The siege was accordingly formed; but before any great progress was made, a negotiation was set on foot, and the affair amicably adjusted. About this time Valdemar likewise consented, that Narva, a city in Esthonia, which had been the occasion of numberless disputes, should remain in the hands of the Teutonic knights for the space of one year, they promising to defend it against all attempts of the barbarians.

A.D. 1345.

*A view of
Valdemar's
politics.*

As the princes of Holstein were the most formidable enemies of Valdemar, because they possessed strong holds in almost every province of his dominions, he made it the chief object of his policy to rid himself of such irksome neighbours, by detaching the duke of Sleswick from their alliance, in which aim he succeeded. A treaty was concluded between the two Valdemars; the duke did homage to the king, and the latter obliged himself, in case he should be the survivor, to protect the duke's heirs and duchy against all enemies. They moreover engaged mutually to defend each other with all their forces, and to declare the enemies of either to be the enemies of both powers. Such an engagement could not fail of giving umbrage to the Holstein princes, Henry and Nicholas. They formed a plan of revenge, which could never have found admittance except in the breasts of the base and dishonourable. They invited the duke to visit them in Fionia: one day, proposing a hunting-party, they seized on the duke's person, and kept him prisoner, under a pretence that a treaty he signed with the king was contrary to his engagements with them. Nor did they stop here: they made incursions into Zealand, and pillaged the city Ringstædt. On the other hand, the Danes made themselves masters of Næstwed, Gunderslabholm, and the citadel of Padeborn.

A.D. 1346.

Valdemar laboured hard to re-unite to the crown several other places that had been pledged in the last unhappy reign. After having redeemed from the princes Henry and Nicholas the fortresses of Korser and Petreburg, he declared to them his inclination to pay into their hands the price of the

the government of Laaland. His proposal was rejected, and he gave orders to the grand marshal to pass with an army into that island, and lay siege to all the places that contained foreign garrisons. The princes hastened to the relief of the island, and daily skirmishes passed between the two armies. At length the Swedish monarch offered his mediation, and effected an accommodation on no other conditions than that Laaland should be delivered up to the king, on his paying the sum of eight thousand marks in silver.

From this time Valdemar began to make professions of a *Valdemar's*
piety more rigorous and severe than prudence or policy dic- *superstition.*
tated. While his dominions were pledged to strangers, nothing could be more unseasonable than expeditions against the infidels, and holy pilgrimages, dictated only by blind zeal and pious phrenzy. He passed to Esthonia, a province of Sweden, on the north of Livonia, where he made several regulations in the church. He founded several pious institutions, and built chapels at Revel, in which daily prayers were to be put up for himself and queen. He took the dean and canons of the cathedral under his immediate protection, and published divers edicts in their favour. In the end he returned to Denmark, and prepared for another expedition against the pagans of Prussia, with intention to oblige them to embrace the true religion: such was the devotion of princes in those ages of ignorance and barbarity. Valdemar was accompanied in this expedition by his brother Otton, whom he had forced into the Teutonic order, that his presence in Denmark might occasion no troubles. Eric, duke of Saxony likewise attended him, the princes having met at Lubec; but before his arrival in Prussia, the barbarians had concluded a truce with the Teutonic knights. This rendered his presence in the country unnecessary; he therefore returned to Livonia, and sold the province of Esthonia to the Teutonic knights, for the sum of eighteen thousand marks in silver, contrary to the formal disposition made by his father, whereby this province was unalienably annexed to the crown. One remarkable circumstance attended this sale; it was, that only one of the senators, Andrew Stigot, signed the agreement; nor did a copy of it ever appear until the Polish ambassador produced one at the congress of Stetin in the year 1570. One moiety of the money was paid to the marquis of Brandenburg, who had been married to Valdemar's sister. This was her portion, for the payment of which the king had pledged half the province of Esthonia. In return the marquis put into the king's hands an instru-
ment,

ment, whereby he released him from the subsidy he had engaged for the defence of the marquisate.

A.D. 1346.

*Valdemar
makes a
pilgrimage.*

Before the king quitted Livonia, he had sent orders to several Danish lords to meet him in Brandenburg, all of whom were arrested on the road by the count of Wagria; an act of presumption that greatly incensed Valdemar; yet did he enter upon no new measures for revenging the insult, or enlarging the prisoners. Instead of employing his attention for these purposes, he made all possible preparations for a romantic expedition to the Holy Land, which he had long meditated. Accordingly he set out, attended by Eric of Saxony, and a great number of the first nobility of his kingdom. On his arrival at Jerusalem he visited all the holy places, and entered himself in the fraternity of the Knights Templars; an example that was followed by Eric, and the rest of the lords of his court.

*The Danes
murmur.*

Not to dwell on the encomiums passed by crafty priests on these instances of royal piety, the people began to murmur at the disposal of the fair province of Esthonia, without their consent, or indeed their knowledge; and the grievance was aggravated by the application of the money, one moiety of which went to the marquis of Brandenburg, and the other to defray the expences of the idle expedition to Palestine. That piety which they beheld with reverence in former monarchs, began to be looked on as a madness in Valdemar.

A.D. 1347.

In the year 1347 the queen was delivered of a princess, named Ingeburga; and the king, who was returned to his dominions, paid off the mortgage upon the city of Rendsburg. He redeemed likewise a number of other mortgages, and among these the island of Zealand, city of Nicoping, Steke in the island of Mona, and a variety of places in Jutland. He afterwards signed a fresh treaty with the princes of Holstein, in which it was stipulated, that Neoburg and part of the island of Fionia should be ceded to the king, in exchange for which they were to receive Steke, with a sum of money equivalent to the remainder of the purchase.

A.D. 1348.

It was not before this year that duke Valdemar of Sleswick obtained his liberty, upon condition that he renounced the alliance he had formed with the king, contrary to the express letter of a prior treaty with the Holstein princes.

It would seem that numberless difficulties attended the redemption of the crown-lands; for, subsequent to the treaty of which we have just spoken, we find the king laying siege to Skioldenens in Zealand. Neither Pontanus, Meursius, or Krantzius, give any account of the occasion

of these hostilities, contenting themselves with observing, that the operations were no sooner begun than they were dropt, by a reason of a plague that laid desolate the greater part of Europe, and raged with particular violence in Denmark. Here whole towns were deserted, the country left waste for want of labourers; all commerce totally stagnated; even the Greenland trade, which a few years before began to be assiduously pursued, was now neglected; and nothing but terror and despair reigned in this miserable country.

Plague in Denmark:

To these unhappy circumstances were added others equally oppressive and unavoidable. The great number of crown-lands that were mortgaged rendered a heavy tax necessary; the more grievous to the people, because the means of payment had failed, in consequence of the cessation of industry. Valdemar determined by all means to gain the affections of his subjects, the more easily to effect his purpose. Assembling a diet at Ringstædt, he set forth, in presence of an infinity of nobles, clergy, and commons, that he had redeemed out of the hands of the mortgagees a great number of cities, towns, and castles, at the expence of three hundred thousand marks, levied upon the people; and that now there remained a saving of ten thousand marks of silver, which he requested the people would dispose of as they saw proper. Such condescension in the monarch was truly politic: it entirely gained the affection of his subjects, as well as their confidence: they submitted every thing to him, and assured him of their readiness to lay down their lives and fortunes at his feet.

A.D. 1349.

Valdemar gains the confidence of his subjects.

Valdemar having succeeded in this important point, passed over to Halland, and demanded an interview with Magnus, king of Sweden, from whom he was desirous of redeeming Schonen. He offered that prince the sum for which it was first mortgaged to the count of Wagria, and represented to him, that the count had no right to dispose of a province held upon such a tenure. Unanswerable as these arguments were, Magnus refused to surrender it; and the congress broke up with menaces from Valdemar; that he would claim his right by force of arms: menaces which were not attended with the proposed effect; as the troubles that arose in Germany prevented Valdemar from pursuing his design^d.

Negotiations with Magnus of Sweden.

An impostor, by name Muller Maineken, appeared about this time in Brandenburg, assuming the name of the late margrave Valdemar, and claiming his dominions, which he

An impostor lays claim to the marquisate of Brandenburg.

^d Pont, lib. viii.

said were usurped, in prejudice of his right, by Lewis of Brandenburg. In his person he exactly resembled Valdemar, and he found no difficulty in imitating his voice and manner, having been many years gentleman-usher to the margrave. He affirmed, that the margrave was not dead as had been long reported, but had made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Now on his return, he expected Lewis of Bavaria would restore those dominions to their natural lord. Bold and impudent assertions never fail to meet with credit from the vulgar. Here humanity and justice seemed to call aloud for their assistance, which combined with the novelty of the scene, soon gained Muller a great number of adherents. Many of the neighbouring princes joined in supporting the impostor. Among these were the dukes of Saxe Anhalt and Mecklenburg; and Crantzius affirms, that the emperor Charles IV. not only espoused, but first excited Muller to this bold attempt. By these he was supported with all the dignity of a prince; he kept a court, and even eclipsed in pomp the real margrave.

King Valdemar, who sincerely loved his brother-in-law Lewis, heard this report with concern. He pitied his sister, foresaw the distraction that would ensue, and determined to use all his power to support his brother-in-law, and punish the presumptuous Muller. A diet was convoked at Roschild, and sufficient supplies were granted to enable him to equip a fleet, with which he invaded Mecklenburg, destroying the country before him with fire and sword. The duke of Mecklenburg raised forces to oppose the king, whom he reduced to great danger, and besieged in Sturgart. Valdemar soon perceived the error of which he had been guilty, in inclosing himself in a city so easily forced; but his endeavours to extricate himself would have been fruitless, had not Romulus, brother to Lewis of Brandenburg, arrived seasonably to his relief. Immediately the duke raised the siege, took a compass, and attacked Romulus in the rear. The battle was bloody and obstinate, the duke victorious, and near four hundred Brandenburgers were made prisoners; but still Romulus had the honour of raising the siege, relieving the king, and of saving himself by his bravery from falling into the enemy's hands.

Valdemar was no sooner at liberty than he marched out of the city, and made fresh incursions into the duke's territories, where he laid siege to several towns, that made but a faint resistance. At length, reinforced with a body of troops from Pomerania, he invested Berlin, which city had declared in favour of the impostor. The duke hastened to the relief of the besieged; and the king drew out his

army

army to give him battle. Things were coming to a crisis, and both parties waiting for the signal to engage, when some of the more moderate nobility in each army, dreading the effusion of Christian blood, proposed an accommodation. A conference was held, in which it was determined to submit the affair to the arbitration of his Swedish majesty. Accordingly it was determined by this monarch, that Romulus, brother to Lewis of Brandenburg, should set all his prisoners at liberty; that, as an equivalent, he should receive an oath of allegiance from certain cities in the duchy of Mecklenburg, to which he claimed a right; and, lastly, that he should espouse the daughter of the duke. King Valdemar likewise effected a reconciliation between his brother-in-law the margrave, and the duke of Stetin; also between the dukes of Mecklenburg and Saxony.

These troubles in Germany being thus appeased, Valdemar was on the brink of entering into another dispute of more consequence, if the emperor's affairs had not prevented him from pursuing the dictates of his resentment. His imperial majesty was extremely enraged at Valdemar's marching foreign troops into the empire, and making his dominions the theatre of a war. He was still more incensed at his checking the progress of the pretended margrave, as it was notorious that the emperor had an interest in the success of this impostor, out of pique to the margrave Lewis, it being a main object of his policy to distress the affairs of the house of Bavaria. However, whether out of shame, or dread of pushing matters to an excess, he dissembled his resentment, and granted a passport to the king and several princes of the North, to attend a diet which he convoked at Sprenberg, in order to decide the claim of the impostor Muller. The king carried with him Eric, duke of Saxony, and Romulus, now become margrave of Brandenburg, which his brother ceded to him, reserving to himself only the dominions of the house of Bavaria. At this congress (for it was not properly a diet of the empire) the northern princes complained loudly of the emperor's endeavours to supplant the natural heir of the house of Brandenburg, by forcing in his room an impostor, who had long been a menial in the family. To this charge the emperor replied, that he had done nothing of which he could repent. Neither temerity, prejudice, nor passion, had excited him against the house of Bavaria, or at all influenced his conduct; justice alone was the motive of his actions: that if he was at all blameable, it was for giving credit to the assurances of the archbishop of Magdeburg, Rodolph of Saxony, the duke of Mecklenburg, and the

A.D. 1350.

prince of Anhalt, all of whom had solemnly made oath, that he was the true Valdemar, the lawful heir of the house of Brandenburg. Then the king stood up, and spoke in the name of other princes: "We too are ready to swear, but with more truth, that this person is an impostor; and we oblige ourselves to convict of perjury whoever has sworn to the contrary: we therefore beseech your imperial majesty to revoke the decree you have passed in favour of a man, who has no other pretensions to his present dignity than what he derives from an unparelled impudence, dissimulation, and talents to impose on your imperial majesty." Not caring to urge matters to extremities, Charles at length openly acknowledged Romulus the legitimate heir and possessor of Brandenburg, and published an imperial decree to this purpose. From henceforth the impostor was abandoned by all his adherents, and forced to retreat into Anhalt, where he passed the remainder of his days in that obscurity to which he was born^e.

The congress having broke up, the princes returned each to his own dominions, except Valdemar, who laboured hard to set the affair he had just concluded, upon a solid footing, before he went back to Denmark. After having established repose and tranquillity, he spent some days at Lubec in mirth and festivity, and then passed over to his own dominions, where he was received with great demonstrations of joy, the people being highly satisfied with the result of this last negotiation.

He afterwards concluded a treaty with Casimir, king of Poland, by which that prince engaged to supply him with one hundred lances, provided they were not to be employed against any power specified in the treaty. Before the end of the year the public joy received considerable augmentation from the birth of a second son; it was however of short duration, for the young prince lived but a few days. By the death of the two sons of Canute Porcius, the title of dukes of Halland became extinct, and the king did not think proper to confer it on a collateral branch of the family, thinking it more advisable to annex the duchy to the crown.

A.D. 1351.

*A revolt of
the king's
subjects.*

In the year 1351 a quarrel, the grounds for which are unknown, arose between Valdemar and his grand-mareschal Limbeck. It was carried so high, that the king besieged him in the castle of Dorning. The princes of Holstein, the nobility of Jutland, and the maritime towns, all took arms at the same time. The princes pretended an in-

fraction of the treaty subsisting between them and the king, while the nobility and maritime towns complained of some trespasses upon their rights and privileges. On the first rumour of these commotions, the king put garrisons in all the fortresses, and sent a strong body of forces for the protection of the duchy of Sleswick, agreeable to the late treaty. This last measure proved fruitless; for the duke had sided with the princes of Holstein, and the auxiliaries were constrained to return. At the same time, the Swedes having deposed Magnus for his debaucheries, which had rendered him odious to the people, raised his son Eric to the throne. Magnus, retiring to Schonen, assembled the states of the province, to deliberate on the necessary measures to be taken in this deplorable situation of his affairs. From hence he solicited Valdemar's assistance to restore him; but met with a repulse, because he had refused to cede that province. Again the negotiation was resumed; but the unwillingness which Magnus expressed to surrender Schonen, rendered it fruitless.

All this while Valdemar was not unemployed on the other side. He invited the nobility of North Jutland to a conference, with a view to detach them from the alliance of Holstein; and one Bugæus was sent to Callemburg, to treat with the king in their name. Nothing was concluded at this interview; and Bugæus with the other deputies were hardly returned to Jutland, when the nobility, forming a new alliance with the princes of Holstein, seized upon several of his majesty's garrisons in those parts. The king dreaded the horrors of a civil war, and laboured assiduously to remove the cause of so terrible an evil. He offered to submit the difference to the decision of the count of Wagria; yet because he suspected that nobleman to be partial in favour of the princes of Holstein, the issue of his determination was procrastinated. In the mean while he levied troops, which he embarked for Fionia; but contrary winds prevented the transports from sailing. In this interval he held a conference with Magnus of Sweden; but this interview, like all the other negotiations between them, broke off without effect.

*The affairs
of Jutland.*

As soon as the wind permitted, Valdemar put to sea; and was met on his landing by numbers of the nobility of Fionia, who assured him of their fidelity, and made offer of their services. By their advice it was that umpires were chosen to determine all differences between him, the princes of Holstein, and the Jutland nobility. At the same time the Swedes held an assembly at Helfenburg, to negotiate an accommodation between the two crowns; but as

nothing was determined, it produced a particular interview between Valdemar and Magnus, at which their differences were at length amicably adjusted.

A.D. 1352.

In the spring of the year fresh conferences were held on the subject of the dispute between his majesty and the princes of Holstein and nobility of Jutland; but every proposal from either side was rejected. The unsettled state of his own affairs did not prevent Valdemar's assisting the duke of Mecklenburg against the duke of Stetin, who had declared war against him; and, indeed, it seemed to be one of the shining parts of this prince's character, that he adhered strictly to his engagements, and never deserted his allies, but on the most pressing emergencies, and for the strongest reasons: and however politics may in these times be altered, firmness and fidelity are no less respectable qualities in a monarch than in a private citizen. On this occasion he went in person to Germany, after having appointed a regency to govern the kingdom in his absence. He was no sooner arrived than he set negotiations on foot for re-uniting the belligerent powers; and accordingly produced a treaty of peace, and even of alliance, between the dukes of Mecklenburg, Stetin, and Pomérania. Having some cause of discontent against the princes of Slavonia and Werle, he no sooner ended the negotiations than he entered their country in a hostile manner, carrying desolation wherever he marched, and destroying every thing profane and sacred. He is reproached on this occasion with having betrayed a cruel and barbarous disposition, in ordering the noses and ears of the prisoners to be cut off in cool blood, and otherwise mangling their bodies in a manner little consistent with a religious pilgrimage to the Holy Land. After this expedition, the causes of which are unknown, he spent some time at Wardenburg in feasts and diversions.

*Princess
Margaret
born.*

The year 1353 was ushered in, and distinguished in the annals of Denmark, by the birth of the glorious princess Margaret, who succeeded to the crowns of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, after the death of her father Valdemar, and merited by her prudence and manly courage, the title of Semiramis of the North. The king had for some years past shut up his queen in the castle of Seburg, upon some suspicion of her incontinence. Chance led him one day thither as he returned from hunting, and proposing to spend the night with one of the queen's women, he was carried by the address of that lady into the arms of his lawful wife Hedweg, where he enjoyed all those blessings annexed to stolen love, and which the depraved appetite finds in intrigue, without discovering his mistake before the morn-
ing.

ing. The queen conceived in consequence of the embraces of this night, and in the space of nine months was delivered of princess Margaret, the fruit of this legitimate amour.

This year likewise it was, that fresh measures were taken to terminate all differences with the princes of Holstein, which were submitted to the arbitration of the duke of Saxony and the earl of Hoja, by whose award all parties agreed to stand. It was farther stipulated, that hostilities should cease while this affair was in agitation. The king and the princes produced their pretensions, and laid open their grievances to the umpires. First it was agreed, that for the sum of two thousand marks of silver, the king should redeem out of the hands of the duke of Saxony, the fortress of Pilwerder, to be given in trust to the count of Wagria till payment of the said sum, which was to be made within the space of three years, certain revenues in Fionia being mortgaged for security of the interest. On the other hand, the count was to yield up to the king all his mother's portion in Denmark, excepting only those lands sold by his father to Gerhard.

*Convention
with the
princes of
Holstein.*

With respect to the Holstein princes, the king published a declaration, whereby he acknowledged, in consideration of the cession made by the princes of a moiety of Fionia, and of fifteen hundred marks in silver, that he gave up all other pretensions, and set all the prisoners at liberty which he had taken since the beginning of the war. In a word, the tedious disputes and quarrels between the king, the sons of Gerhard, and the duke of Sleswick, were at length terminated amicably; though they were renewed in the sequel.

During these transactions, Magnus king of Sweden gave the investiture of Halland and Schonen to a Swedish lord, called Bennet Algoth, his favourite, with the title of duke; and some historians relate, that not satisfied with bestowing these marks of distinction, he made him absolute master of his whole kingdom. This investiture gave umbrage to Valdemar; but his resentment was absorbed in devout meditations. Some constitutions are naturally disposed to superstition, such was that of Valdemar; his piety consisted in exterior acts and expences, the load of which fell entirely upon his subjects; and indeed this a species of immoral piety, that favours more of vain-glory than of warm sentiments of true religion and the dictates of a good heart. In no other view can we regard the pilgrimage he made this year to Avignon, to visit Innocent VI. which cost the people an immense sum of money.

A.D. 1353.

On his return from Avignon, he made an expedition to Friseland, to extinguish some sparks of sedition that had broke out in that country; but the inhabitants having recourse to supplications, he contented himself with punishing a few of the ringleaders, by fining them in certain sums of money and carrying off hostages.

*A general
diet assem-
bles.*

Next he called a general assembly of the states at Neoburg, at which assisted the duke and bishop of Sleswick. Here he publicly declared a general pardon to all his subjects guilty of treason, or other offences against the crown, and drew up an instrument for this purpose, which the bishop of Ripen read aloud in the diet. It contained in substance, that his people should henceforward enjoy the full exertion of all the privileges and immunities conferred on them by his ancestors, and particularly by Valdemar II. that a general amnesty should be granted of what was passed; that his majesty should take care to protect them against all their enemies; that all those guilty of capital crimes, such as murder, theft, &c. should obtain pardon, on making satisfaction to the injured, at least as far as lay in their power, in the manner most agreeable to the laws of the country; that no subject, whether layman or ecclesiastic, should be constrained to part with his goods and chattels to religious purposes; that no one should be suffered to seize on the effects of an ecclesiastic who has died without heirs, but that they should be left to the king's disposal, or to the society to which they belonged; lastly, that a general diet should be summoned yearly, according to the ancient custom of the realm, at Neoburg, about the festival of St. John. These regulations were plausible and pleasing; but we shall see in the sequel how they were observed.

*Interview
between
the kings
of Den-
mark and
Sweden.*

This diet was succeeded by an interview between the kings of Denmark and Sweden at Helsinburg. Pontanus indeed relates, that it was only a congress composed of deputies, three bishops being sent with an archbishop from each side, to end the differences between the two crowns. The first point handled was the restitution of Schonon, upon which the Danish deputies had instructions to insist. It was urged, that the count of Wagria had no right to dispose of a province, of which he was only the simple mortgagee; and that the inhabitants of Schonon were guilty of rebellion in acknowledging the sovereignty of Magnus. They then proved, that neither North nor South Halland had ever been mortgaged; but only made over during pleasure, under the title of a government. These two important points occasioned so many difficulties, which

un-

unavoidably rose from the nature of the subject, that his Swedish majesty requested Valdemar to come in person to Helsingburg. He accordingly went, and now it was that the kings met, but without the proposed effect; for, after several warm debates, the congress broke up, leaving all the differences just as they found them.

Another conference was appointed about the same time, to which were invited the German princes, to regulate certain commercial affairs. The princes and sea-ports sent deputies; but Valdemar proposed attending in person, and was preparing for his journey to Lubec, when he was given to understand, by the diet, that no more than an escorte of a hundred persons would be allowed him. Valdemar loved pomp, and thinking such a retinue insufficient to appear with regal magnificence, he postponed his journey, and appointed deputies.

Laying aside for a time the care of foreign affairs, Valdemar applied himself to the administration of justice. He presided in person at the tribunals, and punished a great number of usurpers, who had violently possessed themselves of estates during the civil wars immediately preceding his accession. These lands he restored to the legitimate owners; or, if no lawful heirs could be found, annexed them to the crown. He summoned before him one Nicholas Rond, of the order of knights, who was accused of seditious expressions against the government, and disrespectful language towards the king's person. Rond disobeyed the summons, and made so stout a resistance, that those who were sent to bring him by force, were constrained to put him to death^f.

A. D. 1355.

*Valdemar's
domestic
conduct.*

The king held this head-court at Ripen; whence he passed to Helsingburg, where Magnus of Sweden demanded another interview. From thence he proceeded to Wrangsterp, at which place he held a diet, and passed an edict, whereby all fines on criminal actions were doubled. At length he returned to Roschild, where he received advice that the duke of Sleswick and Bennet Aldfeldt had determined to decide their quarrel by arms. Valdemar, out of resentment to the duke for his late conduct, sent supplies to Aldfeldt, by means of which he became master of the fortress of Trankiar, and ravaged a great part of the duke's country, particularly the island of Langland. The duke flew to the relief of his people: he landed a strong body of troops; but was forced to abandon the island, on finding the king in person at the head of an army to oppose

^f Pont. lib. viii.

*An embassy
from
France.*

him. Thus Valdemar became master of Langland; but he again ceded it to the duke, in consequence of a negociation.

In the course of this year, a magnificent embassy arrived from France: John II. proposed a double marriage between the children of the two kings, and Valdemar instantly dispatched ambassadors to France with similar instructions; but John being at that time made prisoner by the English, and conducted to London, the treaty was brought to no conclusion. Other advices from Sweden gave the king uneasiness: Although the civil wars in that country were terminated by the partition of power made between Magnus and his son Eric, yet Bookal Falk, a Danish lord, sent by Valdemar to Schonen, with certain instructions for Magnus, was arrested on the road by Eric's order. Joannes Gothus, a Swedish historian, assigns the following motives for Eric's conduct. Queen Blanche, wife to Magnus, was no less fond of Bennet Algoth than her husband. He was the prime favourite of both; and the queen despairing to see Magnus reinstated in the throne, neglected nothing to preserve the fortune of this minion. She made a secret offer to king Valdemar of the province of Schonen, provided he would confirm to Algoth the late investiture and title granted by Magnus; and the king, eager to reunite so fine a province to his crown, listened to her overtures. Eric had intelligence of this secret correspondence, and gave instructions for arresting Folk.

A.D. 1356.

According to the Danish historians, Valdemar was so enraged at the insult committed on his agent, that he instantly began to levy soldiers. He was prevented, however, from pursuing his revenge, by the rigour of the approaching winter, and by a revolt that broke out in Jutland. His whole attention was required to appease this tumult. Great diligence was used, and it succeeded; certain lords engaged to prevail on the king to summon a diet at Callemburg, for the redress of the people's grievances.

A.D. 1357.

But the facility with which Valdemar had hitherto quashed all seeds of rebellion, made him the more careless about removing the cause. This appeared from his behaviour immediately after the above diet: for he imposed a heavy tax upon all the inhabitants of Jutland without distinction, probably as a punishment for their late offence. It was to the last degree unseasonable and impolitic, thus to irritate the minds of the people so lately in rebellion. The duke of Sleswick and princes of Holstein joined in the clamours against this conduct, and stimulated the nobility of Jutland to take up arms. Yet after all, this was only a collateral inducement to the people to revolt; the principal and original cause of their rebellion being founded on a

particular quarrel between certain natives of Holstein and the family of Himniken-Limbek, whom Cunigunde, widow to Eric duke of Sleswick, protected. The princes of Holstein took part with their own subjects, entered the duchy of Sleswick, and made themselves masters of the cities of Tunderen and Haderflaben. Both sides solicited the Jutland nobility for assistance, and the princes prevailed; but king Valdemar, whose interest it was that these towns should not remain in the hands of the princes, levied troops, and drove them out of the duchy. Thus the Jutlanders were engaged against their own sovereign, and by their endeavours the Holsteiners again got possession of their conquests in the duchy. Valdemar saw Randerfen besieged and taken within view of his army, without being able to relieve the garrison. He afterwards gave battle to the enemy, and was defeated. Flushed with victory, they passed over to Fionia, where they took by assault the strong town of Odenfee, and laid siege to Gamberg, another strong hold in its neighbourhood.

Jutland revolts.

Valdemar was not discouraged by these disgraces; he rather exerted all his ability to wipe them off. Troops were levied, and several suspected lords put under an arrest. Among others, Peter Laurentius, his brother John, James Oulofson, and his brother Olaus, were secured. Some he released at a high ransom, after depriving them of the means of injuring him; but these four were not only imprisoned, but their estates confiscated, and their places given to persons of approved affection and fidelity. Though the season was far advanced, he marched boldly to the relief of Gamberg. On his arrival he created a great number of nobility, the more strongly to engage their affection, and draw forth their courage on so important an occasion. As soon as he perceived his officers eager to engage, he gave the signal, and led his army on with such fury, that the Holsteiners and malcontents, unable to resist his impetuosity, broke up the siege and retired precipitately with great loss. All their officers of distinction were killed or taken. John of Holstein was left dead on the field; and his brother Nicholas, after having lost an eye, fell into the hands of the Danes, who were bringing him prisoner to the king, when his brother Henry flew to his relief, attacked the party, and procured his liberty. In consequence of this important victory, all the garrisons belonging to the princes in Fionia, surrendered to the king, and he immediately gave orders for razing Gamberg to the ground, in order to reinforce his army with the garrison.

Valdemar's preparations to subdue them.

The Jutlanders defeated.

From hence he passed into Zealand, laden with plunder: and here he received advice from his emissaries, that a great number of the Holstein nobility were invited to attend the last obsequies of Bennet Aldfeldt's wife, who died in Fionia. Thither he passed so secretly and suddenly, that he seized upon many persons of the first rank, whom he carried prisoners into Zealand.

A.D. 1358. This year was ushered in with a rumour that the king of Sweden and duke of Mecklenburg were preparing to declare war against Denmark. Though no certain advices had been received of their intentions, Valdemar ordered his army to take the field, in the depth of winter. He also sent orders to all the governors of towns and castles, to put the fortifications and garrisons in the best state of defence. Next he reviewed his troops at Stägel, and augmented them considerably, taking every precaution that was necessary to guard against an invasion. It is remarkable, however, that a maritime power like Denmark should not have confided more in a strong fleet, and committed the care of her coasts to a well-appointed navy; yet we hear of no other naval preparations made on this occasion than taking up a few transports, on board of which he embarked a part of his army for Langland. Here he took the important fortrefs of Trankiar, and in a short time subdued all the other places on the island that had not acknowledged his sovereignty. From thence he set sail with intention to besiege Heingavel; but most of his fleet being dispersed, and separated from him in a thick fog, he relinquished the design.

Valdemar's operations. Strengthened before the spring with fresh levies, he again put to sea, and attempted the reduction of Alsen. Hordburg had already surrendered, after a siege of three days; Sonderberg was likely to make but a faint resistance: in a word, the whole island must have sunk under the weight of his victorious arm, had not Rigitz, duchess of Sleswick, taken the prudent resolution of suing to her sovereign for peace. She came in person, and he was so charmed with her eloquence and address, that he freely granted her all his conquests in Alsen, on condition that she would harbour or countenance none of his enemies, and that the duke her husband should come attended by no more than twenty servants, and stay no longer than three days at his court.

Valdemar's liberality was certainly the cause of the duke's visit a short time after. That prince desired permission to wait on the king, which was granted. He made several overtures for accommodating all their differences; but they

were

were rejected at the persuasion of certain courtiers, who were violently prejudiced against the duke. After his departure the king set sail for the island of Femeren, where the inhabitants were well provided to receive him, having had some previous intimation of his design. They endeavoured to oppose his landing : but were repulsed and forced to give way to superior force. After losing a great number of their men in several skirmishes, they submitted to pay a tribute of four thousand marks in silver. On his return, Valdemar exacted contributions on several cities of Sleswick, and laid waste all the country round, that had refused to comply with his demand. Some of his ships had orders to plunder the neighbourhood of Wismar, which the seamen executed with great alacrity and success; but being detained in port by adverse winds, the peasants assembled and attacked the crews with great fury. Perceiving that all their endeavours were foiled by the courage of the Danes, they filled several small boats with combustibles, which they sent with a fair wind into the middle of the king's squadron. The terror and dread of fire effected what all the power of Wismar could not; for the seamen immediately threw down their arms, and suffered themselves to be conducted prisoners to the city, and among them their admiral, Jernskeg, the great favourite of Valdemar.

*Valdemar's
squadron
taken at
Wismar.*

This expedition being ended, the king passed into Zealand, where he had not long enjoyed his ease when advice was received that the duke of Mecklenburg meditated an invasion of the island. The report was true; but the duke hearing that Valdemar was provided with a numerous squadron, and well-appointed garrisons, relinquished his design, and solicited the duke of Stetin to mediate a peace between him and his allies, the princes of Holstein and the king. Bornim of Stetin undertook the business, and succeeded. He prevailed on Valdemar to come to Stralsund, in order the more commodiously to negotiate the peace. Here the parties met, each accompanied by numerous trains of nobility, who greatly assisted in concluding their differences. It was stipulated, that the king should henceforward live in peace with the allied princes, who engaged to maintain a mutual friendship among themselves; and that the prisoners on all sides should be set at liberty. They likewise took under consideration the disturbances of Jutland; and it was agreed, that the nobility and commons should send deputies to the king at Neuburg, to finish their differences amicably.

A peace being signed, and writs issued for convoking the diet, his majesty put to sea; but instead of proceeding to

*Diet at
Neoburg.*

Neo-

Neoburg, he steered for Zealand, contenting himself with sending his son and certain senators to treat with the Jutland deputies at the diet, and reserving to himself the ultimate decision of that affair. This conduct induced the deputies to demand a safe-conduct to attend the king at Stangel; but the terms on which the passports were granted appeared so insolent, and couched in words so imperious, that nothing was concluded, and they departed more incensed than ever against Valdemar. Soon after, however, a truce was granted, and the negociation renewed.

From Stangel the king went to Roschild, where he expected to have met the king and queen of Sweden, to put the last hand to the affair of Schonen. On his arrival he found they had sent an apology, Magnus having always expressed great unwillingness to part with that province.

Three Jutland noble-men assassinated.

It was about this time that three of the Jutland nobility, men of the first quality, were assassinated on their return home. The suspicion lay upon the king, as if it had been done by his order; yet was it never clearly proved, and many reasons concurred to render it probable that this horrid action was committed by some secret enemy to them, or at least to the king, who fell upon this method of rendering him odious.

A.D. 1359.

About the beginning of the ensuing year, the brothers Barntrims and Wratisslaus, obtained the investiture of Rugen from the king, for which they did homage, promising him likewise the most constant fidelity, and certain auxiliary troops and succours against all his enemies.

It was at this period that queen Blanche prevailed on Magnus to visit Valdemar at Copenhagen (A), the issue of which interview was the ceremony of betrothing the princess Margaret, third daughter to Valdemar, to the king of Norway. On this occasion the affair of Schonen was again brought on the carpet; for this was one of the circumstances which produced a fresh quarrel between Magnus and his son Eric. The pretext which they published was in fact too trivial to occasion a war; for it appeared that Magnus complained of the inhabitants of Schonen's expressing a stronger attachment to their duke than to him, who was their king. In fact, this approaching rupture was one great motive for his visit to Denmark, where he soli-

Schonen given up by Magnus.

(A) Meursius is certainly mistaken in giving this city the appellation of Copenhagen at so early a period; for at this time it was called Haffnia, and did

not obtain the other name till many years after, as we have remarked in the general account of Denmark.

cited

cited Valdemar's assistance against his son, promising him in return the full restitution of Helsingburg and Schonen. It was an overture which Valdemar could not resist; he had long panted after this province, and now found it voluntarily offered. Not to lose the favourable minute, he passed suddenly with an army into Schonen, seized upon several fortresses, and among other places made himself master of Solliczsburg; but provisions failing he returned to Zealand, carrying along with him prisoner a nobleman of rank called Peter Doa.

Valdemar's progress in Schonen, and above all, the reproaches of his people for tamely suffering a fair province, which for some years they looked upon as a dependence on the crown, to be wrested out of his hands, made an extraordinary change in the councils of Magnus. Suddenly he compromised matters with his son, and both agreed to drive the Danes out of Schonen, which they found no difficult task in Valdemar's absence. In the treaty between the father and son, Magnus not only revoked the promise he gave to the king of Denmark, respecting the restitution of Schonen, but likewise renounced his alliance and the contract of marriage made between the princess Margaret and the king of Norway. Nay, they farther agreed to marry the Norwegian monarch to the princess Elizabeth, sister to the dukes of Holstein. It was added, that if king Magnus should violate the conditions of this treaty, his subjects should be absolved from their allegiance. However, the death of Eric, which intervened, wrought a total alteration in these measures.

*Magnus
revokes his
promise to
Valdemar.*

In the mean time a variety of cross circumstances concurred to prevent Valdemar's return to Schonen. The assassination of the three deputies made a great noise; the suspicion lay upon him: it rendered his character detestable, and he found it absolutely necessary to vindicate his innocence, and bring the whole affair to light. His enemies were already numerous among his own subjects, and this charge greatly augmented the number of disaffected in Jutland. His first step was to affirm publicly, on oath, before Canute, son to one of the murdered deputies, that the crime was committed without his orders, consent, or knowledge. He next vowed to use all possible endeavours to discover the criminals, and treat them with all the rigour that injured majesty, as well as the heinousness of the offence, required or would allow. Duke Christopher likewise engaged to regard Canute as his brother, and every possible means were used to obliterate his resentment, and remove all suspicion from the king. Gained over by these assurances

*Valdemar
purges
himself by
oath of an
accusation
of murder.*

assurances, Canute promised, on his part, to use all his endeavours to bring the nobility and people of Jutland to a right sense of their duty and obedience to the king.

Valdemar found it more difficult to persuade the father of Uffon Stigot, another of the assassinated deputies, of his innocence. This nobleman had other causes of discontent, and used this pretext to pursue the dictates of his resentment, and spirit up the Jutlanders to revolt. Finding him inexorable, the king took different measures. He confiscated his estate in Zealand, and annexed it to the crown, reducing Stigot to the necessity of living upon the small fortune he possessed in Jutland.

*Origin of
the troubles
in Jutland.*

Thus begun the troubles in Jutland, which diverted the king from pursuing the conquest of Schonen. Under pretence of public festivals, the Jutlanders covered secret conferences they held with several neighbouring princes, whom they engaged to support them: among these were the princes of Holstein and the duke of Mecklenburg. The latter equipped a squadron, embarked some land forces, and sailed for Fionia, on which he made a descent. His success was equal to the terror which so sudden an invasion occasioned; for after having taken a number of towns, and ruined almost all the villages, he returned, accompanied by a variety of prisoners of distinction, whom he kept as hostages to secure the submission of the inhabitants.

Nor was Jutland in more tranquillity. The king and many of the inhabitants were disposed to pacific measures; but a number of courtiers represented to his majesty, that it would redound more to his glory if he reduced the malcontents by force of arms: besides, this was the least punishment the nature of their offence merited. On the other hand, there were not wanting a number of seditious persons in Jutland, who represented to the people their deplorable situation, exaggerated every false measure of the court, and encouraged them to hazard all rather than surrender their liberties.

In this manner it was that both sides were determined to decide their differences by the sword. Valdemar detached before him a body of troops, who without waiting for a reinforcement began the siege of Randerfen; but it was not long before they suffered the reward of their temerity. The besieged made so furious a sally, that after great slaughter they put the whole body of Danes to flight: however, as these last were soon joined by a fresh supply of troops from the king, they found themselves in a condition to attempt several other fortresses, some of which they carried sword in hand.

This

This was the issue of the Jutland expedition, the ill success of which it pleased Providence to augment with other unexpected misfortunes. Peter Jernskeg, made prisoner by the inhabitants of Wismar, had indeed recovered his liberty, to the great joy of Valdemar; a circumstance which the king valued above the conquest of the whole province. He was indeed an experienced officer and faithful subject, and his majesty much wanted the good offices of such a servant, as new revolts every day appeared in different quarters of his dominions; but Erland Calff, governor of Ripen, had surrendered that city to the princes of Holstein, receiving from them, as the price of his fidelity, the investiture of two governments. Moreover, the inhabitants no sooner perceived the king's troops embarked for Zealand than they drove his garrisons out of the towns he possessed. To this was subjoined another misfortune; his fleet was overtaken in a storm, in which one of the ships with her whole crew perished.

Valdemar on his return to Zealand, says Pontanus, created his son Christopher, duke of Laaland^b: hence it appears that the king made this expedition in person, though no historian directly affirms it. The young prince, on taking possession of his new dignity, conferred several privileges on the clergy, the better to gain their affections, the strongest tie by which he could bind the inclinations of the people. He afterwards accompanied his father, who passed with a powerful army to Schonen, with a resolution to effect the final conquest of that province: a measure that must appear extraordinary, if we reflect on the situation in which he left Jutland. Helsinburg was closely besieged, and the attack pushed with such vigour, that Magnus, who came to its relief, despairing of success, embraced that opportunity of reconciling himself to Valdemar. He offered not only to put him in possession of Helsinburg, but to restore the rest of the province, on condition that the ancient treaty should be renewed; that the two crowns should mutually assist each other upon all occasions; and that the contract between the princess Margaret and the king of Norway should again be signed. His proposals were accepted; and both parties having confirmed the agreement by oath, Valdemar made his public entry into Helsinburg, and received the allegiance of the inhabitants. He next proceeded to reduce all the towns and castles in possession of the nobility of the province, who refused to acknowledge his sovereignty; and at length succeeded by threats, promises, and force.

*Valdemar
enters
Schonen.*

^b Pontan. lib. viii.

This expedition was followed by a peace. The duke of Mecklenburg, and cities of Pomerania, made peace separately with Valdemar, to which all who had any differences with the king were invited to accede. Erland Calff accepted the invitation, made his peace with the king, and brought over with him not only the town of Ripen, but the two prefectures given him by the princes of Holstein; upon which the king pleasantly observed, that the surname Calff should now be given to the prince of Holstein, for suffering himself to be thus outwitted. He likewise told the first person who first brought him the news, "Ay, my calf was strayed, but my cow is returned, and that cow has produced two calves;" a joke that is wholly lost in the translation, and indeed but very indifferent in the original.

A.D. 1360.

It was specified in the king's writs that this diet was to meet at Neoburg: how it came to be translated to Callemburg, we know not; but here the king met the dukes of Laaland, Sleswick, and the deputies of Holstein. It was unanimously determined, that the laws and constitutions of the realm, as modelled by Valdemar II. should be restored to their former vigour: that the duke of Sleswick, his children, heirs, and subjects, should enjoy the same rights and privileges as their ancestors had enjoyed: that the rights of the clergy should be put on the ancient footing, and preserved in their full extent: that the absent bishops should be obliged to subscribe to these articles, in order to be entitled to the benefit of the laws: that all the subjects of Denmark, protected by her laws, should subscribe to support them: that the knights, gentlemen, burghers, and peasants, should be maintained in all their privileges: that the diet of the states, which, according to law, ought to be held at Neoburg, should, for the three following years, be held at Callemburg; after which time it should be translated to Neoburg: lastly, that whoever should presume to act otherwise than he is directed by the laws, should be punished with their utmost rigour, and suffer all the penalties expressed in them.

It was soon after this diet that his majesty was pleased to exempt the citizens of Lunden and Malmogen from all duties and imposts, in all the ports of Denmark. He afterwards endeavoured, with the consent of Magnus, to gain the entire possession of Schonen and Bleking. He had restored to him the original contract with the count of Wagria, and the act whereby the inhabitants put themselves under the Swedish governmentⁱ.

ⁱ Méurs. lib. iv.

On the other hand, the Swedes murmured at their king's proceedings, and the facility with which he surrendered so fine a province. In derision they gave him the surname of Smeek, because he laid himself so open to the smooth adulation of Valdemar, who knew how to make his advantage of this disposition. It must be owned, that instances of such moderation are uncommon: princes are generally most tenacious of possessions they have unjustly usurped, and few there are but would chuse rather to extend their dominions than their reputation, as all their virtues are weighed in the scale of power. Magnus did no more than strict justice required; and were the Swedish historians impartial, they would have exclaimed with less violence against the easy temper of their king. When first he promised restitution of Schonen, it was to engage the alliance of Valdemar against his son; and when he performed his promise, it was only surrendering voluntarily what he found he could not maintain by arms. Thus, on whatever side we view the transaction, the restitution of Schonen seemed to be necessary, and it certainly was equitable.

Notwithstanding the harmony between Valdemar and Magnus, it was not long before the two kingdoms came to a rupture. Magnus had resolved to punish his subjects for raising his son Eric to the throne; and likewise to put it out of their power again to divide the sovereign authority. For this purpose he studied to render himself absolute, by abolishing the senate. His subjects, jealous of their liberties, watched all his motions, and prepared to sap his projects; particularly the inhabitants of the islands of Gothland and Oeland, who, puffed up with riches, despised the empty title of king. In this perplexity Magnus engaged his ally, the king of Denmark, to take up arms to chastise his insolent subjects. This was the real cause of the rupture, which made Sweden, for a number of years, the theatre of blood, tumult, and all the horrors of a domestic and foreign war; though some writers scruple not to affirm; it had its birth from delaying the marriage between the princess Margaret and the king of Norway.

Valdemar began his operations by ravaging the isle of Oeland, where he cut in pieces fifteen hundred of the inhabitants who opposed him. Thence he made a descent on the island of Gothland, and engaged the enemy in three different battles, which cost them the lives of near two thousand men. These advantages having rendered him master of the open country, he approached the fortified towns, and particularly Wisby, capital of the island, with intention to invest it; but the inhabitants, intimidated by

A.D. 1361.

Rupture
between
Denmark
and Sweden.

Wisby plundered.

the presence of an army flushed with repeated victory, opened their gates, and offered honourable proposals. Valdemar giving no ear to them, ordered a part of the walls to be demolished, made his army enter by the breach, pillaged the immense wealth of their city, and embarked with the richest booty that had for many years been brought into Denmark. One of his ships, laden with gold and silver vessels, and all the rich ornaments of the cathedral, was shipwrecked on the island of Carlsen. Pontanus relates, that before Valdemar's departure from Wisby, he entered into an alliance with the inhabitants, whom he confirmed in all their privileges; but this probably relates to another voyage which he made thither. Among other immunities he granted them the same freedom of trade in his ports as the subjects of Denmark enjoyed, suffering them likewise to coin money, a privilege which had been denied them by their natural sovereigns.

The Hanse Towns declare war on Valdemar.

As some of the merchants of those maritime towns, which now began to take the appellation of Hanse, had been treated with the same rigour as the citizens of Wisby, they determined to seek their revenge. Their first step was to seize upon all the Danish ships in their ports, and to confiscate the effects of the Danish merchants; after which seizure they declared open war upon the king. Such was their policy, that they drew into their alliance the king of Norway, the dukes of Mecklenburg and Holstein, with several other princes, to whom they gave the command of their squadrons. The regency of Lubec armed a squadron at its own expence, of which John Wittenburg, their consul, was appointed admiral.

Matters being thus disposed, the allies put to sea, attacked Haffnia, took the citadel, and plundered the city. Thence they steered for Helsingburg, which they besieged with great vigour; but while the land-forces were employed in carrying on their approaches, Valdemar attacked the squadron of Lubec, took six ships, burnt several others, and forced the enemy to raise the siege. Crantzius alleges, that the Danish fleet was commanded by Christopher, who received a wound in the engagement, while the king his father put himself at the head of a numerous land-army (A). The regency of Lubec were so incensed at this

A. D. 1362.

(A) To the consequence of this wound Crantzius ascribes the death of Christopher, which happened according to him about this time: yet no Danish writer takes any notice of his wound; and all affirm, that he died two years after, at Haffnia, of an ardent fever (1).

(1) Meurs. lib. iv Pontan. lib. viii.

defeat,

defeat, that, accusing the admiral of neglect of duty, they ordered his head to be struck off.

Henry of Holstein, to wipe off the disgrace his troops had sustained before Helsingburg, laid siege to Wardenburg, but with no better success; for the garrison made so furious a sally, that he was compelled to break up the siege with prodigious loss. This he did on condition that the governor would set his prisoners at liberty; but receiving a reinforcement, he broke the capitulation, returned to the siege, and pushed it with redoubled vigour. His conduct irritated the governor so much, that he determined to be revenged. Feigning that he was reduced to the last extremity, he desired the duke would send some officers, into whose hands he might put the keys of the town he could no longer defend: Henry, falling into the snare, sent several of his principal officers, whom the governor committed to prison, after having first delivered the keys to them, to avoid forfeiting his word. Stung with the severity of this rebuke of his own perfidy, Henry broke up the siege a second time, and retired.

Not long after peace was concluded; but we are neither *Peace concluded.* informed of the circumstances nor conditions. Writers only relate, that the king of Denmark, the duke of Mecklenburg, and his three sons, Henry, Albert, and Magnus, had an interview; at which the king undertook to pay a thousand marks in silver, which he had promised for the portion of his daughter, Ingeburga; to restore the isle of Bornholm to the archbishop of Lunden, on condition that the prelate would enter into no engagements contrary to the interest of the crown, and would put the island and all its fortresses into the hands of Valdemar, or his successors, whenever it should be thought convenient for the security of Denmark^k.

About the same time a treaty was concluded between the king and the Hanse-towns; to wit, Lubec, Stralsund, Gripswald, and Hamburg. Others say it was only a truce, whereby the prisoners on each side were set at liberty, and the merchants of either party allowed mutually to trade for a certain term of years without molestation.

We have seen that the king of Norway was contracted to the princess Margaret; yet, to oblige the Swedish nation, who insisted on his renouncing the alliance with Denmark, he consented to demand in marriage the princess Elizabeth of Holstein. Every circumstance seemed favourable to the conclusion of this alliance, as both the Swedes *The king of Norway breaks his engagements to the princess Margaret.*

^k Pontan. lib. viii.

A. D. 1363.

and Holsteiners were equally desirous of it. Already Horman, the Swedish ambassador, had espoused the princess in the name of his master. She had been publicly declared the wife of Hacquin, and saluted queen of Norway. She was now embarked on the Trave to pass over to Sweden; but Heaven disposed events otherwise, and prevented the effects of these laboured intrigues: a violent storm drove the ship on the coast of Denmark; Valdemar received the princess with all the honours due to her rank; but still he kept her under a gentle constraint, until the nuptials of his daughter Margaret, with the king of Sweden, were celebrated, which happened on the first Sunday after Rogation-day, in the year 1366.

The public joy occasioned by this transaction was interrupted by the death of Christopher, and his mother the queen, who were both possessed of the affections of the people; and the former was esteemed a prince of great and promising expectation.

Towards the end of this year a treaty was concluded between Denmark and the cities of Vandalia, the particulars of which are not very material to the design of our history. Foreign authors likewise take notice of a journey to Ghent, which Valdemar performed this year, though we are not told what were his motives. Here, it is said, he was met by Lusignan, king of Cyprus, who came to solicit his aid against the Saracens. It is remarkable that no Danish historian takes any notice of this circumstance, though they all relate an interview he had the following year with the emperor Charles IV. at Prague.

A. D. 1364.

John, count of Wagria, dying this year, Valdemar concluded a treaty with his son Adolphus, to whom he ceded the island Femeren, on the same conditions his father had held it. A few clauses however were added, prohibiting Adolphus from interfering in the dispute between Denmark, Holstein, Sweden, and Norway, about the marriage of the princess Margaret. It was likewise subjoined, that the king should act in quality of umpire, should any differences arise between the dukes of Saxony, Mecklenburg, Stetin, and bishop Canute, who in their turns should decide any future disputes between the king and the count.

*Resolution
of the
Hanse
Towns to
declare
war on
Valdemar.*

This treaty was succeeded by a renewal of the truce with the cities of Vandalia; for these cities being in league with the Hanse Towns of Germany, complained, like them, of the violence committed on the Hanse merchants at Wisby. They also sent deputies to the general assembly held by these towns at Cologne, to provide for the security of their commerce. The final determination of this assembly, at

which

which the deputies of above eighty cities attended, was to declare war upon Denmark. At first Valdemar despised such enemies, imagining he had nothing to fear from the confederacy of so many cities, removed at so great a distance from each other, and swayed by particular and contrary interests; yet the event prevented his remaining long in his error, and proved to what a height of power industry and commerce are capable of raising the most insignificant communities. The formidable fleet they equipped at Campen, and the strong squadron fitted out at the same time by the Vandal cities, convinced him of the danger that impended, opened his eyes to their strength, and induced him to apply to the duke of Stetin to negotiate a peace, and make the first overtures.

Barnim's endeavours were not fruitless. He managed matters with such address, that a truce was concluded with the cities of Lubec, Rostock, Wismar, Stralsund, Gripswald, Colberg, Stetin, Anclam, and Kiel, to commence with the feast of St. John this year, and continue for the space of three years; during which time the merchants on each side should trade freely in each other's ports, and mutually send judges to Schonen, to decide all differences which should happen to arise between the subjects of each, excepting capital crimes. It was likewise stipulated, that the prisoners on both sides should be set at liberty; and that if any of the cities included in this truce should in the mean time take part with the enemies of Denmark, the rest should send the stipulated succours to the king; otherwise the truce should be void, and this contract of no effect. A number of princes were named as guarantees of this truce, all of whom solemnly sealed it, swearing to the observance of the several articles.

Valdemar obtains peace.

During this negotiation it was that Valdemar went to Prague, whither the emperor invited him, to honour by his presence his nuptials with Elizabeth, daughter to the duke of Pomerania¹. While he resided at this court, the irruption of the Bavarians into Nuremberg and Stiria furnished him with an opportunity of performing signal services to the empire; in acknowledgement of which Charles ordered the sum of sixteen thousand silver marks to be paid to the king of Denmark, and the usual tribute levied on the city of Lubec, to be mortgaged to him until the complete payment of the above sum. This, indeed, was no more than a confirmation of a deed made by Eric of Saxony four-

¹ Hist. Eccles. lib. xcvii. cap. viii.

teen years before, when he received the investiture of Brandenburg from his brother.

A.D. 1365.

Valdemar's first business, on returning from Germany, was to ratify the truce concluded with the Vandal cities by the mediation of the duke of Stetin: but as the truce finally determined nothing, and the parties were at liberty to recommence hostilities at the end of three years, it was resolved to convert it into a solid and durable peace, which was concluded accordingly, and ratified without loss of time.

Magnus of Sweden deposed.

Valdemar's absence proved fatal to Magnus; for while he was amusing himself at the emperor's court, the Swedish monarch lost his crown; the people having elected in his room Albert, second son to the duke of Mecklenburg, and nephew to Magnus, in prejudice of the rights of Hacquin of Norway, and Henry, the elder brother of Albert. Magnus, however, was still acknowledged king in a part of his dominions; several lords of the first quality followed his fortune, and he resolved to make vigorous efforts for the recovery of his throne. With this view he solicited succour from Valdemar, and his son Hacquin, king of Norway. The former sent him a body of auxiliaries; and the latter marched at the head of an army to his father's assistance. Magnus took the field, gave battle, was defeated, and conducted prisoner to Stockholm, where he was confined for the space of seven years, and at length delivered by his son Hacquin.

Valdemar assists Magnus.

A.D. 1366.

Valdemar deserts Magnus, and obtains Schonon as a recompence.

Albert, dreading that Valdemar would engage as a principal in this quarrel, and join his forces to Hacquin's, to procure the old king's liberty, set every engine at work to effect a peace between the two crowns. He proposed, with the consent of the senate, to yield in perpetuity to Valdemar the island of Gothland, with the city of Wisby, Verandia, Windovia, Marcia, the fortress of Elburg, a moiety of Helsingia, with the territory of Helsingburg, excepting only Laddehus. This cession was made on condition that Valdemar would leave Albert in the quiet possession of the crown, and renounce all pretensions to the duchy of Mecklenburg, the county of Schwerin, and the lordship of Rostock, which were to remain whole and entire, unalienably, in the family of Mecklenburg. By the same treaty king Albert, the duke his father, and his brothers, consented that the fortress of Wardberg should inseparably be annexed to the crown of Denmark, and the province of Halland promising never to give the Danes any disturbance on that account. They besides obliged themselves not to set

Magnus

Magnus at liberty until he should have ratified what they had here contracted; nor to make peace with Hacquin until he acceded to the grants specified in the above treaty, and gave security for performing his agreement. Albert moreover bound himself, both in his own name and that of the senate and people of Sweden, to remain in perpetual amity with Valdemar and his heirs, submitting all differences, which in course of time might arise, to the arbitration of a certain number of the nobility of both kingdoms. Thus we see Valdemar, like a true politician, profiting by the misfortune of a neighbouring king, the injuries done to his son-in-law, and the violences committed against good faith, the laws of nature and of nations. For the addition of some inconsiderable territories to his dominions, he falsified his engagements to Magnus, relinquished the rights of his son-in-law, contracted a strict friendship with an usurper, and countenanced a whole nation in the horrid crime of rebellion: but what will not ambition and the lust of power effect!

In consequence of this treaty Denmark passed the following year in profound tranquillity. Neither the people nor neighbouring states murmured; and Valdemar converted his whole attention to the regulation of domestic affairs. But this calm was of no long duration. In the year 1368 the nobility of Jutland revolted, and seduced a great part of the people to their interest. This incident, however, would have given Valdemar but little trouble, had not the princes of Holstein, in their usual manner, taken up arms in behalf of the rebels. Their example was followed by the Vandal cities, and a formidable league formed before Valdemar was scarce apprized of the insurrection. They had mutually contracted to afford the duke of Sleswick all manner of assistance; and that none of the powers should make peace with Denmark but by the joint consent of all: in the next place the princes of Holstein engaged to the duke of Sleswick to labour with all their power to re-establish the nobility of Jutland in all the privileges which they ever enjoyed, and to maintain in full force the laws passed by Valdemar II.

A.D. 1367.

A.D. 1368.

The Jutlanders revolt, and form powerful alliances.

Insensibly all the enemies of Valdemar acceded to this treaty. The old duke of Mecklenburg, and his sons Henry and Magnus, under pretence of several infractions of the late treaty, formed a league offensive and defensive with the powers already named, on the same conditions we have mentioned, promising likewise to draw Albert, king of Sweden, into the alliance. In effect, that prince readily embraced their proposals; and it was stipulated, that the conquests

A formidable league against Denmark.

A.D. 1369.

conquests which might be made in course of the war should be divided in the manner following: king Albert was to possess all the conquests in Schonen, and the island of Gothland; Zealand and the island of Falstere were destined to the duke of Mecklenburg; Jutland, Fionia, and Langeland, were to be divided between the princes of Holstein, with this proviso, that they should make no change in the laws and customs of the people. To such excess had these princes and cities carried their perfidy as to renounce the oaths they had so lately taken to preserve perpetual amity with Denmark; and such was Valdemar's reward for that unnatural treaty he had formed with Albert.

For the more certain execution of their project, the allies concluded a treaty of peace with Hartwick of Ravensdorp, whereby they granted him free leave to trade wherever he thought fit, provided he would obstruct none of the conquests they meditated. The treaty being signed, each of the contracting parties prepared to act his part. The Vandal cities infested Valdemar's coasts with a considerable fleet; king Albert entered Schonen with an army, and reduced Ysted, Falsterbo, Scanor, and some other places; the princes of Holstein, assisted by the Jutland nobility, attacked the king's garrisons in North Jutland.

*Valdemar's
courage de-
serts him,
and he flies
the king-
dom.*

At the sight of a league so formidable Valdemar's courage and presence of mind forsook him. Finding himself unable to resist such a cloud of enemies, he determined to abandon all, and make a journey to Rome, under pretence of a vow he had taken. He flattered himself, that his absence would abate the fury of his enemies; and that his senate, on which he conferred full powers to transact a peace on any terms, would find means to accommodate matters. His resolution was weak and pusillanimous; but it answered his expectations. Hemming Podesberesh, grand-mareschal of Denmark, engaged the Vandal cities to send deputies to Stralsund, to deliberate, in conjunction with certain Danish noblemen, on the means of ending a destructive war, to their mutual advantage. A treaty of peace was accordingly concluded, on condition that the Vandal cities should, for the term of fifteen years, hold the towns of Helsingburg, Melmogen, Scanor, and Falsterbo; but that the subjects of Denmark should have free liberty of trade into these ports during this period. This treaty the Danish deputies engaged to have ratified by the king within the space of six months.

A.D. 1370.

*The league
broken.*

Valdemar in the mean time resided at the emperor's court. Here he stopt in his way to Rome, and so pathetically represented to his imperial majesty the deplorable condition

condition to which he was reduced by the revolt of his subjects, and the powerful league formed against him, that this prince, moved with his distress, wrote to his uncles the margraves of Misnia, the duke of Sterin, and Adolphus of Holstein, to arm all their forces in his defence, and to aid and assist him by all possible means, in reducing his rebellious subjects.

Whether Valdemar's fears had quite blinded his understanding, or he placed but little confidence in these succours, or, lastly, he chose to unite policy with force, certain it is that he pursued his intention of engaging the pope's interest. For this purpose he sent an embassy, with rich presents, to Gregory XI. beseeching him to interpose his authority to quiet the disturbances in his dominions. He laid aside the thoughts of going in person thither, and he soon had reason to congratulate himself on this resolution; for his ambassadors found this father of the faithful but little disposed to acts of compassion. In a word, Gregory refused to intermeddle, under pretence of being able to form no judgment from the relation of only one party. He offered, however, to give his opinion as soon as he should be acquainted with what the king's subjects, and the united powers, had to advance in their own vindication.

He applies to the pope, who refused to intermeddle in the affair.

The Jutland nobility were no sooner informed of the pope's answer, than they dispatched proper persons to explain the nature of their grievances, and the motives for their conduct, both to the emperor and his holiness. They complained to the pope of the heavy taxes which he obstinately imposed on all his subjects, and of the frequent wars which his turbulent disposition drew upon him with the neighbouring states. In short, the deputies found means to make the pope comprehend the full weight of their reasoning, in consequence of which he wrote to Valdemar, exhorting him to alter his turbulence into tranquillity, and violence into gentle measures, threatening to excommunicate him if he did not immediately obey. The king was, naturally passionate, and too lively to contain his temper within the bounds of moderation. Without a moment's reflection he sat down, and answered the pope's letter in the following terms:

"Valdemar, king, &c. to the pope of Rome, sends
 "health. Our life we owe to God, our kingdom to our
 "subjects; our wealth we inherit from our parents, and
 "our faith from your ancestors, which we return to you by
 "these presents, should you think the obligation too con-
 "siderable."

Valdemar's spirited answer to the pope.

An answer that is related of Valdemar I. and more suitable to the greatness of his soul (A). Imperious and disrespectful as it was, it did not surprise his holiness: he knew that Valdemar had received his education at the court of the emperor Lewis, who was eternally involved in disputes with the holy see; he was well acquainted with the haughtiness and impetuosity of the king's disposition; it was therefore judged not advisable to employ his spiritual thunder against a prince, who respected his authority so little, that its terror, founded in superstitious reverence, would be lost. Yet was Valdemar bigotted in a high degree: we have seen him make unseasonable pilgrimages and expeditions from motives of religion; but his piety was by fits, and, like all his other passions, violent. Lately he had been immersed in a sea of politics and intrigue, which afforded no leisure for devotion; and his respect for the head of the church vanished with his religion.

The peace which the grand-mareschal concluded with the Vandal cities was a decisive blow to the league. It was no sooner perceived that they detached themselves from the alliance than the rest of the parties distrusting each other, and perhaps intimidated by the emperor's menaces, left Denmark in tranquillity, and Valdemar leave to return. Immediately he confirmed the treaty of Stralsund, and procured an instrument from the Hanse Towns, whereby they promised restitution of the places put into their hands for the term of fifteen years. Thus ended this formidable war, which had driven Valdemar from his own dominions, and marked his character with an indelible stain.

Some writers take notice of a body of auxiliaries he lent Hacquin to attempt the recovery of his father's liberty, and of a kind of war which he carried on in Friesland; but the particulars we find no where related. What we know for certain is, that Valdemar, terrified by the remembrance of the late combination, studied to pass the remainder of his days in tranquillity. He dreaded losing a crown in his old age, which he had acquired and maintained with so much toil and labour. He had built a beautiful country-seat in the neighbourhood of Helsingburg, called Gurrea;

(A) Saxo-Grammaticus relates the same story of Valdemar I. and it is probably true of him only; for how should the historian come to the knowledge of what happened in Valdemar the Third's reign, some centuries after his death? Pontanus mentions it in both reigns, without taking notice of the repetition; and he is copied by Meursius and other writers.

and there he breathed his last, after a tedious illness, in the thirty-fifth year of his reign. From the time of his return from the emperor's court, he was constantly afflicted with the gout; recourse was had to a variety of medicines, without effect. At last an empiric offered his infallible specific; the dose was administered; the king left to his repose; and found dead in his bed a few hours after (B). Thus ended the life of Valdemar, a prince greatly celebrated by the Danish historians as the restorer of their monarchy, which had so long been divided among a number of petty usurpers and tyrants. He attempted the reunion of his dominions, and pursued it with a perseverance that insured success; but more by the justice of his schemes, by his vigilance and constancy, than by force of arms. In this alone indeed was he consistent, all the rest of his conduct betrayed an unsteady, flighty, and warm imagination, strong passions, and violent prejudices, which absorbed every ray of judgment and understanding. He was at the same time a strange medley of impiety and religious enthusiasm, of incontinence with respect to women, and temperance in what regarded his palate; in a word, his vices were extraordinary, they proceeded from caprice; his virtues were noble, and the genuine offspring of his mind. His spirited answer to Gregory drew upon him the malice of the writers of his days; in ours it will be deemed noble, firm, sensible, and the most striking circumstance in his character ^m.

A.D. 1375.

Valdemar's
death and
character.

O L A U S F.

VALDEMAR left no male issue. Two sons, and the same number of daughters died before him. Ingeburga, the eldest surviving daughter, married the duke of Mecklenburg; and Margaret, the younger, was queen-dowager of Norway, the king her husband having resigned his last breath the year before. The diet met for the election of a successor, and were perplexed in their choice. One party declared for Olaus king of Norway, grandson to Valdemar. He was the son of the younger daughter, and consequently his right was very doubtful; but being already in possession of Norway, and having claims on the crown of Sweden, as the younger son of Magnus, the states were

^m Vide Pontan. Meurs. Crantz. ibid.

(B) It is remarkable that the very same circumstance is related of Valdemar I. as if historians purposely confounded the actions of these two princes.

in

*The reasons
which
swayed the
diet in that
election.*

in hopes of one day seeing the two crowns united on the same head. Another party urged, on the contrary, that it was shameful for Denmark to receive a king from Norway: that it was absurd to unite two kingdoms, opposite in many of their laws and customs, one being elective and the other hereditary. They observed that there were nobles in the kingdom worthy of the throne; and the exertion of the privilege to elect a sovereign out of their own number, was a duty incumbent on the states. A third faction fixed their eyes on Albert of Mecklenburg, son of Ingeburga, the eldest daughter of Valdemar. His right was uncontested; but this was a point not very material in the Danish form of government, though it was always regarded as a collateral inducement in the choice of a king. Disputes run high, and the diet broke up without coming to any determination.

It was not long, however, before that important affair was determined. The bishops, nobility, and commons of Jutland, resolved to place Olaus on the throne; and, as if all the rest of the kingdom had watched the signal from them, faction was dropt, and the different islands, provinces, and districts of Denmark, unanimously approved their choice. The terms in which the inhabitants of Schonen couched their assent, may be seen in Pontanus, and will serve as a specimen of the form used on this occasionⁿ. This election was esteemed the work of queen Margaret, and the first stroke of her masterly genius for the cabinet, and link of that chain of intrigue which sustained the reputation of this great princess.

*Margaret
declared
regent.*

Olaus was but eleven years of age on his accession to the throne; Margaret therefore assembled the states to ratify publicly what had only received the assent of the several provinces, and to declare her regent during the minority of her son. Here he was again proclaimed, and solemnly crowned, Margaret likewise obtaining her end of holding the reins of authority until he should be of age. Before this assembly broke up, the king swore to observe the laws of Valdemar II. in their full force, and made several additions to them, whereby the liberties of the people in general, and particularly of the clergy, were enlarged.

Immediately after the ceremony of the coronation was performed, Bogislaus duke of Stetin and Pomerania, and the prince of Rugen, did homage to the young king. The latter acknowledged that he held his dominions as a fief of

ⁿ Pontan. lib. viii. p. 50.

the crown of Denmark, and solemnly engaged to serve the king, whenever he should be called upon, against all his enemies.

Scarce was Olaus firmly seated on the throne before Albert, the old duke of Mecklenburg, made great preparations against Denmark, to vindicate the right of his grandson to the crown. His Swedish majesty took arms likewise in behalf of his nephew, and a terrible storm threatened Olaus on every side. Providence however interposed; the Swedish fleet was dispersed and shattered in a hard gale; the king was discouraged from pursuing his designs; and Albert finding himself alone too weak to combat with the whole force of Denmark, listened to terms of accommodation. A treaty was concluded, in which due regard was shewn to the rights of both princes, and the people of Denmark were confirmed in the full privilege of election. Thus Olaus was continued king, in consequence of the people's choice, without injuring Albert's birthright.

The Swedes arm against Denmark, and their fleet is lost in a storm.

In the course of this year the Vandal cities demanded a renewal of the treaty concluded with Valdemar; their example was followed by all the Hanse Towns; and the queen-regent granted their request, not chusing to engage in disputes with a body of merchants, so formidable by their wealth and alliances.

A.D. 1376.

Next year was ushered in by the convocation of a general diet, at which the king and queen-regent renewed their oath to maintain the laws, and preserve the privileges of each particular order of the people. To this oath the nobility acceded.

A.D. 1377.

Margaret was queen-regent of Denmark and Norway, some writers alleging that Hacquin her husband died before Valdemar; while others relate with the same confidence, that he was greatly instrumental in raising his son to the crown of Denmark. Be that as it may, she had now the supreme authority in both kingdoms, and began planning the outlines of that great scheme she afterwards effected, of uniting the three northern crowns. It was necessary first to unite Denmark and Norway, with the mutual consent of both kingdoms. She proposed it to the principal noblemen, and enlarged on the advantages that would necessarily result from such an union, with so much eloquence and refinement, that they seemed to relish the proposal, though it was not put in execution till five years after, when the three crowns were united by the celebrated treaty of Calmar.

A.D. 1379.

Margaret's policy.

While Olaus was busy in making magnificent preparations for the funeral obsequies of his father in Norway, the king

A.D. 1381.

king of Sweden embraced that opportunity of making an irruption into Schonen ; a circumstance which proves that Hacquin died later than the æra elated by the Danish historians in general. Notwithstanding a truce which he signed with the archbishop of Lunden, the governor, and principal nobility, he attacked and forced the residence of Thuon Gatten the governor. Yet we cannot positively affirm whether these hostilities proceeded originally from the Swedes, or were the consequence of domestic faction. Certain we are, that at the expiration of the truce, Albert entered the country openly with a powerful army, took by assault the fortress of Laholm, and retreated on the approach of Margaret and the grand-mareschal, who determined to give him battle.

In the year 1385, Olaus passed from Norway to Schonen, attended by a numerous retinue of the nobility of both kingdoms. Here he received the allegiance of all the inhabitants of the province ; a ceremony that was thought necessary, as the term for which several of the cities had been pledged to the Vandals was now expired. The only transaction of importance in this reign was, however, of a nature that greatly derogates from the king's character, who was now of age, and appears extremely inconsistent with the known prudence and policy of Margaret. Henry, duke of Sleswick, dying without issue, the duchy reverted in full right to the crown of Denmark ; yet did Olaus, with his mother's approbation and the consent of the states, grant the investiture of it to Gerhard, son to Henry of Holstein, the inveterate enemy of his crown and family. His generosity could never be shewn more unseasonably, or conferred on a more improper object ; for by this grant the keys of Jutland were put into the hands of his enemy, and a road opened into his dominions to a power which he ought to have been very cautious in excluding. Perhaps he wanted to gain over the Holstein princes by such an act of liberality ; but surely the hazard was great, and the means he took impolitic in itself, and injurious to his people.

At the diet of Neuburg, the two archbishops of Lunden and Drontheim, and the bishops of Ripen, Alburg, Wiburg, and Sleswick, granted a multitude of indulgences to those who should found monasteries, or any ways endow the church. The king ordained public prayers for the prosperity of the kingdom, the preservation of his own and the queen's health, and a happy issue to all their undertakings. Her majesty, in particular engaged to leave at her death, to the cathedral of Lunden, the fortress of Thustrapsée, which she had purchased of Thuon Gatten ; but on condi-

tion

tion, that the walls and fortifications should be destroyed; if the king thought proper.

Soon after this transaction Olaus died, at the age of twenty-two years. He was a prince of excellent qualities of the heart, of great liberality and devotion; what his understanding was, we may form some judgment from the affair of Sleswick. Age and experience might, however, have ripened his intellect; nor would it be candid to lay on him the whole blame of a transaction in which the queen and the diet were equally concerned. Olaus died at Falsterbo, A. D. 1387; his bowels were buried in the church of St. Laurence, in Lunden, and his body was deposited in a private manner in the monastery of Soora.

M A R G A R E T.

WITH Olaus the male line of the three northern crowns was extinct, and custom had not yet authorised the election of a female. Sweden had chosen a king from Germany, and the public waited impatiently for the determination of the states of Denmark and Norway. Margaret, who to the natural ambition of her sex joined a depth of understanding, a firmness and penetration seldom met with in the fairer part of the creation, omitted nothing that could forward her pretensions. Her competitor was Henry of Mecklenburg, brother to the king of Sweden. Henry flattered himself that, by his personal qualities and the advantage of being son-in-law to Valdemar, he should easily carry the crown from a woman; but Margaret's genius for intrigue, and her well placed liberality, won over the bishops and clergy, which in effect was gaining the greater part of the people. The election was not made in a general diet, but in an assembly of the provincial states, as formerly at the election of Olaus. On this occasion the inhabitants of Jutland gave the signal, by declaring Margaret queen of Denmark, protesting that they would acknowledge no other sovereign. All the other provinces acceded to their choice. A declaration was drawn up at Lunden, signed by the archbishop, Podesbunk the grand-mareschal, a great number of bishops and of the principal nobility. The states of Zealand assembled at Ringstادت, and solemnly declared Margaret sovereign of Denmark; those of Jutland, Fionia, and other islands and provinces followed the example.

*Margaret's
genius for
politics.*

Margaret received the crown at the solicitation of the clergy, who flattered themselves that now their time was come, under the government of a woman, who would probably be directed in every thing by her council. As they had the keeping of her conscience, they doubted not but

they would find opportunities of influencing, and even of dictating all her measures. The sensible queen saw their design, and artfully flattered their hopes, while she stood in need of their interest.

*She unites
Norway to
Denmark:*

But Margaret's ambition was not satisfied with the crown of Denmark alone, she grasped at that of Norway also; sent deputies to solicit the states of that kingdom, and by her policy succeeded. The chief persons in the government were gained over by money; she found means to render herself mistress of the army and garrisons; so that had the nation in general been otherwise disposed, she could not have failed of carrying her point. Thus from regent she became queen of Norway, with the same facility as she had acquired the crown of Denmark.

*and ap-
points a
successor.*

The Norwegians, perceiving that the succession was again in danger of being extinct, entreated their queen to secure it by an advantageous marriage, which might at the same time augment her power and dominions; but she received the proposal coldly. Jealous of her sovereign authority, she could not think of sharing it with a husband: however, to satisfy the earnest desire of her subjects, she consented to appoint a successor; but made choice of one so young as to allow herself full time to satiate her ambition before he should be of age to take any share in the government; at the same time she contrived matters in such a manner, that this choice seemed to proceed more from the states than from her inclination. Having opened the diet, she demanded to know the nearest heir of blood to the crown, and whether his elevation to the succession would be agreeable to the states. Being answered, that the children of Wratislaus VII. and Mary of Mecklenburg, daughter of Henry of Mecklenburg and Ingeburga of Denmark, were the nearest a-kin, and perfectly agreeable to the people, she immediately fixed the succession in this family, and named the young Henry, from that time called Eric, presumptive heir to the crown^b.

A.D. 1333. Matters being thus adjusted, it was imagined the public tranquillity might receive some disturbance from the pretensions of one Hacquin, who deduced his pedigree from the kings of Norway, and had acquired immense wealth and influence in Sweden. The fears of the people were, however, quieted in a short time by the prudence of their queen. She found means to prevail on Hacquin publicly to renounce his pretensions, by an instrument lodged in the hands of the archbishop of Drontheim: and he declared at the

^b Pontan. lib. ix. Meurs. lib. v.

same time upon oath before the senate, that thenceforward he claimed no right to the throne.

Henry of Mecklenburg could not see Margaret elevated to the throne, in prejudice to her elder sister Ingeburga, without expressing emotions of envy. The accession of the crown of Norway added fuel to his jealousy; and the thoughts of her one day uniting the three northern crowns, were altogether insupportable. Albert of Sweden was no less emulous of her success; he formed an alliance with his brother Henry, resolved on declaring war against Margaret, and assumed the arms of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway. He spoke of Margaret in the most contemptuous and disrespectful terms; called her "a king without breeches;" passed some gross pleasantries on her regard for the clergy, and particular attachment to a certain abbot of Soora, who was her spiritual director. It is indeed true, that her intimacy with this man gave room for suspicion that all her privacies with him were not employed about the care of her soul.

Preparations for war between Sweden and Denmark.

Albert made great preparations; besides the Swedish army, he relied upon powerful succours from Henry and other German princes in his alliance. Margaret was not more backward in her own defence; besides the troops of Denmark, Norway, and those furnished by the duke of Pomerania, she was sure of a considerable party in her favour in Sweden. All those noblemen who had supported the election of her husband Hacquin, in opposition to Albert, were her strenuous friends. The nation was likewise filled with disaffected persons. Albert had disposed of all places of trust to foreigners; he imposed taxes without consulting the senate; he obliged the widows and daughters of the first nobility to espouse upstart foreigners, to give weight to the latter by such connections: in a word, he became unpopular, and even odious to one half of his subjects, by his pride and insolence, and from their rivetted dislike to foreigners. In particular, the clergy were incensed against him, for having sequestered many of the church-lands, and annexed to the crown a number of strong holds they had held from time immemorial. Margaret prudently fomented these divisions, and rendered herself no less beloved than Albert was detested. The Swedes only waited for the signal to revolt; they had fixed their eyes on Margaret for their queen, and resolved to drive Albert out of the kingdom. They perceived her good sense would set bounds to her ambition, and prevent her infringing the rights of the people; or should she attempt it, that the states of the three kingdoms would mutually oppose

her, and receive additional strength and security from a strict union of interest.

*The crown
offered to
Margaret.*

The first measure taken by the Swedish malcontents was secretly to depute certain lords of the first rank, to make Margaret an offer of the crown. She received the proposition with joy, and promised to defend the people in all their rights and privileges: however, she demanded that the crown should be made hereditary, with a view for ever to unite the three kingdoms. She met with some difficulties in gaining this point; but at last surmounted them, and obtained all she required^c.

While these matters were in agitation, the governor of the fortresses of Oberstein and Orestein surrendered those places to the queen; she immediately took possession, and continued him in the same command. It was specified in his commission, that he held his authority of Margaret, queen of Sweden and Norway, and the legitimate sovereign of Denmark. A great number of lords followed the example of Algot Magnus, for that was the governor's name. All acknowledged Margaret for their queen; an instrument was drawn up, whereby they renounced their oath of allegiance to Albert, declared they would never more acknowledge him, and henceforward attempt nothing but with the consent and by the order of Margaret. They likewise added, that her heirs should be their sovereign, and that they would never accept of any other at her death, but such a successor as she should think fit to appoint. Among other strong holds, the fortresses of Abo, Favest, Razeburg, Castleholm, Crytzburg, all Helſingia, together with the copper and iron mines of Dalecarlia, were put into the queen's hands. In a word, the Dalecarlians had positively acknowledged her sovereignty by an act passed this year, in which they consented, in the name of the whole kingdom of Sweden, that the revenues of the copper mines should be put into her hands, although they were mortgaged to the princes of Holstein^d.

*Resolutions
taken by
the Dale-
carlians.*

On the Wednesday preceding Pentecost, the Swedish senate wrote to the queen a ratification of the treaty she had concluded with the deputies, and accordingly acknowledged her queen of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway. This oath of the senate was like a thunder-bolt to Albert. He perceived that he could no longer depend on the Swedish army, and therefore cast about for foreign succours. Among his firm allies he reckoned the duke of Mecklenburg, the princes of Holstein, the duke of Sturgard; and for a sum of money he engaged Conrad Jungingen, grand-master of

^c Pontan. lib. ix.

^d Meurs. lib. v.

the Teutonic order, and the island of Gothland. By means of these allies, he soon made up a considerable army, with which he was preparing to take the field.

Margaret marched an army to the assistance of the malcontents, under the conduct of four generals, Eric Lucke, Henry Parow, Winchan Norby, and Lothario Cabolt. They joined the disaffected Swedes, and both together marched against Albert. Coming up with him at Falkoping, a furious battle was fought, in which victory for a long while stood in suspense. The fate of a kingdom depended on the event, and both sides behaved with that courage and perseverance which an affair of so much importance merited; but Margaret's good fortune prevailed: Albert was routed, and his army cut in pieces. He was afterwards taken prisoner in the pursuit, together with his son Eric, Gerhard, prince of Holstein, and a great number of lords of the first distinction. Albert and his son were conducted first to Båhus, a fortress on the confines of Norway and West-Gothland, and from thence to Saholm, where they were confined for the space of seven years. As to the other prisoners, they were confined in several parts of the kingdom ^{*Albert is defeated.*}

Few victories had ever been so productive of glory to the Danes as this last; for besides the royal prisoners they had taken, no less than nineteen general officers were left dead on the field by the vanquished. On Margaret's side the loss was inconsiderable, except that Henry Parow died of his wounds, greatly regretted. Yet though the battle was decisive, the Swedes were still undetermined. Margaret's coronation was deferred, because a great part of the nation thought it dishonourable to dispose of the crown while their king was a prisoner. As the people were divided, they now looked upon the Danes as foreigners, and grudged them a victory over the Swedes, though in fact Margaret had on her side the greater number of Swedish forces. The German princes accused the Swedes of perfidy and cowardice, attributing the defeat and imprisonment of Albert to their pusillanimous conduct. On the other hand, they justified themselves, by retorting on the Germans, whom they accused as the cause of the war, and the king's misfortunes ^{*f*}.

During these debates and mutual recriminations, the princes of the house of Mecklenburg and the towns of Rostock and Wismar began to raise fresh levies, in favour of the unfortunate Albert. His friends in Sweden likewise became masters of Stockholm, and several fortified places, ^{*Levies raised in Germany to support Albert.*}

^{*e*} Vide supra ibid.

^{*f*} Meurs. lib. v.

and John of Mecklenburg put to sea at the head of a well appointed squadron, which was dispersed by a storm. Margaret's forces were, in the mean while, laying siege to Stockholm; and John, having collected his squadron, determined to relieve it. Accordingly he landed his forces, drove the besiegers from their works, and supplying the city with ammunition and provision, again set sail. Afterwards, making descents on different parts of the coast, he ravaged the country, a circumstance which so enraged the peasants, that assembling tumultuously, they attacked him near Tilling, and were cut in pieces, having no officer of ability to lead them on and direct their fury.

The Germans were not satisfied with the ravages committed by this squadron; a shoal of privateers were licensed by the duke of Mecklenburg; the sea was covered with pirates, and the most terrible disorders were committed on the ocean and the sea coasts. Some of them ventured an attack on the island of Gothland, took it, and made it the repository of their plunder, and the rendezvous for the whole piratical fleet. Notwithstanding all this success, the cause of Albert was but little forwarded, and his opponent every day gained ground. Among many other places of consideration, the important city of Calmar declared for the queen, and was surrendered with its appendages into her hands. Bogislaus, prince of Stetin (A), likewise declared in her favour, and his example was followed by the prince of Rugen, both attending her majesty at Falsterbo, where they did homage to her as their sovereign &c.

A. D. 1357.

Margaret is established in the sovereignty of the three kingdoms.

Margaret spent the two following years in Norway and Sweden. In the former she renewed the act by which young Eric was declared successor to the crown; and in the latter she laboured to appease the civil divisions by which the kingdom was reduced to the most deplorable state of misery. Foreigners and natives seemed to unite their endeavours in ruining the country, and in this alone were they consistent. Even in Stockholm faction reigned, and the German garrison, who apprehended the citizens were inclined to side with the queen, lived in a continual state of hostility with the civil magistrates, which every day produced murder and bloodshed. At length an union of interests was agreed upon; but this was no more than a stratagem formed by the Germans to be revenged on the burghers. Under cover

& Pontan. *ibid.*

(A) Bogislaus was uncle to Eric of Pomerania, declared successor to the thrones of Denmark and Norway, as we have seen.

of

of this false reconciliation they seized upon the principal citizens, put many of them to the torture, and conveyed them in the night to the island of Chepling, where, after having put them to the most excruciating torments, under pretence that they carried on a clandestine correspondence with the queen, they enclosed them in a large house filled with wood, to which they set fire.

Her majesty meeting with little success in her endeavours to heal the intestine commotions in Sweden, determined to return to Denmark, and change her measures. She now laboured to effect a peace with the duke of Sleswick and the princes of Holstein. At length she compassed her design, and paved the way to a general accommodation. The peace between these princes was a fatal blow to the pirates, who immediately abandoned the Baltic, and launched forth in the ocean, to make one last effort. The town of Bergue, one of the richest ports in the North, felt the first effects of their desperate rage. It was taken and miserably pillaged, but not without impunity; for some of their ships fell into the hands of the Danes, who ordered the crews to be hanged upon gibbets, without form of trial. This severity had salutary consequences; it broke the confederacy, struck terror into the whole, and obliged some to renounce the profession, others to incorporate with the queen's seamen, and others more obstinate to retire to Frieseland and live in remote creeks, from whence they sallied out on the commercial fleets of the Flemings, English, French, and Spaniards.

A.D 1301.

The pirates suppressed.

Nothing remarkable occurs this year, besides the donation the queen made of a moiety of the fortress and prefecture of Wiburg to the cathedral of that name, for which she was recompensed by the daily prayers of the bishop and prebendaries.

A.D 1393.

Next year she became more general in her bounties to the clergy, by confirming the privileges and immunities of the cathedral of Lunden, and other churches and bishopricks. She resided for some time at Halsinburg, and there received deputies from several Vandal cities, which were exhausted by a tedious war; and desirous of coming to terms with respect to Albert's liberty, who had now been prisoner for near six years. Just as a treaty was on the point of execution, an accident broke off the negotiation, which was resumed the succeeding year with a happier event. One of the deputies was slain in a tumult that happened in the city, and the others, imagining their lives were in danger, fled with the utmost precipitation, leaving mat-

A.D. 1394.*Peace concluded with the Vandal cities.*

ters just as unsettled as they found them. Margaret soon convinced their constituents, that the murder was not premeditated, by bringing all the delinquents to strict justice. A second time the Vandal deputies waited on the queen; and it was at length agreed, that Albert and his son Eric should be released, on condition that he paid Margaret the sum of sixty thousand silver marks, renounced all his pretensions to the Swedish crown, withdrew his garrison from Stockholm, and all the other fortresses, and engaged the Vandal cities to guarantee the treaty.

A.D. 1395.

As soon as the two princes were delivered to the deputies, they solemnly swore to a strict observance of every article which had been stipulated. Barnim of Pomerania, John of Mecklenburg, and several other princes, joined the Vandal cities as guarantees: and this addition was made to the treaty, that neither party should, for the term of three years, erect any new fortresses, but that liberty should be granted mutually to repair the old; and with respect to the island of Gothland, it was agreed that each party should retain what they at present possessed.

Margaret crowned queen of the three kingdoms.

This treaty restored tranquillity to the three kingdoms; and Margaret, imagining she would best prove her gratitude to Heaven by pouring her favours on its ministers, made several considerable donations to the sees of Lunden, Roschild, and Odensee. Still she found the services of the clergy necessary, and she neglected no opportunity of binding them to her interest. Towards the close of the year she passed over to Sweden, and was there solemnly crowned queen, with all the solemnities observed on her accession to the thrones of Denmark and Norway ^b.

Her policy in appointing a successor.

Immediately after this ceremony she observed, that as she was considerably advanced in years, it would be a great satisfaction to her to see the succession confirmed; she hinted her grand-nephew as a proper person, and met with all the obedience she could require from her subjects, who immediately passed an act for that purpose. Pleased with their complaisance, she studied to gain the affections of her new subjects, by applying proper remedies to all the evils occasioned by the late tumults and establishing matters on the best footing. With this view she convoked a diet of the states at Nicoping; at which were present the archbishop of Upsal, and all the bishops and senators of the kingdom. Here it was agreed, that all the crown lands and fortresses alienated by Albert, should be forthwith redeemed; that

^b Pontan. lib. ix.

the new fortresses erected during the civil wars should be dismantled; that all those enjoying the privileges of Swedish subjects, and the benefit of the laws, should immediately take an oath of allegiance to the queen and her successor Eric: that the sovereign should restore to all the vassals of the crown whatever they possessed before they civil war, and lost by their adherence to Albert; that the lawful proprietors should enter into possession of all that had been usurped by others during the late commotions; that the states should assemble at the pleasure of the queen and young king, wherever their majesties should appoint, in order to deliberate with the states of Denmark and Norway for the joint interest of the three kingdoms, and in particular to declare Eric sovereign of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. To these were added some particular regulations; after which the queen and young king departed for Denmark.

The queen's principal care was now to visit the different provinces, to administer justice, and redress grievances of every nature, tasks which she performed with admirable prudence. While she was in Jutland all the exiles were summoned to appear, and take their trial according to law. All men were forbid, under severe penalties, to screen criminals; but, if they submitted to justice, her majesty always inclined to mercy. Here she enacted, that no new fortresses should be raised; that those belonging to the crown should be restored, if usurped, and redeemed if mortgaged; and that all those who had not sworn allegiance to king Eric, should perform that duty within the space of fourteen days.

The queen's care in administering justice.

Among other salutary regulations the affairs of commerce were not forgot. It was decreed, that all ports lately opened to the prejudice of established marts, should be shut up; that no duties should be exacted but where they were imposed by law; that all manner of assistance should be given to foreign merchants and sailors, particularly in case of shipwreck and misfortune, without expectation of reward, except what was provided for by law: in a word, that every circumstance enjoined by humanity and sound policy should be strictly observed with respect to strangers. Such was the wise conduct of this glorious princess. Pontanus relates, that the ancient laws, which had been neglected during the late commotions, were renewed in their full force; that pirates were treated with great rigour, in order to deter them from that dishonourable profession; and that a prefect and sovereign judge were appointed in Jutland, for the more easy and effectual execution of the laws. The same

same writer relates, that she likewise rectified an abuse which had, immediately before her accession, crept into the Swedish government. Several of the gentlemen of that country had seized the opportunity of extending their power, and of exempting their lands from all taxes. Many of them acknowledged no fealty to the crown, and claimed an absolute jurisdiction within their own estates. This was an abuse that greatly diminished the power of the sovereign and strength of the government; Margaret, therefore, with the consent of the senate, ordained that all jurisdictions should be put on the ancient footing, and every man contribute his proportion towards the support of that government by which he was protected *v*.

But while we are enlarging upon the many excellent regulations made by Margaret, we must not forget that she was not infallible. Notwithstanding her prudence, policy, and other shining virtues, her government was not without error. During the reign of Olaus, she had consented that Gerhard of Holstein should be invested for life in the duchy of Sleswick; the war in Sweden had proved the weakness of that measure, and yet she now granted the perpetuity of Sleswick to the princes of that house, on no other condition than that they acknowledged the sovereignty of Denmark. Happily, indeed, these princes preferred a pecuniary subsidy, as appears by an act passed in Fionia; whither Margaret convoked the Holstein princes; but this we are not to ascribe to her policy, but to their necessity. It is true, her conduct admits of some palliation, if we consider that the chief aim of all her pretensions was to unite the three crowns, every obstruction to which she resolved to remove at all events. The Holstein princes were the great sticklers for Albert, and against this union; and their friendship she endeavoured to win by so important a grant. At present the three northern crowns were actually united upon her head; but she laboured to render this act perpetual. Besides the advantages which she proposed drawing from the joint strength of these kingdoms, a variety of other reasons occurred to induce her to wish that a fundamental law was established for a perpetual union of the three crowns. Such a law she knew would transmit her name with admiration and glory to posterity, would render her absolute mistress of the North, and one of the greatest sovereigns in Europe. She therefore laboured to gain a sufficient party in each kingdom to answer her purpose; and when she believed she had accomplished this aim, she convoked

v Vide Pontan. & Meurs. in locis citat.

the states-general of each kingdom to meet at Calmar, and forty deputies from each attended the assembly².

Her majesty opened the congress by introducing the young king Eric to the deputies one by one, whom she requested to confirm his election to the succession. She then represented to them, with abundance of address and eloquence, the advantages that would necessarily result from their having but one monarch, a circumstance that would intirely abolish the cause of all those wars which had so often been fatal to each of the kingdoms; render them entire masters of the commerce of the Baltic; keep in awe the Hanse Towns, grown powerful by the divisions of her people; and, in a word, consolidate them into one nation, with all the conveniences which flow from a perfect uniformity of customs, laws, and interests. The majesty of the queen's person, the strength of her arguments, and the sweetness of her eloquence, together with the applauses bestowed by her creatures, gained over the deputies. They approved and confirmed the election of Eric, and established a fundamental law, which was received by the three kingdoms, and solemnly confirmed by oath. This was the law so celebrated in the North, under the name of the Union of Calmar, which afterwards gave birth to wars that lasted a whole century between Sweden and Denmark. It consisted of three principal articles, which were established for the security of each nation. The first imported, that the three kingdoms, which were in a manner elective, should, henceforward, have but one and the same king, who should be chosen successively by each of the kingdoms, and then approved by a general assembly of the whole. The second article consisted in the obligation upon the sovereign to divide his time equally in the three kingdoms, and to spend in each the revenues arising to him from each crown, without being able to apply the savings but for the good of that particular kingdom. The third and most important was, that each kingdom should retain its own laws, customs, senate, and privileges of every kind; and that the garrisons of every kingdom should be maintained at its own expence, and defended by its own forces; and that the subjects of one kingdom should not be raised to posts of profit and power in the other, but should be reputed foreigners, except in their own native country.

While the congress sat at Calmar, Albert's son, Eric, died; a melancholy accident, that made such an impression on the unhappy king, as to make him give up all hopes

A.D. 1397.

*The Union
of Calmar
concluded.*

² Meurs. lib. v.

of remounting the throne of Sweden; for, notwithstanding the conditions on which he obtained his liberty, he never despaired till now of recovering his crown. Stockholm was not given up agreeable to the treaty; but he now wrote to his garrison to yield to the necessity of the times; and surrender to Margaret. The example of Stockholm was followed by all the other strong holds possessed by Albert in Sweden; but still the queen could not recover Gothland, this island being retained by the grand-master of the Teutonic order, who pretended to hold it by right of conquest, as he had driven the pirates from thence. First it was mortgaged to him by Albert for a sum of money; but he refused to deliver it to that prince, when he offered to redeem it. Margaret determined to recover it by force of arms. She sent an army thither under Algot Magnus and Abraham Broder. Wisby, the capital, was immediately besieged, the Danes pushed the attack with ardour, and the knights defended the city with intrepidity, when the emperor interposed in quality of protector of the Teutonic order, and offered his mediation to accommodate all differences. He called a congress at Helsingburg, whither he invited the queen's deputies. Here it was at length stipulated, that the island should be surrendered to Margaret, on her paying a certain sum of money to the knights; but as the money was not paid for some time, the knights kept possession; this circumstance, however, did not prevent the queen from renewing her old alliance with them^a.

A.D. 1398.

A.D. 1399.

In the course of the following year deputies from the Vandal cities, which had exercised piracies during the late disturbances, came to Nicoping, in the island of Fals tre. A treaty was concluded between her majesty on the one part, and the deputies on the other, in which it was stipulated, that a general pardon should be granted for all disorders committed during the late troubles, and that the preceding treaties between the contracting parties should subsist in full force, particularly that treaty by which the Vandal cities engaged to guarantee the promises made by Albert in obtaining his liberty:

For the four succeeding years the three kingdoms enjoyed profound tranquillity, and Margaret applied her mind to works of piety, or rather of policy. She was well acquainted with the natural disposition of her people: accustomed to an excess of liberty, she knew they would with difficulty bear the restraint of authority, which, however, was necessary to carry on government, and suppress per-

^a Pontan. lib. ix.

petual insurrections. To establish herself firmly, she gained over, by affability and liberality, the principal persons in each kingdom; made them her creatures, and opposed their influence to all factions formed against the court. The clergy were especially essential to her views, on account of their wealth, their power, and their credit with the people. In those days all devotion consisted in donations to the church, and piety was estimated by the will and ability to enrich the clergy. Margaret, therefore, founded monasteries, endowed churches, augmented the power and privileges of the bishops, admitted them to a great share in the administration, and entirely won their hearts by her largesses. Filled with gratitude for the numberless marks of favour and distinction shewn them, the bishops fell into all her views, and were followed by the inferior order of the clergy, who found their interest consisted in coinciding with the sentiments of their superiors.

Margaret's designs in gaining over the clergy.

The nobility and gentry, already jealous of the high power and credit of the church, beheld with chagrin this addition to the authority of the bishops: they, however, durst not express their resentment. Equally politic and powerful, Margaret had her creatures concealed among the discontented, who gave her notice of all their proceedings, broke and disconcerted their measures.

One remarkable occurrence is mentioned by historians to have fallen out about this time. A report prevailed that Olaus, the queen's son, was not dead: it was propagated by many of the nobility, and supposed to be first set on foot by them, in order to punish Margaret for her liberality to the clergy. The impostor sought to pass for the king, and every day gained credit, by making discoveries which could possibly be known only to Olaus and his mother. Margaret, however, was too many for him: she proved him to be son to the nurse of Olaus, and to have got these secrets from his mother, whom she had made her confidant. She next proved that Olaus had a large wart between his shoulders, which mark did not appear on the impostor. Lastly, she farther proved, by a cloud of witnesses, that the king actually died upon a certain day, and was buried at Soora. In fine, the impostor was seized, put to the torture, and publicly burnt at a place between Falsterbo and Scanora^b.

Margaret was not happy enough to rid herself so easily of the continual inquietudes excited by the house of Holstein. All her munificence to this family could not extin-

A. D. 1404.

Fresh disputes with the house of Holstein.

^b Pontan. lib. ix.

guish ancient animosity, or engage their gratitude. She could not depend on treaties concluded with them, though solemnly sworn to, nor in their fealty or fidelity. In one word, she severely felt the imprudence of that act, whereby she had confirmed strangers in the possession of a duchy so important to her dominions as Sleswick. Count Gerhard of Holstein fell in a battle fought with some of his neighbours in the year 1404, leaving a widow and three young children; Henry, the oldest of whom, was no more than seven years of age; Adolphus, the second, but three; and Gerhard, the youngest, then in the cradle. Several guardians were appointed in his will; but Henry, bishop of Osnaburg, uncle to the young princes, excited great troubles, by claiming a right to the administration of Sleswick, till his nephews should arrive at a proper age. He found means to raise a faction, by means of Segeburg and Rendsburg.

On the other had, Margaret beheld with uneasiness those commotions excited in a duchy which had been a fief of Denmark. With a view to apply healing remedies, as well as to profit by the present situation of affairs, she tampered with the widow Elizabeth, who she knew was in want of money. Thus she obtained possession of certain fortresses in Holstein, and likewise of the strong citadel of Oppenrade, by marrying Elizabeth, widow of count Nicholas, who possessed this place, to Eric, duke of Saxony, paying her portion, and keeping in her own hands the fortress. She likewise, by a stroke of policy, got Grotisbach into her hands; but this she dismantled, and presented to the cathedral of Sleswick. In a word, she at length disposed of every thing in the duchy according to her own pleasure. The oldest of duke Gerhard's sons was carried to Denmark, and three of the principal nobility appointed his guardians: Adolphus, his second brother, lived with his uncle, who conceived a strong affection for the boy, and, at length procured for him a high place at the emperor's court. Some writers allege, that the duchess Elizabeth, and all the great lords of Sleswick, put themselves voluntarily under the queen's protection, acknowledged her sovereignty, and did homage to her as superior of the duchy. They add, that she divided between the duchess, the young duke's guardians, and the chief nobility, all places of honour and profit in the duchy, with certain yearly salaries, with which they became in a short time dissatisfied. What, however, is certain, and agreed upon by all historians, is, that peace was at this time proclaimed between Denmark and Sleswick; and that neither

the queen nor king pretended to any other rights within the duchy, besides those of superior and sovereigns merely nominal, without power to enact laws or impose taxes.

In the following year Margaret annexed several places to the crown, which had either been mortgaged or usurped during the last reign. This year had almost proved fatal to Denmark. The summer, and especially the autumn season, had been so rainy, that the fruits of the earth were destroyed, and the air corrupted, insomuch that above a tenth of the inhabitants of Denmark perished of famine and pestilence. Yet, amidst these afflictions, there occurred two events which afforded some consolation to the court and people. Albert of Mecklenburg, formerly king of Sweden, published a writing, whereby he renounced all claim to the crown of Sweden, and engaged never to take arms against Eric, or his successors; but to live upon a footing of the strictest amity with them. The next circumstance was the marriage of king Eric with the daughter of Henry IV. king of England, which was celebrated at Lunden on the 25th of October. This princess, if we may credit the Danish historians, brought the king an immense fortune.

A.D. 1405.

*A dearth
and pesti-
lence in
Denmark.*

A.D. 1406.

Notwithstanding peace had been proclaimed between Denmark and Sleüwick, the Danes and Holsteiners were continually in arms, and committing perpetual ravages upon each other's frontiers. Wearied with these disorders, king Eric resolved to apply effectual remedies. He invited Henry, bishop of Osnaburg, the chief author of these disturbances, amicably to terminate them by an interview at Kolding; but this conference breaking off abruptly, a second interview was appointed in Fionia. Here it was agreed, that eleven thousand marks in silver should be paid to Denmark, to indemnify the losses sustained by the insults of the Holsteiners; that the towns of Flensburg and Menhus should be put into the king's hands, till payment of the above sum; or at least till the bishop proved that the Holsteiners had been equal sufferers by the incursions of the Danes. Some writers indeed allege, that Elizabeth, duchess-dowager of Holstein, put these towns into Eric's hands, without stipulating any conditions.

*Peace be-
tween
Holstein
and Den-
mark.*

Some differences arose this year between the queen and the duchess-dowager. Margaret, imagining that the duchess wanted to prevaricate about the promise of surrendering Gottorp, advanced to take possession of that city; but whether it was that she dreaded a body of armed men, who were reported to be lodged in a certain tower, or apprehended some secret designs upon her person, certain it is, that she immediately abandoned the town, and threw out

A.D. 1409.

some

some severe reflections upon the dukes. A misunderstanding so slight soon broke out into a war, and the pretext was, that Eric, by fortifying Flensburg, lately put into his hands, gave suspicions of having designs upon the whole duchy. Nor did the conduct of four Holstein gentlemen, in the queen's service, contribute a little towards accelerating the rupture. These officers withdrawing themselves suddenly, persuaded Henry, bishop of Osnaburg, that the duchy of Sleswick would speedily be annexed to the crown of Denmark, if proper measures were not taken to subvert the designs of Margaret and Eric. Elizabeth began her operations by a stroke of policy, which may well be deemed treacherous. She found means to draw the consuls of Flensburg into her power, and then detained them prisoners, till they engaged the citizens to put the town into the hands of the Holsteiners. Her scheme succeeded, the gates were opened to her forces, and every inhabitant revoked the oath of allegiance sworn to Eric. Hostilities were now commenced, several places were surprised, and, among others, the fortrefs of Swabestede, and the citadel belonging to the bishop of Sleswick, the usual place of his residence^c.

No sooner had Eric notice of these transactions than he resolved to make reprisals. Accordingly he invaded the islands of Arrhoe and Alsen, of both which he soon became master. Next he concluded a treaty, offensive and defensive, with the inhabitants of Dithmarsh, and immediately sent a body of troops against the Frisons, under the conduct of general Monk, who had for lieutenants three very experienced officers, John Scarpenberg, Nicholas Thuon, and Henry Cabolt. This corps, amounting to eight thousand men, without cavalry, had orders to march to Tunderen, Eric being desirous of subduing the adjacent country. They advanced, loaded with booty, to the neighbourhood of Husum and Bredstedt, where they were suddenly attacked by Adolphus of Schawenburg, and cut in pieces. Monk, the general, and Nicholas Thuon, were left dead on the field, together with fourteen hundred inferior officers and private men. Scarpenburg was taken prisoner, and at length obtained his liberty at a ransom of eight thousand marks in silver. It was reckoned that this unfortunate expedition cost Eric two hundred thousand marks, besides the loss of so many brave soldiers.

After this defeat Eric followed the advice of his senate, and made overtures to accommodate differences with the

A.D. 1410.

*The Danes
defeated by
Adolphus.*

Holstein princes. His proposals were embraced by the dukes Elizabeth, who consented to refer the matter to arbitration. A certain number were appointed by each side, but no conclusion was formed till two years after.

The tumult of arms gave place for some time to public rejoicings and festivals, on account of the marriage of the princess Sophia, or, according to some writers, Catherine, sister to Eric, to John duke of Bavaria and Newburg, son to the emperor Rupert. The marriage was celebrated at Ripen, and forty thousand florins were given for the princess's fortune. Provided she survived her husband, a jointure of an equal sum was settled on her; four weeks were allowed her before consummation, and in the mean time her fortune was to be paid into the hands of her husband.

The princess Sophia of Denmark marries John of Bavaria.

Notwithstanding the propositions for peace, and the conferences held for terminating the differences between Denmark and the house of Holstein, both sides did not fail to commit numberless hostilities. It was neither perfect peace nor declared war, yet each side bore the most inveterate hatred to the other. Some gentlemen of Holstein, to whom the king had committed certain towns in trust, upon their taking an oath of fidelity to him, perfidiously surrendered them to the dukes, and took all opportunities of insulting the king's garrisons in those parts. Eric was forced to come to the last extremity, and declare to the dukes, that, unless they were speedily redressed, he would employ all the force of Denmark to reunite the duchy of Sleswick to the crown. His menaces had the desired effect: the dukes and princes declared publicly, that they would endeavour all in their power to accommodate matters to his satisfaction; for which purpose a new congress was held at Kolding, where a truce for five years was concluded, during which time the umpires were to give their final decision, respecting the fortresses raised or taken by either party, as well as all other grievances. Mean while, several treaties, of little consequence, were concluded between queen Margaret and the dukes. They served, however, to distinguish the ability, the moderation, the solid judgment, and active disposition of Margaret. All the Danish historians are full of her praises upon this occasion; but they neglect the relation of those circumstances which alone could form our judgment of her conduct. Soon after these transactions she was carried off by a sudden death, in the fifty-ninth year of her age, and thirty-sixth of her reign, if we include the time of her regency.

A.D. 1411.

A truce concluded between Denmark and the dukes of Sleswick.

Margaret's death and character.

The characters of this personage, drawn by the Danish and Swedish historians are very different. According to the first, Margaret was possessed of every virtue belonging to a sovereign: steady, penetrating, active, and bold, she gained the love of her subjects, commanded the respect of her neighbours, and was the terror of her enemies. According to the latter, she was so ambitious as to endeavour the extension of her power at the expence of public liberty. She was pious from policy, moderate from interest, affable and familiar only with her creatures, proud to all besides; rigid and inflexible in the administration of private justice; but regardless of oaths and treaties, when placed in competition with her interest or ambition. In a word, a woman of great ability, but little integrity; of a sound head, but a corrupted heart. It is probable, that too much prejudice prevails in both these characters. The Swedes flattered themselves, that the union of Calmar would have extended their liberties, and they found them retrenched by Margaret. She was too ambitious, too powerful, to rest satisfied with a limited authority. No sooner was she declared queen of Sweden, than she formed schemes for extending the prerogative: she recovered, by degrees, the chief fortresses out of the hands of the gentry, by seasonable grants to them of another nature, which did not render them independent on the court. Most of the Swedish governments she disposed of to the Danish nobility, contrary to the express words of the treaty of Calmar; removing, insensibly, the native nobility from all places of trust and profit. Abraham Broderfon was the only favourite among all the Swedes. He was a young nobleman of fine address and handsome person; but otherwise of little consideration, either in influence or ability. On him she bestowed the government of Halland, honoured him with a great share of her confidence, and heaped favours upon his family; circumstances that increased the discontent of the Swedes, and gave room for suspicion, that her majesty regarded only the personal attractions of Broderfon: it furnished them with fresh causes of complaint against the queen, and additional reasons for lamenting the union, which occasioned the loss of their liberties, at least of their own weight and influence in the scale of government. They presented themselves in a body to her majesty, with a remonstrance of their rights, and a copy of the treaty of Calmar, the infraction of which was the subject of their complaints. All the answer they received was, that they might guard those rights with the same diligence she would maintain the fortresses of the kingdom. Thus the ambi-

tious

tious and haughty princesses reigned with an almost despotic authority in Sweden. She imposed taxes before unheard-of in that country; she strengthened her own power by removing the nobility from public affairs, and reducing the people to so low a condition, as deprived them of the ability of redressing themselves, or seeking a change in the government.

Margaret has likewise been reproached with excessive cruelty to certain Danish lords, whom she persecuted out of resentment, until she took away their lives in a manner the most ignominious and excruciating. But these are the malicious suggestions of envy and calumny. The three lords were justly put to death for crimes of the worst complexion: she even would have interposed her clemency; but justice, and the public good, required that they should suffer. In a word, if Margaret was inferior in some of the qualities of the heart, which endeared a few of her predecessors to their subjects, she was exceeded by none in prudence, in policy, justice, and true magnanimity; qualities which distinguished themselves so early in this princess, that her father Valdemar said on a certain occasion, "That nature had erred in producing her a woman, since she was originally intended for a man."

S E C T. X.

Containing the public Transactions until the Reign of Christopher III.

E R I C X. surnamed, of Pomerania.

DENMARK lost a great princess at the death of Margaret; but it was generally believed that this loss, great as it was, would be happily repaired in the person of Eric, formed to reign by the counsels and example of a mistress so skilled in the art of government. No prince ever ascended the throne with greater applause and expectations from the people than Eric. The Danes flattered themselves they should experience in him the same qualities they admired in the queen: the Swedes and Norwegians, especially the former, hoped for the recovery of those privileges, the loss of which had occasioned all the murmurings in the preceding reign. Eric succeeded to the crown and dominions of Margaret; but he inherited neither her

† Pontan. lib. ix. Meurs. lib. v. John Goth. p. 109.

power nor her policy. Far from recovering their liberties, the Swedes found the yoke of oppression rendered more grievous. He did not, however, run immediately into excess; but suffered himself to glide gently into the measures of despotism and tyranny.

On his accession we see him promising to conform to all the treaties made with Margaret, to confirm her donations to the church and clergy, and to preserve the people in their rights. We see him aggrandizing the city Seby in Schonen, and endowing it with the same privileges and immunities as were enjoyed by Lunden and Malmogen. In a word, we behold him pursuing the steps marked out by his predecessor of glorious memory, the interest of his people, and the true conduct of a politic prince. At this time Eric resided at Stockholm, and the Swedes, sensible of the advantages resulting to them from the presence of the court, strove to give him new proofs of their attachment. Jealous however of their liberties, they did not omit seizing the favourable opportunity of confirming them. The nobility, bishops, and senate, all endeavoured to obtain a general diet of the states, but in vain; for Eric apprehended that measures contrary to his designs would here be concerted. He therefore returned to Denmark, without granting this ardent request of the whole nation ^d.

*Congress
for esta-
blishing a
solid peace
with Hol-
stein.*

Eric found full employment in this kingdom. The truce between Margaret and the house of Holstein had for a time suspended hostilities; but yet the cause of their mutual animosity subsisted. The umpires were to give judgment within five years after the date of the truce, and now there was no time to lose. Accordingly Wratisslaus duke of Pomerania and Stetin appeared for Eric, and Henry duke of Brunswick-Lunenbourg, on the part of the duchess Elizabeth. They met to give final sentence at Flensburg, and the first thing determined was mutually to release all prisoners made since the peace mediated by Ulric of Mecklenbourg. This step was perfectly consistent with the measures taken in the life-time of Margaret; but the posture of affairs was greatly altered. The king was no longer in the humour to compromise pretensions which he was in a condition to enforce by arms. He likewise held it dishonourable to treat and negotiate with vassals, nay, with rebels, who had taken arms against him, neglected their oath, and, contrary to the respect due to their sovereign, had presumed to demand, within the space of a year, the investiture of Sleswick, which was vacant by the death of

^d Pontani. lib. ix.

Gerhard. Such were this prince's notions of the royal prerogative. Thus, instead of submitting the difference to umpires, Eric took a method totally different, but agreeable, as he imagined, to his dignity. He cited the duke of Lunenburg, the duchess Elizabeth, and the princes of Holstein, Henry, Adolphus, and Gerhard, to appear at the next diet to be assembled at Neoburg, in order to terminate matters before that high tribunal.

The parties met on the day appointed, attended by the dukes of Pomerania, Mecklenburg, Stetin, Saxony, and Brunswick: this last took an oath in quality of uncle and guardian to Gerhard, the deceased duke of Sleswick. He represented, that Gerhard received the investiture of the duchy as a voluntary bounty of the king and kingdom, and that his children now claimed the same favour. To this remonstrance Eric replied, that Margaret had indeed formerly granted that duchy to the house of Holstein, as a fief of the crown; but that the princes had refused to accept it under that title. Henry denied this fact; and the king made answer, that it was to no purpose to deny facts that could be proved by authentic documents. It was notorious, he said, that the duke had preferred the function of a soldier during the wars, to the possession of Sleswick as a fief. He then ordered the proofs to be produced; to which Henry having nothing to oppose, he had recourse to intreaties and prayers, that the affair might be submitted to arbitrators, promising solemnly to stand by their award, or by the articles of the last treaty, whereby it was agreed, that all conquests made on either side should be restored, and matters put on the ancient footing.

Eric's conduct at the congress.

As this proposal was not agreeable to Eric, he again cited before the diet all the princes of the house of Holstein. They appeared, and the king from his throne opened the assembly with a full explication of the circumstances of the dispute. When he had finished his speech, he ordered the archbishop of Roschild, chancellor of Denmark, to deliver his sentiments, and what the laws of the kingdom required. The archbishop made a laboured harangue, in which he insisted chiefly on that statute which ordains, that all subjects of the crown, who have connected themselves with foreigners and joined against their sovereign; who have made incursions into the country, or otherwise disturbed or infringed the laws, should be punished with the loss of their effects and estates, and be deemed guilty of high treason. He then pronounced the following sentence, as president of the diet; that the princess Elizabeth and duke Henry of Brunswick, as tutors and counsellors

The sentence passed with respect to Sleswick.

to Eric's children, had forfeited all right to the duchy of Sleswick, in consequence of having taken arms against their lawful sovereign; that all expences occasioned by the late tumults should be indemnified to the crown by the house of Holstein; and lastly, that the duchy in question reverted in full right, and should hereby be annexed to the crown of Denmark^c.

Scarce had the chancellor pronounced sentence, when young Henry threw himself at the king's feet, and besought him to grant the investiture of the duchy as a fief; but the king only replied, that he must first gain possession, that he might then have full power to grant it upon the terms he might think proper. As this method of bestowing fiefs was new to the German princes, it appeared unjust, and rendered them all strenuous defenders of the Holstein family. An alliance was formed between Balthasar, prince of Vandalia, Henry of Brunswick, the uncles and guardians of the young princes, and Albert of Mecklenburg, who was pleased with the opportunity of revenging on the person of her successor the affront put on him by Margaret, in driving him out of the throne of Sweden. On the other hand, Eric Cronandeck, Otton Sifted, and several other nobility of rank and power, deserted the Holstein family, and went over to Eric. This was a considerable loss; but not sufficient to divert their intention of seriously preparing for war.

A.D. 1414.

This year the celebrated council of Constance sat, during which time the emperor Sigismund wrote to Eric, requesting him to employ all his interest and power to induce the city of Lubec to re-establish their senate, which they had abolished about seven years before. To oblige the emperor, Eric used all his endeavours to restore the senate; but finding the Lubeckers obstinate, he declined using force, not chusing to increase the number of his enemies. He contented himself with sending Sigismund an account of his proceedings, and requesting that he would not protect the house of Holstein. Pleased with Eric's compliance, the emperor confirmed the sentence passed against the Holstein princes, declaring, that all the proceedings of the diet were perfectly regular, and consistent with equity and law. This letter bears date the fourteenth of June,

A.D. 1415.

1415.

Eric enters Sleswick with an army.

Sure of Sigismund's countenance, Eric did not long deliberate in what method he was to act. Immediately he took the field, and entered the duchy of Sleswick with a

^c Meurs. et Pontan. ibid.

numerous army. Perceiving that all the Holstein forces were assembled round the cities of Sleswick and Gottorp, while the rest of the country was left defenceless, he hastily erected two fortresses at the mouth of the Sley, the one called Sleymand, and the other Conisburg. The same precautions he took on the western side of the duchy, where the fortresses of Fresenberg and Wildspang were built on the banks of the Tree, a method which he took to possess himself the more easily of the duchy.

He then again applied to the Lubeckers in favour of the senate. It is probable, that Sigismund renewed his instances upon this head; for we find Eric now entering upon more vigorous measures. He ordered all their fishermen in Schonen to be seized, and their effects confiscated; giving at the same time directions to the governor of Bergue to seize all the effects belonging to the merchants of Lubec, within his jurisdiction. Thunder-struck with this sudden blow, the Lubeckers recalled the senate; and thus the king laid an obligation on the emperor, while he at the same instant strengthened his own interest by the fast friendship of the senate, who owed their liberty and present felicity to his conduct.

In the mean while the affairs of the Holstein family were upon the decline. Henry of Brunswick, uncle to the young princes, held the towns of Gottorp, Ploen, Honraw, and Hassfeldorp, in security of a sum of money which he had lent the princes; and as he now wanted money, and they were unable to redeem the towns, he offered them to Eric on the same conditions: but the king rejected his proposal, by the advice of Crommedich, who persuaded him that he would soon reduce them by force, as they were every way unprovided for a long defence. Besides this, all the cities of Vandalia, Hamburgh excepted, were in alliance with the king, and of consequence enemies to the princes of Holstein. The duke of Saxony, on account of a private quarrel, marched at the head of an army to burn Odestoe, and pillage the adjacent country. The dukes John and Albert demanded payment of the marriage portion of their niece Anne: in a word, every thing seemed conspiring to effect the downfall of this family. Nothing indeed could be more unequal than the contest between Eric and the young princes: on the one side was a powerful monarch, master of three great kingdoms, and in alliance with the majority of his neighbours; on the other, a great number of princes it is true, but sovereigns only of petty states, at variance with each other, and now united rather out of pique to Eric than attachment to each other, or any well-

*A view of
the affairs
of Holstein.*

digested scheme of policy. Still, however, the Holsteiners maintained a good countenance, and determined to make vigorous efforts in their own defence ^f.

A.D. 1416.

*Eric's losses
in Sles-
wick.*

Early this year the king a second time entered the duchy of Sleswick, and, immediately besieged the cities of Sleswick and Gottorp; and, to cut off all communication between them, he erected a fortress called Halthersburg, in the intermediate space. All his endeavours proved abortive; for these places being well provided with every necessary of defence, made divers successful sallies, which obliged the king to withdraw his army. Nor was this the only disappointment he sustained: on one side Albert of Mecklenburg, and Balthasar of Vandalia, were marching at the head of an army to the assistance of the Holsteiners; on the other, a diversion was made by the Frisons, who had been induced by Henry of Osnaburg to take arms against the king. The former besieged and took Fresenburg, and the latter formed the siege of Tonderen, and soon got possession of a place too weak to make any long defence.

Incensed by these losses, Eric decamped from before Gottorp, resolving to lay waste the country of the Frisons; and this reason the Danish historians assign for raising the siege of that city. When the king was preparing to cross the Eyder, he discovered Henry of Osnaburg posted in such a manner as to obstruct his passage. This prince had narrowly watched the motions of the Danish army, and seemed determined to make a stand; a circumstance which obliged Eric to relinquish his design and plan of revenge upon the Frisons. Instead of entering their country, he attacked Henry's army, and was received with so much resolution as quite disconcerted him, and forced him to return to his fleet, and embark for Denmark; fully determined, however, to revenge next year all the disgraces he had encountered.

*Eric re-
pulsed.*

His retreat encouraged the Holstein princes to enter upon action. They first made a descent on the island Femeren; all of which they reduced, except the fortress of Glambeck, which Ivar Brusk, the governor, bravely defended. They had invested this place for the space of two months, and finding all their endeavours to take it by the regular method of siege frustrated, they determined to starve the garrison. Brusk was reduced to the last extremity, when he received advice that a Danish squadron was hovering along the coast. Immediately he took boat, escaped the besieg-

^f Vide Pontan. lib. ix. p. 573.

ers, and presented himself before the king, from whom he obtained several ships laden with men, provision, and ammunition. On his return he found all the passages to the fortrefs closely blocked up by the princes who had got notice of his excursion. He tried to force his way; but being constantly disappointed, the garrison, almost starved to death, at length capitulated, upon no other condition than that their lives and liberty should be granted. During the winter the king was busied in preparations for the ensuing campaign, which he resolved to push with the utmost vigour. His fleet was formidable, and his army so numerous, that it amounted to a hundred thousand fighting men; but as he knew that the enemy consisted of foreigners who could not be long maintained, he contented himself with annoying them by sea. This would have been admirable policy, if the princes had been destitute of all other resources; but as soon as they discovered his design, they cantoned their army in the duchy of Sleswick, where they were plentifully supplied with every necessary. Finding this project disconcerted, Eric landed his army, which he divided into two bodies, forming the siege of Sleswick with one, and of Gottorp with the other. The first of these cities capitulated on the 17th of July; duke Albert of Mecklenburg, who commanded the garrison, making a particular treaty with the king. It was said, that he had liberty to retire wherever he pleased, on condition that he never should carry arms against Denmark.

A.D. 1417.

As soon as the bishop of Osnaburg was informed that Sleswick and Gottorp were invested, he posted to Hamburgh, and represented to the magistrates, that if these two cities were taken, the Danish forces would over-run all Holstein, and the city of Hamburgh would then have every thing to fear from such neighbours; but not being able to obtain any more than a promise of a sum of money, he harangued the people in the market-place with so much eloquence, that they instantly resolved to declare war against Eric, and raise forces. The resolution of the Hamburghers, the army they were preparing to march into the field, and the preparations of the Holstein family to attack him as soon as they were reinforced, made a strong impression on Eric's spirit, and determined him, without hesitation, to raise the siege of Gottorp, which he had now twice unsuccessfully invested. His reputation was greatly affected by this measure, the consequences of which became more visible every day; for the enemy's courage increased in proportion as they perceived him flag. They now took the field with an army of thirty thousand men, besides cavalry,

Eric invests the cities Sleswick and Gottorp.

Hamburgh joins in the confederacy against Eric.

marched

marched straight to Halleusburg, and took it sword in hand. Thence they advanced to Sleswick, and met with equal success. They likewise forced Conigsburg, and several castles in the diocese of Sleswick, which they pillaged and destroyed.

*Proposals
for a peace.*

In the autumn some overtures were made for peace. Dalman, bishop of Lubec, was charged with a commission from the pope, to mediate a reconciliation between the houses of Denmark and Holstein. He waited for this purpose on Eric, and found him disposed to listen to terms of accommodation; nor were the princes at all averse to reasonable propositions. A truce was signed till the month of September in the following year, in which interval several conferences were held between the two powers. At last the affair was submitted to the arbitration of two German princes, and the deputies of four of the Hanse Towns; but on condition that if they could not come to any decision, the final determination should be left to the dukes Bernard of Brunswick, and Bogislaus of Pomerania. It was also agreed, that, during the truce, both sides should lay down their arms, as if in the midst of profound peace; that no annoyance should be given to commerce, or the subjects of either power; and that no new fortresses should be erected.

*Treaty
broke off by
the Holstein
princes.*

The appointed day being come, the king's deputies did not appear; they were driven to sea by a storm, and detained a day beyond the time proposed. Pleased with an opportunity of breaking off the conference, the Holstein princes took evidence and instruments of their having appeared to the day, and departed. Thus all the endeavours of the bishop of Lubec to establish peace were rendered abortive, by an accident on one side, and want of inclination on the other.

The Holsteiners did not remain long inactive after this open declaration of their intentions. They did not, however, in their own persons commence the first hostilities; that would have been too palpable a violation of the truce; it was sufficient for them that the Frisons, their allies, made incursions into the king's territories. An attempt was made to surprize Swabstide, a fortress belonging to the archbishop of Sleswick, who had joined with Eric, but it proved unsuccessful.

A.D. 1419.

The Danish monarch, irritated by the princes' obstinacy, again took arms, and made an attempt to recover Femeren; but finding that the inhabitants joined with the Holsteiners to oppose his landing, he relinquished the design, landed his troops at Helligerhoven, and made incursions into the country

country round Oldenburg and Wolftadt. These two cities he pillaged, and, encouraged by the large booty, renewed his attempt on Femeren, but was repulsed, and insulted by the scoffs of the inhabitants. This treatment wrought the king up to the highest pitch of rage: he exhorted his soldiers either to revenge the affront, or perish in the attempt. Another onset was made with such desperate fury, that a landing was effected, and the inhabitants were driven from the shore with great slaughter; which advantage was immediately succeeded by the reduction of the whole island, and the severe punishment of several of the leading persons among the inhabitants. The country was pillaged, the villages were set on fire, churches destroyed, married women and virgins given up to the lust of the soldiers, and every disorder committed that rage and the power of revenge could dictate. The citadel of Glambeck alone remained unconquered; but it was attacked with so much vigour, that the garrison surrendered prisoners of war in less than two days.

Pontanus makes mention of a treaty concluded this year between Eric and Vitold, king of Poland, and duke of Lithuania^s. In this they engaged mutually to defend each other against all enemies, especially the knights of the Teutonic order.

Treaty between Denmark and Poland.

All this time the Holsteiners were in arms, and the king was meditating how to come to a decisive action. At length he engaged them near Immerfved, and was defeated with great loss, insomuch that his flight became a proverb, "At Immerfved the Danes were driven to the devil^h." Although this defeat did not terminate the war, it occasioned a suspension of hostilities, and produced a truce, in order to settle preliminaries for a peace. Umpires were chosen, and the whole affair of the duchy of Sleswick was again canvassed. The emperor had confirmed the sentence passed by the archbishop of Roschild at the diet; it was indeed agreeable to law, but a very disputable point in equity. However, the princes had urged no unanswerable arguments why it should be repealed, and they now rather chose to decide the difference by the sword. They had consented to a truce only to prevent increasing the number of their enemies by their obstinacy; but they embraced all occasions of frustrating the intention of it. Eric perceived their drift, and equipped a fleet with design to invade the island of Alsen. Here he met with little success or honour; the troops were repulsed in attempting to land;

A.D. 1420.

Eric defeated by the Holsteiners.

^s Pontan. lib. ix.

^h Meurs. lib. v. par. ii. p. 108.

Ivar Brusk, admiral of the squadron, died on shipboard, and at last a storm dispersed and shattered the whole fleet. Nor was Eric more happy in an attempt on the herring fishers on the coast of Schonen; for the Vandal cities, apprized of his design, sent powerful succours to their countrymen: at the same time a squadron from Hamburg ravaged the coasts of North Jutland, and took three of the king's ships.

A.D. 1421. It must be owned, that Eric had a better turn for civil policy than for military operations: in the latter he was seldom successful, but almost always in the former. Sundry wholesome regulations were made in several cities of Denmark; and the police of Copenhagen, in particular, was settled on the best footing.

As to arms, every new attempt of Eric's produced fresh disgraces. Tonderen was long besieged by his troops, without their making any considerable progress in its reduction. Crommedic, who commanded the Danes, wearied out with the length of the siege, resolved upon scaling the walls in different places. No annoyance was given by the besieged, while he was fixing the ladders; but as soon as they perceived the trenches filled, and the ladders crowded with soldiers, they poured such quantities of burning pitch, and heaps of large stones upon them, as killed and wounded great numbers, occasioned the utmost confusion among the Danes, and gave an opportunity to the besieged to make terrible destruction with their arrows. In a word, the siege was raised, after it had cost Crommedic near half his army.

The Danes were also obliged to raise the siege of Dorn- ing, on hearing that Henry of Brunswick had thrown in supplies of men, ammunition, and provision. They likewise lost Haderleben, which was taken by the same prince. Eric was every where discomfited and disgraced; he endeavoured therefore to repair his losses by forming powerful alliances. The first he concluded was with the cities of Vandalia. With these he concluded a treaty offensive and defensive, intended to be perpetual, as the king included all his successors, and the magistrates of the towns, with all their descendants. The cities engaged in this alliance were Lubec, Wismar, Rostock, Stralsund, Lunenburg, Gripswald, and Anclam; all of which stipulated, that, independent of this treaty, they should have liberty to perform all prior engagements to other princes and states.

A.D. 1423. In the next place Eric sent complaints to the pope, the emperor, and neighbouring princes, of the obstinacy of the Holstein family, which refused all terms of accommodation,

tion, and violently retained the duchy of Sleswick, though legally annexed to the crown of Denmark. His remonstrances gained him the friendship of almost all the princes and cities to whom he had wrote, Hamburgh alone continuing firm to her engagements with the Holsteiners. Among others, the duke of Lunenburg published an edict, prohibiting all his subjects, under heavy penalties, to enlist in the Holstein service, or any way to assist them against the crown of Denmark. The regency of Lubec went farther: they wrote to the Holstein princes, acquainting them that his Danish majesty had laid before them certain complaints, which they must submit to arbitration, or stand the consequence of their joining the whole power of the Hanse Towns to the king's forces, to procure redress of grievances, now become insupportable through their obstinacy. To this declaration the Holstein nobility answered, that, although it was notorious their lords were in possession of Sleswick, duke Gerhard having obtained the investiture of that duchy from king Olaus; yet there seemed no necessity for submitting to arbitration an affair which admitted of no difficulty.

On the other hand, the inhabitants of Dithmarsh exhorted the princes to restore Sleswick, and threatened, in case of refusal, to declare in favour of Eric. They received the same answer, and seemed perplexed in what manner to act, as the point in question was a case of right which they could not pretend to decide.

John, archbishop of Lubec, armed with the pope's authority, pursued the steps of his predecessor, and endeavoured to negotiate a peace, but with little success. At last the emperor, at Eric's request, sent Rumpold, duke of Silesia, to take cognizance of the affair in his name. Rumpold passed through Lubec to Flensburg. While he resided at this last place, the Holsteiners attacked the town, forced open the gates, and soon became masters of the garrison. The German deputy was not disconcerted by this violence: he went up to the princes, and told them, that he was come by the emperor's orders in quality of a mediator; that his instructions were first to visit the king, of whose good intentions and pacific disposition he was satisfied; so that he had no doubts of effecting an accommodation advantageous and acceptable to both parties. He exhorted the princes heartily to embrace the same sentiments, and to labour in bringing over the nobility and princes of their house to terms of peace, so salutary and necessary. His eloquence produced such an effect, that the princes yielded to the force of his arguments, and consented he should pursue

sue his journey to the king. Rumpold and the bishop of Lubec prevailed on Eric to grant an interview to Henry of Holstein; and things were in an excellent train, when the death of the German deputy put a stop to the negotiation: for though the emperor immediately supplied his place by another, into whose hands the king put all the papers and proofs relative to the duchy in question, yet the princes of Holstein refused to produce their titles, and in effect broke off the treaty.

A D. 1424. In the year 1424 the king made a progress through Pomerania, to establish some regulations and conclude certain treaties with the princes and cities of that country. From thence he repaired to Buda, by the emperor's invitation, to be present at the decision of the dispute concerning Sleswick. According to Crantzius, Eric cited Henry and his brothers to attend at this judgment. On the contrary, the Danish historians allege that Henry went thither contrary to the advice of his council, who were of opinion that, as a prince of the empire, he could not be cited out of the bounds of the empire, nor deemed culpable for refusing to comply with such a summons: besides, they looked upon his imperial majesty as a partial judge, and therefore advised Henry to submit his cause to the pope. Be that as it will, Sigismund pronounced sentence on the 28th day of June, in the following manner: that all South Jutland, containing the cities of Sleswick, Gottorp, and others, together with the Danish forest, the island of Alsens, and the province vulgarly called Frischeden, with all their rights and dependencies, should henceforward be annexed in full right to the crown of Denmark, and the king be put in immediate possession of the said duchy and dependencies; and that the Holstein princes, Henry, Adolphus, and Gerhard, should neither have nor lay claim to any right over any part of the said duchy. The Holstein annals add, that, after passing this sentence, the emperor offered, in the king's name, in order to facilitate an accommodation, to cede to them the island of Laaland, together with a sum of three hundred thousand marks; but the princes rejected the proposition¹.

Here it was that Eric resolved upon a pilgrimage to Palestine, which he only deferred to attend the coronation of queen Sophia. This religious progress had almost cost him dear; for he was led into a snare by an artful Syrian, and forced to extricate himself by the immediate payment of a large sum of money. Nor was this the only bad con-

¹ Crantz, p. 135.

sequence of his unseasonable journey. The absence of princes is generally injurious to their subjects, and it proved so to the Danes. He had appointed the queen regent of the kingdom, and advantages were taken of a female government. On one side the bishop of Arhus claimed jurisdiction over certain lands, which the king had committed in trust to his predecessor; this dispute, however, was amicably terminated by certain mutual concessions. On the other side, the Holstein princes were dissatisfied with the emperor's award, although they promised to stand by it. They complained loudly, and sent ambassadors to pope Martin V. of whom they obtained an order for the bishop of Cologne, and a certain cardinal, whose name is not mentioned, to take cognizance afresh of the dispute, and revise the sentence passed by Sigismund.

In this situation of affairs Eric returned to his dominions, and immediately consented to an interview with the princes at Flensburg, each party to be attended by four assistants, two ecclesiastics, and as many laics, who should exert all their endeavours to bring this tedious affair to an amicable and definitive issue. Nothing, however, resulted from the congress. The king refused to grant the investiture of the duchy but as a personal fief; and the princes insisted upon having it hereditary. Such was the consequence of that imprudent grant of Olaus, which entailed an expensive and ruinous war on his successors. Both sides were obstinate, and recourse was had again to the sword, the final resort of princes. Eric raised a powerful army, without declaring its destination, or indeed intimating where the storm would fall; but the princes, rightly judging that his preparations were intended against them, took measures for standing in their own defence. Not contented with reinforcing the garrisons of Sleswick and Gottorp, they new-modelled the fortifications of the former, and drew a deep ditch around. To give an appearance of justice to their cause, they published manifestoes, setting forth their willingness to end the dispute by arbitration, as was plain from the letters obtained from his holiness, appointing the bishop of Cologne umpire. After having given this gloss to their own conduct, they solicited the Vandal cities to arm in their favour; and found means to persuade them that justice was wholly on their side: for what could be more extraordinary, said they, than that an emperor of Germany, where all fiefs are hereditary, should judge that Sleswick alone was personal? Yet all their reasoning would have made but a slight impression, had not the Hamburgers, constant in their attachment to the house of Holstein, represented

A D. 1425.

represented to them the injury that would arise to their commerce from the oppression of the princes, and the increased power of the king. They demonstrated, that the only method of terminating a destructive war was to hold the ballance equal, by which means both parties would soon tire of military operations, and return with eagerness to trade, agriculture, and whatever could repair the losses and poverty consequent on the war. An alliance with Holstein was entered into; but before they declared war, they sent deputies to the king, in the name of all the Hanse Towns, exhorting him to conclude peace. Eric replied, that he was ready to stand by the emperor's decision: the deputies returned with this answer, and their return was a signal to the cities for declaring war.

A.D. 1426.

*Eric enters
Sleswick a
third time.*

In the mean time Eric entered Sleswick with a powerful army, with which he hoped soon to reduce the princes to reason. He invested Sleswick and Gottorp, and drew lines, which secured him against the attacks of the Holstein army without. Both sieges were pushed with great vigour; and the cities would probably have been forced to surrender in sight of their army, had not Eric suddenly broke up his camp, on receiving menacing letters from the Vandal cities, in which they told him, that, finding all their remonstrances to him despised, they determined to join his enemies, and oblige him by force to hearken to reasonable terms of accommodation. It was in vain that Eric wrote circular letters to the Hanse Towns in his own vindication. These had no other effect than exciting popular tumults in the cities, which ended in the destruction of one or two of their magistrates, but produced no salutary effects to Eric^k.

A.D. 1427.

*The Vandal cities
arm in
favour of
Holstein.*

Early in the spring the Vandal cities sent a strong fleet to sea, which committed dreadful ravages on the coasts of Denmark. Gerhard of Holstein commanded this fleet, and his brother Henry was at the head of an army, with which he laid siege to Flensburg, where he was killed with the shot of an arrow; a blow which had almost proved fatal to his family. Immediately his army was seized with the utmost consternation; the soldiers disbanded, notwithstanding all the promises and intreaties of Adolphus, who put himself at their head. A general rout began; and the auxiliary troops of Hamburg and Lubec, who, the moment before had shewn inconceivable ardour, were now the first to lead the flight.

^k Meurs. lib. v.

Eric, in the mean time, gained some considerable advantages at sea. His fleet defeated a squadron of Vandal ships; after which success the Danes attacked thirty Lubec merchantmen, all of whom they took or destroyed, after an obstinate engagement; yet was he no less desirous than before of accommodating matters with the Hanse Towns. He knew their power, and the difficulty he would have in reducing the house of Holstein, supported by such an alliance. Even his victories afforded no satisfaction, since they more firmly rivetted the Hanse Towns to Holstein. He therefore not only wrote with his own hand, but induced the emperor Sigismund to exert all his influence and authority with those cities, in bringing them to a right understanding with Denmark; but neither arguments, influence, nor the imperial authority could prevail. Sigismund's menaces served only to inflame them the more, and provoke them to write sharp letters to Eric, that breathed nothing but war and vengeance¹.

The emperor mediates a peace.

The emperor, who thought his honour was engaged in concluding this affair, and who was particularly incensed at a war undertaken to frustrate the effects of his sentence, now resolved to go through with the work he had begun. Accordingly he sent Nicolas Stock, one of the lords of the bed-chamber, to negotiate a peace. The ambassador set out for Lubec, where he declared to the senate his imperial majesty's instructions. He set forth, that his master was extremely exasperated at the war declared against Denmark, to the great prejudice of all Christendom; that he was astonished the subjects of the empire should, without his consent or knowledge, take arms to prevent the execution of an imperial decree, contrary to the laws and constitution of the empire. He exhorted them to recall their fleets, disband their armies, and consent to a truce for six months, during which a general peace might be negotiated. Stock concluded with representing to the senate, that it was their interest in particular not to offend against the laws of the empire, or to incur the displeasure of his imperial majesty, from whom they deduced so many advantages. He next went to the Holstein princes, and urged the same arguments to them; but without effect. He then returned to Lubec, and demanded the senate's final resolution. This, however, they declined, signifying under pretence of its being requisite to know the king's disposition before they gave their answer. Stock, who was indefatigable in executing his commission, set out for Denmark, and found Eric extremely well disposed. That prince desired nothing

¹ Pontan. lib. ix.

so much as peace: he granted full powers to Stock to appoint a congress for adjusting preliminaries. Accordingly the ambassador fixed upon Flensburg; but this proposal the Holsteiners haughtily rejected, demanding that the congress might sit at Nicoping, which was granted. A truce was agreed upon, and every thing seemed to conspire in bringing about the much wished-for reconciliation, which, however, did not take place.

*Treaty
broke off.*

Without regarding the suspension of hostilities, the Vandal and Holstein fleets committed the most terrible disorders, burning and plundering the Danish coasts and shipping, with dreadful circumstances of barbarity. Eric was shocked, but he resolved to suppress his resentment, and wait the effects of Stock's negotiation. A safe convoy was demanded for the deputies; but far from attending to the issue of the congress, or the articles of the truce, the confederates sent another fleet to sea, with twelve thousand fighting men, besides seamen, on board. Their design was to lay siege to Copenhagen; but the coasts were so well guarded by the king's ships, that the enemy found a descent impracticable. Instead of losing courage and presence of mind at the sight of so formidable an armament, all the inhabitants of Zealand, and the other islands, were assembled, arms put into the hands of all those who were able to use them, and rewards promised to all those who should acquit themselves satisfactorily in the defence of their country. By this animated conduct all the enemy's attempts were baffled, and not a single Vandal or Holsteiner landed on the islands^m.

A.D. 1428.

*Piracies
committed
by the Van-
dal fleets.*

The pirates were more successful in Schonen and Norway; for, after having pillaged and reduced Landskroon to ashes, they got possession of Bergue, and then retired with an immense booty to Wismar. Their lawless conduct, indeed, began to raise apprehensions in the Holstein prince and Vandal cities, that the emperor would put them under the ban of the empire. In order to appease his wrath they had recourse to intreaties and supplications, it being impossible to excuse or palliate actions so contrary to the law of nature and nations. They published a manifesto, setting forth, that their view in declaring war against Denmark was only to preserve their own rights and liberties, without intending to countenance the doctrine of the Hussites, or protect pirates, whom they detested as the pests of society, and the enemies of mankind in general. They farther declared their readiness to obey the see of Rome, his imperial majesty, and to assist against the heretics of

Bohemia. They affirmed, that contrary winds, and not inclination, had prevented their deputies from attending the appointed congress at Falsterbo; that they were now ready to attend wherever his imperial majesty should command; but they intreated him to consider, that being the kinsman of his Danish majesty, he was an improper judge of their disputes, since it is impossible to avoid some partiality in favour of those with whom we are connected. They therefore intreated him to name some other German prince for umpire, or to leave the decision of the whole dispute to his holiness. Finally, they requested the bishop of Ratzburg to forward their request to the imperial throne.

Proposals made by the Holstein princes.

In consequence of this manifesto the emperor published a decree, refusing to acknowledge the authority of the pope, or any other power spiritual or temporal, over civil affairs within his jurisdiction. He forbid ecclesiastics to meddle with the difference between Denmark and Holstein, it being a case purely civil; and commanded the princes of Brandenburg and Lunenburg to assist Eric with all their forces, and by every way possible oblige the house of Holstein to submit to the imperial decree. Sigismund's proceedings induced the pope to withdraw the commission he had granted to the bishop of Cologne: still, however, the Holsteiners continued their claim; but, to shew their desire of complying with Sigismund's commands, they consented to the conference appointed at Nicoping, and attended there in person; but raised so many obstructions, that nothing was determined, the king leaving the final decision to the emperor, and the princes to the pope.

Rejected by the emperor.

About this time the queen, encouraged by her success in the defence of Copenhagen, resolved to revenge the affront. She equipped a squadron, on board of which she embarked fourteen hundred land-forces, ordering them to pillage and destroy all the country round Stralsund. Courage is not always attended with success. The enterprize was attempted with spirit, and the Stralsund fleet was vigorously attacked by the Danes; but receiving strong and seasonable reinforcements, they became superior in force, made three hundred of the king's troops prisoners, and destroyed some of his ships, the rest escaping under favour of the night. This miscarriage afflicted the king in a very sensible manner. He blamed the queen for it; a circumstance which she took so much to heart, that it is justly reputed the cause of her death, which happened soon after. No prince was ever more regretted by her subjects, or admired by all for

A. D. 1429.

The Danish fleet defeated.

^a Pontan. lib. ix.

the moderation, sweetness, and true magnanimity of her temper; but it was when too late that Eric began to entertain a due sense of her merit.

A.D. 1430. In the beginning of the following year the cities of Stralsund and Rostock, wearied out with a tedious war, concluded a separate peace with Denmark. - Negotiations were set on foot for accommodating matters with the other cities; but they proved abortive, and hostilities continued as usual. A Swedish admiral attacked four Lubec merchant-ships, richly laden, three of which he took, the fourth escaping with difficulty into the Trave.

A.D. 1431. In the course of this year an embassy arrived from Henry VI. of England, demanding a renewal of the ancient alliance between the two crowns. The ambassador was charged in particular with instructions respecting some injuries done to the English merchants by the fleets of Norway. Eric's answer to the English monarch's remonstrance was spirited and sensible. He vindicated the honour of his crown without derogating from the respect due to Henry; but the grievances complained of remained unredressed, because they required the punishment of certain subjects of the crown of Norway.

Flensburg was surprised by the Holsteiners, and the citadel closely invested, when Eric found means to throw in seasonable supplies. Notwithstanding these, the princes, now in possession of the city, obstinately persisted in besieging the fortress, and at length the garrison was forced to surrender, after having subsisted for weeks upon the flesh of dogs and horses.

A.D. 1432. It was now expected that the flames of war would have blazed out with redoubled fury; but it happened otherwise. The Hollanders, profiting by the disturbances in the North, and ever watchful of every opportunity of extending their commerce, had gained a footing in the Baltic. All of a sudden their trade became so considerable, that they trafficked to all the ports of Muscovy, Livonia, and Prussia; a branch of trade formerly engrossed by the Hanse Towns. It was this encroachment that first opened the eyes of the Vandal cities, and made them now demand peace more eagerly than ever they had sought war. Their deputies were immediately sent to Horsen, where they concluded a truce for five years, during which proper measures should be concerted for establishing a solid and firm peace. A congress was appointed to meet for this purpose at Swinburg, and liberty of trade was, in the mean time, mutually permitted.

Pontanus relates, that Eric appointed commissioners, towards the close of this year, to terminate the difference between the crowns of England and Denmark°. They met the English ambassadors at Callemburg; and here it was agreed, that the English and Norwegians should give mutual satisfaction, and indemnify the losses to each other; that all prisoners should be mutually released; that persons of either nation, trading contrary to law, should be punished by death; finally, that perpetual amity should subsist between the nations, and mutual assistance be given when required. This was the first treaty concluded between England and Denmark since the Danes were driven out of England; at least it is the first expressly mentioned by the Danish or English historians, although commerce had been carried on long before between the two nations.

Next year the congress sat at Swinburg; but nothing was concluded. Both parties were too much inflamed with passion to reason coolly on their interest; accordingly it was prorogued, and fixed for the following year, by which time it was hoped their mutual resentments would subside. It appeared by Eric's answer to the deputies from Stralsund, that he had not forgot the hostilities committed on his coasts, and the injuries done to his subjects by the troops of that city. They now demanded the liberty of trading with Denmark on the same footing as before the war. To this demand the king replied, that they ought to reflect how lately they had put forty Danes to death in cool blood, whose relations and friends now breathed vengeance; that, for the rest, provided they would run the hazard, he had no objection to their trading in his ports; but he thought this notice due to his own reputation, as he could not answer for the consequences.

About this time certain disturbances appeared in Sweden, the whole nation complaining loudly of the extortions of the governors appointed by the king. They treated the people like slaves, and conducted themselves like petty tyrants, despotic in proportion to the duration and limits of their authority. Every day the evil increased, new taxes were arbitrarily imposed, and rigidly levied. The people carried their complaints to the throne, particularly against one Jesson Asdal: but they were imprudently rejected with marks of contempt, altogether insupportable to the spirit of that free and warlike nation. The Dalecarlians broke out into open invectives, and Engelbert, a nobleman of rank, influence, and courage, undertook to go over to

A.D. 1433.

*Congress at
Swinburg.**Complaints
against
Eric in
Sweden.*

° Pontan. lib. ix.

*Engelbert
lays their
grievances
before the
king.*

Denmark and plead their cause. He intrepidly accused Jesson before the king, and offered to stake his head if he did not undeniably prove every material circumstance of the charge. This bold remonstrance was not altogether without effect. Eric wrote to the senate to send proper persons to inquire into Jesson's conduct, but without displacing him before he should be found guilty by the court, and a special commission issued for that purpose. The deputies went to Dalecarlia, and Jesson was found guilty of divers acts of violence and oppression; upon which Engelbert set out with the information to court, and to solicit his removal and punishment. This task he performed with such ardour and freedom of speech, that the king forbid him his presence, and ordered him to leave Denmark. "That I will (replied Engelbert), but to return in a different manner."

*Dalecar-
lians re-
volt, head-
ed by En-
gelbert.*

The Dalecarlians, ever watchful of their liberties, and the avowed enemies of oppression, were no sooner informed of Engelbert's reception than they despaired of redress without a change of government. It was therefore resolved to throw off a yoke which was become insupportable, and rather to die like free men, with their arms in their hands, than to live like slaves under the lash of tyranny. They assembled in great numbers, chose Engelbert for their leader, entered Westmania, and resolved to exterminate all the Danes. The senate, alarmed at their proceedings, went in a body to persuade the Dalecarlians to return to their duty; but could prevail only on condition that they should be exempted from all taxes and obedience to Jesson.

However formidable such an insurrection might appear to others, certain it is, it gave the king no great disturbance. Eric was wrapt up in negotiations, and wholly neglected Sweden for the interest of Denmark. Instead of redressing the grievances of the Dalecarlians, he was wasting his time in useless debates with the Holstein and Vandal deputies; useless, because passion and prejudice swayed beyond reason and interest.

The conditions on which the malecontents laid down their arms, were so injurious to Jesson, that, relying on the protection of the court, he exerted all the means of vengeance in his power. He contrived new taxes, and made it capital to refuse payment on a certain day, without regard to the ability of the delinquent. This was the cause of a new insurrection; but still the influence of the senate prevailed on them to lay down their arms, on Jesson's being removed from the government, and a promise

made

made that every demand consistent with law should be granted.

Tranquillity seemed to be re-established, when a report prevailed that the king was preparing to punish the rebellion of the Dalecarlians. Immediately they flew a third time to arms, swearing they would never lay them down until they should have delivered themselves from the Danish yoke. Engelbert was always at their head: he led them into the neighbouring provinces, and reduced a great number of places, which successes drew whole flocks of peasants to his standard. The nobility of Westmania joined him; he marched into Uplandia, and, in a short time, reduced the whole country. His success induced other provinces to revolt, or rather his promises to abolish taxes, and dismantle all the fortresses erected by this king and his predecessors to secure their authority. In a word, the whole kingdom was in a ferment, and nothing but the cry of liberty was heard over all Sweden. By the king's order the senate assembled at Wadastene, to deliberate upon the means of suppressing the insurgents. Engelbert, informed of this assembly, marched secretly at the head of a body of troops, entered the place, and publicly declared, he was determined to deliver the nation from the yoke under which it had groaned for some years past. He said, that from the days of Magnus, the subject had been wantonly oppressed with taxes, and exposed to all kinds of injustice and severity; that it was astonishing the senate, which should be first in redressing these grievances, should remain inactive, and suffer others to gather those laurels which must necessarily result even from the attempt to rescue one's country from slavery. The senate answered, that they could not conceive the honour consequent on withdrawing their allegiance from a prince to whom they were bound by solemn oaths. "The king (replied Engelbert sharply) has made promises by his coronation oath, which he makes no scruple of breaking. Your oath is founded on the performance of his; you promise allegiance provided he governs according to law. Has he done so? Are these governors the instruments of lawful authority? Has he fulfilled by his residence among us the chief article of the treaty of union? Are not our revenues squandered in Denmark, and ourselves enslaved by Danes? Observe how well he has kept his oath, and yet you are denied equal liberty."

*Engelbert's
conduct.*

*Engelbert's
speech to
the senate.*

Still the senate persisted in their obedience, and used many arguments to shew how dangerous it was in the least to violate an oath. They said, that the breach of one

article did not absolve the subjects from their duty, since, in that case, there would be an end to all government, it being impossible to find a king who would adhere in every particular to his promises. In a word, they stood up for the divine right of kings, and the bad consequences of subjecting their conduct to the judgment of their people. Enraged at their discourse and arguments in favour of despotism, the generous Engelbert exclaimed: "It is well! henceforward I will treat, as the tools of tyranny, all who refuse to succour their oppressed country; my poignard shall be plunged into the breast of the first man who opposes public liberty." Terrified at this declaration, the senate-passed an act, whereby they renounced their allegiance to king Eric¹.

*He forces
the senate
into his
measures.*

Engelbert wanted neither foresight nor valour. He knew he must make the best use of the present temper of the people. Accordingly he seized upon a number of the king's garrisons, penetrated to the province of Halland, and reduced Wardberg, Holmstadt, and Falkenburg. The inhabitants of Schonen alone had resolution enough to oppose themselves against the general torrent of rebellion. They took up arms, and determined to dispute the passage of the malecontents into this province. Engelbert drew up his army within sight of them, and both parties were separated only by a small river. Every hour it was expected would produce a bloody action; but some of the nobility from each army having held a conference, a treaty of peace was concluded, whereby the Swedes and Schoneners agreed to live in amity and friendship; and that, if either side renounced this alliance, they should give the other timely intimation of their design.

A. D. 1434.

On Engelbert's return he assembled the states-general of the kingdom, and here Cropelin, governor of Stockholm, attended in the king's name. The great point debated at the diet was the utility of the king's fortresses, which Engelbert promised to demolish. It broke up in disputes, without other issue than increasing the mutual animosity between the king and his people. In supporting the royal prerogative the officers of the crown only regarded their own interest, perceiving that any retrenchment of the former would of course invalidate the latter, and reduce their authority, unsupported by a military force, to a mere shadow of power.

All this while the king flattered himself, that this sudden tumult, which arose from a gust of passion, would of

¹ Pontan. lib. ix. Puffen. tom. iv. lib. v.

itself subside; but when he was informed that the diet had broke up, without determining upon measures for establishing peace, and that the malcontents were still in arms, he determined to use force, and compel them to their duty. He steered for Stockholm with a formidable squadron; but his fleet was separated in a tempest, and the greater part swallowed up by the waves. With a single ship Eric entered the port of Stockholm, where he was immediately invested by Engelbert's army. Not disconcerted by this unfortunate accident, he proposed obtaining by persuasion what he found was not to be gained by compulsion. He demanded an interview with the senators and chief nobility of the realm. This request being granted, he desired to know what motives could induce them to take arms against him, and renounce the allegiance they had sworn? With one voice, the diet made answer, that their intention was not to throw off their allegiance, but defend their liberty and the privileges which he had solemnly sworn to maintain at his coronation. They insisted, that what they had done was agreeable to the law of nature and nations, in testimony of which they took all free nations to witness. His majesty's reply was by no means satisfactory; however, a truce for one year, or, as Meursius alleges, until the following spring, was concluded; after which Eric returned to Denmark.

*Eric's fleet
is destroyed
in a storm.*

No sooner had he departed than a new diet was held at Albo, and Engelbert declared prince of all Sweden. Cropelin struck with this unexpected resolution, dispatched letters to the assembly, acquainting them that he had affairs of the last consequence to lay before them. A meeting was appointed at Sigtun, and hither Cropelin came, attended by the grand-master of the Teutonic order. In their turns they harangued the assembly with so much eloquence and energy of argument, that they obtained a decree for accommodating matters amicably with the king. A bill of grievances was drawn up and presented to Eric; upon which he assembled the Danish diet at Holmstadt, to deliberate upon measures for bringing to an issue this now serious dispute. The assembly was held on the 4th day of May, and the king went before the end of July to Stockholm. There, in presence of twelve senators, he redressed the public grievances, received a promise, that all the fortresses taken from him should be restored; that he should be acknowledged king of Sweden on the terms of his coronation oath; and that he should swear afresh never again to violate the laws, or attempt to encroach on the privileges of the people. With respect to Engelbert, the asser-

A.D. 1435.

*Matters
accommo-
dated with
the senate.*

tor of Swedish liberty, it was stipulated, that for life he should possess the city Orebro, which was to revert to the crown at his death.

*Eric again
violates the
union of
Calmar.*

Peace was thus restored to Sweden; but the arbitrary spirit of Eric made it of short duration. Unmindful of what was past, he thought of nothing but establishing his prerogative above law. Promises and oaths could not bind him, as they were things of course, intended only to answer certain purposes. Immediately he turned out the Swedish governors who had been appointed in the different provinces, and committed these important trusts to foreigners, on whose attachment he could rely. So sudden a violation of a solemn contract alarmed all Sweden; they sent a deputation to the king of ten of the principal lords of the realm, to beseech him to perform his obligations, and not to destroy in a moment a compact, which was the result of much labour and bloodshed. They intreated him to observe, that the Swedes were perfectly disposed to comply with the late treaty; but they would hazard every thing rather than support the loss of liberty. At first Eric received them with indifference, and on their assuming a peremptory air, replied, that he was resolved not to be governed by his subjects. He said he knew the machinations of Engelbert, who had excited the nobility to these remonstrances, and would treat him in a proper manner.

From hence it was obvious to the deputies, that Eric had formed a plan for governing despotically, and that he breathed nothing but vengeance for what was past. His turning Cropelin, to whom he owed his re-establishment in Sweden, out of the government of Stockholm, only because his conduct was moderate and agreeable to the people, his placing a Danish gentleman of a different disposition in his place, together with a thousand other circumstances, all concurred to convince the deputies, that Sweden could never enjoy happiness under Eric. But what most irritated the Swedish nation happened subsequent to their deputation; for the king immediately reinforced the garrison at Stockholm, and soon after went in person with a strong fleet to remove all the Swedish governors. Not contented with this infraction of the late peace, he committed the most notorious enormities, in pillaging and ravaging the country, and destroying a great number of towns and villages.

*The Swedes
revolt.*

Heaven and the Swedes would not suffer such perfidy to go unpunished. A furious tempest destroyed the greater part of Eric's fleet; and the inhabitants of the coasts flocked in crowds to Engelbert to complain of the injuries done

to them by the king, declaring solemnly they would never more acknowlege his sovereignty ^p.

On Eric's return to Denmark, he began seriously to reflect on his situation. He doubted not but a revolt would immediately succeed what had happened in Sweden: he considered that Denmark had been for the space of twenty-nine years at war with the house of Holstein, and upwards of nine years with the cities of Vandalia, without gaining any considerable advantage, to counterbalance an immense consumption of blood and treasure. He considered, that should he be attacked on these three sides, it would not be possible for him to make head against such a number of enemies: he therefore determined to make peace with the Holstein princes; accordingly he accommodated matters with that house, on condition that Adolphus should enjoy, during his life, that part of the duchy of Sleswick, of which he was now in possession, together with the island Femeren, and the Lesser Friefeland, which his heirs should likewise enjoy for two years after his decease; but that after the expiration of that term, the king of Denmark, and the house of Holstein, should reconsider their several claims to the duchy of Sleswick, and adjudge to each their rights. Other clauses were annexed to this treaty, respecting the homage to be paid by Adolphus, and the re-establishment of trade. Upon the whole, it was apparent, that Eric wanted only to suspend this war, leaving full room for commencing hostilities as soon as he should find it convenient.

He makes peace with Holstein.

It was next thought necessary to effect an accommodation with the northern Hanse Towns; nor were the cities of Hamburg, Lubec, Lunenburg, and Wismar, backward in making their submission, having feeling experience of the importance of the Danish trade. They entreated the king to pardon the fault they had committed in breaking with him, and to restore them to their former privileges of commerce. This was just what Eric desired; yet he artfully made some difficulty about granting their request, with which he at length complied, on their promise of paying him a yearly sum of money, by way of reparation for the damages sustained by Denmark.

Hitherto Eric had lived in perfect harmony with his Danish subjects; but the plan he concerted for settling the succession, made his best friends fall off. It was at a diet assembled at Wardenburg, that he first broke the proposal. He set forth, that after having supported forty years the

He quarrels with his Danish subjects by nominating a successor.

*He proposes
the duke of
Pomerania
to succeed to
the crown.*

*The diet
assented.*

weight of a triple crown, he found himself now unequal to the task: for this reason he besought the diet to permit him to appoint his nephew Bogislaus, duke of Pomerania, for his successor; in the same manner as they had allowed Margaret to settle the succession on him. He added, that this prince was in the flower of his age, better able to direct the reins of authority than he was, and merited the distinguishing regard of Denmark, as he had ever shewn the most inviolable attachment to the interest of the kingdom. Although the diet was not surpris'd at this proposition, having before had frequent intimations of the king's intention, yet they expressed themselves dissatisfied with it. They told him, that their first prayer to Heaven would be to preserve his majesty's life, during which they had no thoughts of chusing another sovereign; but that if it pleased his majesty to abdicate, contrary to the earnest desire of his subjects, the right of election then devolved upon them, and they would never permit a fundamental law of their constitution to be reversed, by making the right of succession hereditary in the crown. An answer so explicit convinced Eric, that it would be fruitless to insist upon his request; he therefore waved it for a new proposition. This was that they would allow him to chuse some person to assist him in the government of the kingdom. To this proposal the diet replied, that he certainly had a right to appoint a coadjutor, provided the person fixed upon should derive from thence no claim to the crown. They likewise declared, that the king was at liberty to commit the government of the strong holds and garrisons of the kingdom to such persons as he thought proper.

*He withdraws out
of the kingdom.*

Without insisting farther on these particulars, Eric repaired suddenly to Prussia, without giving the least intimation to the senate, as if he intended to abdicate the throne. Upon the first notice of his retreat, the senate sent a deputation, intreating him not to expose the kingdom to fresh troubles by his absence, and representing that it would be more expedient to proceed with diligence to Abo, where the Swedes had convoked a general diet. Although Eric took but little concern in the interest of his people, yet he was prevailed on to return to Denmark. Probably his ambition was not yet wholly extinguished, though, for a time; overpowered by a fit of disgust. On his return he made several promotions: to the duke of Pomerania he committed in charge the fortresses of Neoburg, Hadenfow, and Hendsgavel; to duke Barnim, that of Anholm; count

*He returns
to Den-
mark and
raises fo-
reigners to
all posts of
honour and
trust.*

Eberstein, he made governor of Trankiar, and to duke Wratislaus he gave the government of Ravensburg; a promotion of foreigners no ways pleasing to the Danes ^b.

In the mean time a very full diet of the Swedes assembled at Abo, and resolved upon first trying gentle methods. A letter to the king was drawn up, reminding him of the oath he had taken, and intimating the resolution of the diet to renounce their allegiance, if he persisted in violating it. What his majesty's answer was we are not informed; historians only relate, that he soon after went to Stockholm with his nephew Bogislaus, and persisted in rendering himself more unpopular. Here it was that he resolved to resign his crown to Bogislaus, the governor of Stockholm having already sworn allegiance to that prince. This intimation was received with equal dissatisfaction by the Danes and Swedes: both resolved to take measures for securing their liberties, but the Swedes first began their operations. Engelbert was again applied to by the populace: he raised forces, and marched with the senate to Stockholm, the gates of which were shut against him by the governor. The senate demanded entrance, and were refused. They next demanded to speak with the consuls of the city, who were sent to them, and confined. Then they demanded to know by what authority such an affront was put on the senate? and were answered, by order of the court. This was a signal for hostilities, and immediately the city was invested by Engelbert. Scarce had the siege begun, when the citizens, impatient at the confinement of their magistrates, took up arms, seized upon the gates, and opened them to Engelbert, who, marching in with the senate and his forces, erected his standard in the market-place, inviting all the friends of liberty and their country to range themselves under it. The greater part of the inhabitants flocked eagerly to him, seized upon all the advantageous posts, and drove the governor into the citadel.

Charles Canutson, grand-mareschal of Sweden, joined the senate, and entered into all their measures; but this accession of power had almost ruined the cause of liberty. A rivalry commenced between Canutson and Engelbert; each was for commanding, and each had his faction. Both were fired with the glorious emulation of being the deliverers of their country. The first was supported by the senate and nobility; the latter by the gentlemen and peasants. At length the affair was compromised by a partition of power. The grand-mareschal was to continue the

A.D 1436.

*An account
of the
Swedish
affairs.*

^b Meurs. lib. v. etiam Pontan. ibid.

siege of the citadel, while Engelbert was to attempt the reduction of the king's garrison, and the deposition of the Danish governors.

*The brave
Engelbert
murdered.*

Engelbert in particular was extremely successful, and things were in a fair train, when he was murdered by the artifice of his rival; between whom and Eric Pache a new dispute arose, that once more restored the king's affairs. It would be unnecessary to enlarge on all the particulars of this revolution, as we shall have occasion to relate them particularly in the history of Sweden. Sufficient it is for our purpose, to observe that the senate, apprehending a civil war might ensue from the warmth and passion of these rivals, summoned a general diet at Calmar, and invited the king to appear there in person. Eric embraced the invitation, and went thither, attended by a crowd of German and Danish nobility. Here it was stipulated, that all fortresses and garrisons should be put into the hands of native Swedes; that the king should take a fresh oath to preserve the privileges and immunities of the people; and that he would never prefer to places of trust and profit any foreigners whatever, within the limits of the Swedish monarchy. Upon his consenting to these conditions, he was again declared king of Sweden, and other difficulties were left undecided until the next diet, which was appointed to be held on the 1st of September following, at Sundercoping^c.

*A general
diet of the
three king-
doms meet
at Calmar.*

Eric was now once more restored to the throne of Sweden; but numberless obstructions occurred in establishing the tranquillity of that kingdom. These we shall relate in their proper place, and proceed here to the general diet of the three kingdoms summoned at Calmar. The first act passed by this diet, was a confirmation of the treaty of union made in the last reign. To that ancient treaty were subjoined a number of new clauses, the principal of which were, that the king should frame no new laws but what received the sanction of the diet of that kingdom for which they were made: that the three kingdoms should swear to live in perpetual peace and amity: that the grand-bailiff of each kingdom, should preside at all causes carried before the king: that in the king's absence, this magistrate should represent his person in each kingdom: that the grand-mareschal should be his coadjutor, and preside over the executive, as the grand-bailiff did over the legislative authority: that only persons learned in the laws and constitution, should be chosen masters of the household, or chancellors in either kingdom: that the king should visit and reside at least three months every year in each kingdom:

^c Johan. Goth. p. 117.

that he should always be assisted by a council of three senators of each nation, and judge in person the disputes of particulars: that when threatened with a foreign war, the forces of the three kingdoms should unite in his defence: that at the election of a new king, besides the archbishops, two bishops, grand-bailiffs, and grand-mareschal of each kingdom, there should likewise attend at least twenty-six persons from each senate to give their votes: that provided the deceased king should leave a legitimate son thought capable of reigning, he should be chosen to succeed him; but if he should leave more sons than one, the states should chuse him whom they believed most deserving of the crown, without regard to seniority; that in case the male line became extinct, it should be in the power of the senators, and great officers above mentioned, to elect a stranger or native of the country: that should a native of the country be fixed upon, they might proceed to election in the manner following; first, the names of the three kingdoms should be written on as many pieces of paper, and placed before an infant of twelve months old, and the electors proceed to chuse a king out of that kingdom whose name had been taken up by the infant: that if the electors differed among themselves, they should chuse four persons from each kingdom, two ecclesiastics, and two laymen, to meet in a certain place, after having declared upon oath, themselves ignorant of the business they were sent upon, and that person should be king whom they should unanimously elect^c. Such was the new treaty of union concluded at Calmar, between the three northern crowns, in which it is probable Eric did not preside in person; for we are told that he soon after set out from Denmark for the island of Gothland, in order to be nearer the ensuing Swedish diet. It is remarkable, that he carried a large body of troops with him, all the jewels of the crown, the immense wealth treasured up by his ancestors, and heaps of manuscripts and deeds; nor did he forget his mistress, Cecilia, of whom he was passionately enamoured^d.

The Swedish diet met at Calmar, but were not favoured with the king's presence; they, therefore, deputed a number of bishops, and great officers of the kingdom, to intreat the senate of Denmark to labour, in conjunction with them, in prevailing on his majesty to come to Sweden. But there was an equal misunderstanding between his majesty and his Danish subjects, who complained, that he was making continual efforts to place his nephew of Pomerania on the throne; that he gave away all posts of profit and power to

^c Pontan. lib. ix. p. 605.^d Idem. p. 606.

Germans : in a word, that he infringed, in divers particulars, his coronation oath, and the treaty of union at Calmar.

Finding Denmark in the same situation with Sweden, the deputies addressed themselves directly to his majesty, and received a sharp and sarcastic answer, which sent them back greatly dissatisfied. However, their voyage was not without its advantages ; for if they could obtain nothing from the king, they at least connected themselves more strongly with the Danish nobility. Their mutual discontents were of a nature so similar as to require the same remedy ; and it is affirmed, that on this occasion the first plan for bestowing the crown on Christopher of Bavaria was concerted between the two kingdoms.

A.D. 1438.

*Eric grants
the isle of
Rugen to
the duke of
Pomerania.*

In the course of the following year, Eric dismembered the isle of Rugen from the crown by a grant of it, which he made to his nephew Bogislaus. This increased the discontent of his Danish subjects, and occasioned the meeting of a new diet, at which his conduct was canvassed with great freedom. The chief grievance, for which they sought redress, was his introducing foreign soldiers into all the garrisons of the kingdom, in order to pave the way for his nephew Bogislaus to ascend the throne, and raise a civil war in the kingdom. Eric's deputies removed this difficulty by a solemn promise, in his name, that all foreign soldiers should be removed out of the kingdom within two months ; a promise that was never performed, and indeed intirely forgot, among other disturbances that followed.

*Insurrec-
tions in Den-
mark.*

These commotions had their first rise in the province of Wrensyssel, and from a circumstance singular enough. The peasants refused to pay the usual tithes to the clergy, alleging, that they were informed the pope had assembled a council at Basil to reform the abuses of the clergy, arising from their enormous wealth : they were desirous, they said, of co-operating with the pious intentions of his holiness, and would therefore not make any addition to the wealth of ecclesiastics. But this was no more than the harbinger of greater disturbances. In Jutland the peasants revolted against the nobility, whom they accused of tyranny and oppression, not unjustly ; and the defection was so general in this part of Denmark, as not to be suppressed either by gentle methods, or by force. It was suspected the king was at the bottom of this affair ; but he laboured to justify himself, and, indeed, it would be difficult to assign reasons for such a conduct. In short, matters were pushed to such extremities, that the nobility were forced to take shelter with the Holstein princes against the fury of the peasants ; and to put the city of Hadersleben, and the isle of Arroe, among other places, into the hands of Adolphus.

Sweden

Sweden was in a state still more unsettled. Canutson had the direction of public affairs, by means of which he grew rich, insolent, and detested by the people. The grand bailiff Nilson, and several of the first nobility, formed a league against him, and engaged the Dalecarlians and Wermelandians to take arms. But Canutson was not long in revenging himself: after having defeated the Dalecarlians, he surpris'd the grand bailiff in his bed, and conducted him prisoner to Orebro, where demanding of him whether he would surrender the garrisons in his hands, fear made Nilson reply, that he not only would do that, but likewise serve the mareschal in any thing else he desired. Many other commotions appeared in Sweden. The archbishop Olaus was poisoned by order of Canutson, and things tended fast to confusion and anarchy. This, however, is not the place to dwell on the affairs of Sweden, with which we have nothing to do, but as they are connected with those of Denmark.

At the Swedish diet the Danish deputies attended, to represent the king. Their instructions were to insist upon having the three principal fortresses in the kingdom put into his majesty's hands: this demand the diet obstinately refused; upon which it broke up, without doing any business. All this while Eric kept close in the isle of Gothland with his treasure, paying no regard to the invitations of his Danish subjects to return. His intellects seem to have been impaired by old age; for, amidst all the troubles and confusion in Denmark and Sweden, he lived perfectly at ease, regarding with indifference, and even contempt, all the remonstrances made to him by the subjects of both nations. This infatuation induced the Danish senate to send an embassy to Christopher of Bavaria, to desire his acceptance of the crown, and intreat him to take immediate possession. A letter was drawn up to this prince, in which they complained of the king's repeated attempts to settle the succession to Bogislaus of Pomerania, which they as repeatedly opposed; of his putting all the fortresses into the hands of foreigners, in order to strengthen the interest of Bogislaus; of their permitting him to appoint Bogislaus his assistant in the government, but without deriving from thence any claim to the crown, a grant which both Eric and his nephew abused by every possible method; of his majesty's putting into Bogislaus's hands the garrisons of Neoburg, Hensgavel, and Hadenkow, contrary to the laws of the realm, and express treaties with his people; of his assembling the inhabitants of Zealand, and expressly enjoining them to obey the orders of the duke in every particular.

*The Danes
invite
Christopher
of Bavaria
to accept of
the crown.*

ticular as their sovereign ; of his majesty's retreating to Gothland, at the very time the states of the three kingdoms assembled to meet him at Calmar, and continuing there from that time, to the great prejudice of his subjects ; of his carrying thither the jewels and treasure amassed by his predecessors, to support the honour of the Danish crown. They in the next place set forth, that, ever since his retreat, the kingdom had been torn with factions and sedition ; the people had risen in arms against the clergy and nobility ; no regard was paid to the laws, but every thing tending to confusion and anarchy. The situation of affairs, they said, was such, that they every moment expected a rupture with the house of Holstein, which must be of dangerous consequence at this juncture. What had they not to apprehend in such an event, from the number of foreign governors and troops in the kingdom ? Besides, they were not quite easy with respect to Sweden, as the king had refused to fulfil his treaties with that kingdom ; and the three kingdoms, so lately united for their mutual good, were now separated and divided by mal-administration. For these reasons, and because Eric had in effect abdicated the throne, they intreated his excellency, as the prince nearest allied by blood, to protect the kingdom in this extremity, by accepting a crown to which he had the best right, as it was offered with the hearts and hands of all his faithful subjects. But if his highness should not think proper to accept this offer, they requested he would give their deputies an explicit answer, that they might fix their choice on some other prince, who might think the crown of Denmark an object worthy his regard *. This letter bore date the 28th of October, 1438.

In the mean time Eric removed from the isle of Gothland to Stekeberg ; from whence he sent to the grand-mareschal Canutson, intreating him to come in person, to deliberate on the proper measures to be taken in the present unhappy posture of affairs ; but Canutson dreaded putting himself in the king's power. Eric waited some time in expectation ; but finding the grand-mareschal had no intention of coming to Stekeberg, he returned to Gothland.

It was about this time that he received a writing from the senate of Denmark, acquainting him, that they had renounced their allegiance, and specifying their reasons for electing a new king, who, they hoped, would be more regardful of his oaths, watchful over the good of his people, and more agreeable to all the subjects of the three crowns. It was dated at Lubec the 29th of June, 1439.

c Meurs. & Pontan. in loc. citat.

By

By the 25th of the following month Eric returned an answer to the senate, expressing his astonishment at the indignity done him, in not presenting their accusation in person, and in electing, without his knowledge, his nephew Christopher. He said that he deserved not such usage; and took God to witness, that he was ready to answer every article of their charge, either before the senate, or commissioners appointed for that purpose, without passion or resentment. He promised to conform to whatever they could reasonably demand; concluding with a prayer, that his nephew Christopher might be better advised, and the senate deliberate on more salutary measures than that of depriving their king of a crown he enjoyed so long, and so legitimately. He wrote the same day to the inhabitants of Schonen and Fionia; sending them likewise a copy of the writing he had received from the senate, and demanding to know if they assented to their unlawful proceedings. In a word, he intreated them to use all their influence to prevent the senate from wresting from him a crown which he held of the Almighty. All this, according to Pontanus, happened during Eric's residence at Stekeberg, and before his return to Gothland.

He complains of the usage received from his subjects.

He no sooner arrived at his old retreat in this island than he wrote an expostulatory letter to Christopher, in much the same terms as those used in the two former to the senate and inhabitants of Schonen, and to as little purpose. To this he added a long justification of his conduct, containing eleven articles, and a direct answer to the accusation of the senate; if the denial of facts, evident to the whole world, can be called an answer. This he sent to the Fionians, who had always espoused the cause of Bogislaus, desiring they would transmit it to the senate, and support it with all their weight and influence. To conclude, he summed up his intreaties and remonstrances, in requesting that the difference between him and the senate might be submitted to the arbitration of the neighbouring princes, of the nobility, or of deputies from the cities, provided they were dispassionate and unprejudiced: in case this just request should be refused, he protested that he would first demand justice of God, next of the pope, the emperor, the kings and princes of the universe; not doubting but he should find some powers zealous enough in the cause of equity to redress his grievances, and punish the injuries and insults put on majesty and God's anointed.

But all his remonstrances and menaces, unsupported by power, were disregarded. He was formally deposed, and his nephew Christopher crowned king, according to the forms

Eric deposed.

His character.

forms required by law; after which transaction Eric spent the ten following years shut up in the isle of Gothland, from whence he sent forth piratical squadrons to annoy the Swedish commerce. At the expiration of ten years he passed into Pomerania, where he lived in the same retirement, and about the same number of years, there ending his days unlamented. Never did prince experience a greater variety of fortune, or pass through more opposite characters. On his accession he was universally beloved and esteemed by the people. Bred under the eye of a queen perfectly mistress of the art of governing, he joined experience to natural talents and a quick discernment. Soon after the death of Margaret his ambition increased, and his prudence vanished in the same proportion. It was not the laudable ambition of raising his subjects above other nations in wealth, power, and felicity, but of elevating himself above their laws and liberties. His behaviour and pride engaged him in a tedious war with the Holstein family and northern Hanse Towns; during which he was unsuccessful in almost all his enterprizes, from a variety of causes. His own irresolution, the disaffection of his subjects, his dependence on foreigners, his dissipation of the public treasure, and innumerable other circumstances, concurred in spinning the war out to a period of twenty-nine years, and in frustrating every negotiation, every siege, battle, and operation, whether in the cabinet or in the field; circumstances that in the end deprived him of his crown, which he might have enjoyed for an uncommon course of years in ease and tranquillity, with reputation to himself and his subjects^f.

S E C T. XI.

Containing a Recital of the Affairs of Denmark to the Year 1481, when John was elected to fill the Throne.

CHRISTOPHER III.

CHRISTOPHER, duke of Bavaria, son of John, duke of Bavaria, by his wife Sophia, sister to Eric, king of Denmark, being elected king in the room of the deposed sovereign, and invited to take possession of the throne, came with that intention to Lubec, where he was met by the senate, and a great number of nobility, who imme-

^f Vide Auct. citat. Puffend, Introd, a l'Hist. German, tom. iv. p. 208, & seq.

diately took the oaths. From thence he went to Denmark, and was there invested with the authority of protector of the kingdoms of Sweden and Norway; but the states declined giving him the appellation of king, or the badges of sovereignty.

Immediately on his arrival in Denmark the senate published a decree, whereby all those were declared enemies to their country who should visit Eric's court, or obey any other sovereign than Christopher; an act chiefly levelled against Bogislaus, Barnim, and Wratislaus, the kinsmen and allies of Eric. Accordingly they retired out of the kingdom: then an embassy was sent to the grand-bailiff, grand-mareschal, and senate of Sweden, to negotiate with them about the union of the crowns, and the establishment of Christopher in the sovereignty of that kingdom. Commissioners were appointed to treat with the Danish ambassadors, and a congress was fixed at Jenecoping. Here it was agreed, that, previous to all other business, the resolutions of the general diet at Calmar, in the year 1436, should be exactly followed, except that article which stipulated, that, during Eric's natural life, no other sovereign should be acknowledged. It was next determined, that the states of the three kingdoms should assemble on the 24th of June following, at Calmar, to deliberate upon measures for securing the rights, privileges, and immunities of the people &c.

Decree of the senate against Eric's adherents.

A manifesto was afterwards published by the senate of Denmark, containing fresh articles of accusation against Eric, which were affixed on the gates of all the northern Hanse Towns. Among other charges was that of maintaining a destructive war against the Holstein family and the northern Hanse Towns, many years after honourable and advantageous terms of accommodation were offered. This, in fact, was false; for Eric had done all in his power, for the eight last years of his reign, to compromise their differences; an accommodation which the Holstein princes always declined, in consequence of some new advantage they had gained over the king's forces. That he was often intreated, after the death of his queen, to strengthen the succession by another marriage; but he chose to pass his life with a concubine, rather than gratify the ardent wish of his people: that he had made several attempts to break the union of the three crowns, and raise disturbances in the kingdom, to favour the design of placing Bogislaus on the throne: that, notwithstanding notice had

Fresh articles of accusation against Eric.

been given him by the archbishop of Lunden, in the name of the senate, to withdraw out of the hands of foreigners the strong holds of the kingdom, and the islands of Fionia, Langland, Laaland, and Mona, yet he despised their advice, contrary to the dictates of religion, contrary to his solemn oath, and against the fundamental laws of the kingdom. Even the menaces of the senate, that they would depose him, could not induce Eric to gratify them in this particular; from whence it was obvious, said they, that he must have formed some deep and dangerous designs: that he had alienated the isle of Rugen from the crown: that he made no scruple of giving the government of Fionia to Bogislaus, notwithstanding the pressing instances of the senate to the contrary: and that, after having consigned all the important trusts in the kingdom to foreigners, he retreated to the island of Gothland, abstracting himself from all cares of government: that he had assumed a despotic authority, by treating the clergy of the three kingdoms with the utmost rigour, contempt, and violence: that it was notorious he had one day struck and disfigured the face of an ecclesiastic, for no other reason than his innocently presenting letters from his holiness, which happened not to please him: that he aggravated the affront by endeavouring to oblige the ecclesiastic to drink up the blood which issued from his nose, and on his refusal confined him in prison in irons: that he placed in the government of provinces foreigners, whose avarice and poverty could only be exceeded by their insolence in office, who treated the people rather like slaves than the free-born subjects of an elective prince: that he altered and debased the coin, oppressed the people with taxes beyond their ability, and plundered their effects on refusing to pay what exceeded their power: finally, that he neglected to assemble the diet, as ordained by law, to hear the complaints of the injured; and, in a word, suffered usurpers, oppressors, and public robbers to live with impunity upon the vitals of the people. Such was this fresh charge against Eric, published in defence of their own conduct, and to prevent the Hanse Towns from taking arms in behalf of the deposed monarch^h.

A.D. 1439.

It was about this time that Christopher published an edict, enjoining all those who held fortresses in Eric's name, instantly to surrender them to the senate, under pain of forfeiting life and effects. In particular he sent a copy of this edict to the governor of Korsør, giving him

^h Pontan. Meurs. & Puffend. Hist. Univ. in loc. citat.

friendly advice with respect to the consequence of disobedience. From this edict we may conclude, that he had not yet taken the title of king of Denmark, though Meursius expressly affirms the contrary; for through the whole he is called only duke of Bavaria, protector of the kingdoms of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, and the senate mentioned as the supreme power.

At the diet of Wiburg, held in the beginning of the following year, Christopher solemnly promised, in virtue of his election, to defend the state, protect the different orders of subjects in the kingdom in their several rights, maintain their common liberties, and consent to all the conditions which should be thought necessary by the ensuing general diet of the three kingdoms at Calmar. The day appointed for this general diet being come, only a few deputies attended. The Danes were busied in appeasing the insurrection of the peasants in Jutland; and the Swedes were retarded by obstructions which the grand-mareschal Canutson had raised, who foresaw that the election of Christopher would be attended with the loss of the greater part of his authority. As the assembly did not find their number sufficient to proceed to business, they adjourned themselves for a certain time, appointing their next session at Abroga.

When the deputies met at Abroga, those of Denmark demanded that the Swedes would acknowledge Christopher for their sovereign; they enumerated his good qualities, the oath he had taken at Wiburg, and his readiness to comply with whatever could reasonably be demanded. Canutson, perceiving the Swedes disposed in his favour, resolved no longer to retard a measure which he could not altogether prevent; but he besought them at the same time to pay some regard to his long services, and immense expence in supporting the dignity of an exhausted treasury, and protecting an enfeebled kingdom at his own private charge. He set forth that he was encumbered with debts which he should never be able to discharge without the assistance of the government; and that this was the only reason he had to oppose the election of Christopher. Pleased with finding the mareschal in this disposition, the assembly declared, that, in consideration of his services, he should enjoy Finland, the province in which he was born, together with the islands of Oeland and Bergholm; the first during his own life, and the latter in perpetuity to him and his heirs; but on this condition, that the crown should at any time have power to redeem them for the sum of forty thousand marks in silver. The Danes perceived of what consequence

A.D. 1440.

*Christopher
assents to
the propo-
sitions of
the senate.*

*A general
diet of the
three king-
doms.*

it was to gain over the mareschal, and therefore promised that Christopher should confirm the donation of the assembly; adding, that a decree might be passed to prohibit all persons from filing suits or preferring accusations against him, on account of his past administration.

Matters being thus adjusted, the senate wrote to Christopher, intimating their intention to elect him sovereign; but requesting that he would first meet them at Calmar, to confirm the rights and privileges of the people, as preliminaries to his election. Christopher assented; and imagining that it would be highly expedient to establish the best terms with Canutson, he invited him to Helmstädt, received him favourably, and confirmed the senate's decree, and all that had been done for him by the diet.

Christopher attends the general diet at Calmar.

The Jutlanders rebel, and are defeated by Christopher.

While he was waiting for the time appointed for the next general diet, Christopher, in quality of king of Denmark, granted the investiture of Sleswick to duke Adolphus of Holstein; but he had the precaution to demand a decree of the senate, declaring that at their desire he granted this investiture. Next he laboured to compose the troubles in Jutland, where the inhabitants refused paying taxes, unless they were suffered to pay them to their late king Eric. They assembled to the number of twenty-five thousand men, and came to an action with the king's troops, in which no considerable advantage was gained on either side. Some prisoners fell into the hands of the peasants, and among others a Bavarian gentleman, the king's great favourite, whom they treated with great cruelty. Incensed at their obstinacy, Christopher marched against them in person, gave them battle, and obtained a complete, but bloody victory. Henry Togon, a senator who had always espoused the cause of Eric, together with several others of his adherents, were taken prisoners, and condemned to be broke alive on the wheel: however, of the whole peasant army not above fifteen hundred were left dead on the field, though great numbers were wounded. Their main body gained a neighbouring hill, which they so intrenched with waggons and chariots, as to withstand all the attacks of the king's cavalry. At last Christopher was advised to offer them pardon if they would submit; which expedient induced many to throw down their arms: the rest being obstinate, though weakened by this desertion, were again attacked, and cut in pieces¹.

His majesty had been longer detained on this expedition than he imagined. It was in the month of August before

¹ Pontan. lib. x.

he could reach Calmar, though the Swedish senate appointed the congress in June. First he had an interview with Canutson at Helmstadt, and both proceeded together to Calmar, where the duke was received with great joy and respect by the states of Sweden. After having settled every point respecting their rights, Christopher was conducted to Stockholm; into which he made his public entry, amidst the acclamations of the people. On the 13th of September he was proclaimed king with the usual formalities, and next day solemnly crowned by the archbishop of Upsal.

Christopher sets out for Stockholm.

Christopher was no sooner in Stockholm, than crowds of people of all ranks flocked round him, with complaints against the grand-mareschal; but his promise to Canutson, the great influence of that nobleman, and the esteem in which he was held by the common people, made him decline taking cognizance of these grievances. One instance of his popularity occurred on the day of his majesty's entry: the people cried out, that Charles better deserved a crown than Christopher. He had the dignity of a king; they said, but the other the stature of a dwarf. He was brave, affable, and eloquent; but these qualities were doubtful in the other. The truth was, they were displeased with the figure of Christopher, which was greatly eclipsed by the personal qualities of the other.

His majesty's long residence in Sweden furnished an opportunity for new disturbances in Jutland. The governors treated the people with great severity, and seized the occasion of their falling under the displeasure of the court to replenish their own coffers. To remedy these enormities, Christopher published an edict, advising the people to remain firm in their allegiance, and prohibiting the governors and officers of the court to exact any thing more than was required by law, under pain of his displeasure.

A.D. 1442.

Fresh disturbances in Jutland.

All this time Eric lived in the island of Gothland, and had fortified himself strongly in Wisby. He had assembled a great number of shipping, with which repeated piracies were committed on the high seas, and descents made on the Swedish coasts. Complaints were made to Christopher; but he treated them with raillery, saying, he was glad his uncle could fall upon any method of amusing and supporting himself. However, the evil daily increased, and the complaints of the people growing proportionably more loud and earnest, which obliged the king to make formal preparations for war against Eric. He passed with Canutson at the head of a considerable armament to Gothland, and all were in expectation that he would either drive the de-

Christopher visits king Eric.

posed

posed king out of Gothland, or at least procure some means of reducing the pirates: but he did nothing; and, it is said, that the two princes met, passed some time together with great cordiality, and parted good friends. Certain it is, that Eric remained in possession of the island, without ceasing to molest the Swedish commerce and coasts*.

In January 1443, Christopher went from Sweden to Norway, and received at Anslo the crown of that kingdom. Thence he passed into Denmark, and was crowned at Ripen by the archbishop of Lunden.

Christopher attaches himself particularly to Denmark.

After Christopher was solemnly acknowledged sovereign in the three kingdoms, he began to attach himself chiefly to Denmark, but without neglecting his duty to the other two. His whole time was taken up in the concerns of his subjects, in regulating society, encouraging trade, and enforcing the laws. He began with confirming the privileges of the towns and cities, and Copenhagen received the first marks of his favour. Next he took into consideration certain complaints laid before him by the bishops of Ripen, Arhus, Odensee, and Wiburg, that the tithes were not properly paid. Advocates were heard on both sides, and Christopher gave sentence in such a manner as displeased neither, as it was apparent that he blended the good of the people with a just respect for the clergy. The privileges of the church he confirmed, and augmented those of Lunden. He entered upon a treaty with the bishop of Roschild, whereby Copenhagen, until then a dependency on that diocese, was ceded to the crown. He shewed his regard for commerce by permitting the city of Amsterdam and the Hanse-Towns to trade to all the ports in the three kingdoms, on their paying the usual customs. Several other regulations of a salutary nature were made, and nothing was omitted that could stamp a favourable impression of his character on the minds of the people.

Christopher passes into Germany incog.

All historians mention a conference which Christopher held this year at Wismar with several German princes; but they differ with respect to the motives for this interview. Crantzius and Pontanus, however, are of opinion, that measures were here concerted for bridling the insolence of the Hanse Towns, who greatly annoyed the Danish commerce; and that it was determined rather to use policy than force.

Johannes Gothus, a Swedish writer, alleges that Christopher, enriched with the spoils of a English fleet, over which his squadrons had obtained a signal victory, resolved

* Ibid.

to be revenged on the Hanse Towns. He collected a numerous fleet, and sent to inform the regency of Lubec that he intended making a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and should be glad of a passage through their city. But as his retinue was uncommonly great, the regency prudently declined admitting such guests within their walls. Christopher finding his plan disconcerted, returned full of indignation to Denmark¹. What credit is due to this account we know not, though certain we are, that it is not only embarrassed in the relation, but contradicted by the testimony of other writers of equal credit; and as for the English historians, they pass over in entire silence the circumstance of the victory over the fleet of their nation.

This year we are told the king had some thoughts of marriage, and received an embassy from the sultan of Egypt, who offered him his daughter^m; but in what manner the king declined this alliance we are not informed. The princess most agreeable to Christopher's inclinations was Dorothea, daughter of the margrave John of Brandenburg, surnamed the Alchemist. This was probably one part of the business of the conference at Wismar: the match was concluded, and the greater part of the year taken up in preparations for celebrating the nuptials. The margrave promised a portion of 300,000 florins with his daughter; the marriage was consummated, but the money was never paid.

A.D. 1444.

He marries the daughter of the margrave of Brandenburg.

Immediately after his nuptials Christopher confirmed the German merchants in all the privileges of trade they had ever enjoyed in his dominions; and his complaisance on this occasion to his wife was carried so far as to injure his own subjects, for the sake of her countrymen, by granting them certain immunities with respect to goods bought in his dominions, which destroyed the profits of the seller.

Hitherto Christopher had lived in great harmony with the Danish nobility; but his marriage drew such an afflux of foreigners into the kingdom, as gave the alarm to his own subjects. Governments, and places at court, were bestowed on them, to the prejudice of native Danes and Swedes. Both nations took umbrage, and complaints became frequent and loud. Christopher had too much understanding to neglect their murmuring: instantly he called to mind the causes of Eric's deposition, and determined to avoid the same fate, yet without a breach of his word or

¹ Jo. Goth. p. 113. apud Meurs.
Suet. Nob. p. 260.

^m Joh. Mess. Theat.

A.D. 1455.

His majesty's wife conduct.

hospitality to foreigners. His conduct on this occasion was wise and moderate: he satisfied his subjects by removing foreigners; by the delicacy used in performing this necessary duty, he prevented the latter from taking umbrage. He recited to them his coronation oath; enlarged upon the mutual obligations between the sovereign and his subjects, expatiated on the gratitude due from him to his subjects; for exalting him by voluntary election to his present station; assured them of the sense he entertained of their services and attachment; of the reluctance with which he removed them from trusts they had discharged with so much honour; and of his intention otherwise to reward them as soon as opportunity should offer. In a word, he soothed them in such a manner, that they resigned their places without resentment to the natives.

A.D. 1446.

In the course of this year Christopher passed over to Laaland, and punished some disaffected persons, who obstinately adhered to Eric. He made divers local laws, intended purely for the good and conveniency of Laaland in particular; then repaired to Sweden, and studied popularity and the good of his people, no less in that kingdom than he had done in Denmark.

A.D. 1447.

The Danish fleet shattered in a storm.

Returning from Sweden the following year he was shipwrecked, and immense treasures in money, and jewels which he had on board, were lost.

In the year 1448, Christopher issued writs for assembling the Swedish diet, and was preparing to pass into that kingdom, when he was seized with a malady that put an end to his days, after a short illness.

Christopher's death and character.

Christopher was at first greatly beloved by all his subjects, but particularly the Danes, for whom he could not help shewing some partiality, conducted with so little circumspection as gave umbrage to the Swedes and Norwegians. He endeavoured to subject Sweden to Denmark; but few Swedish writers allow, that he adhered so closely to the treaty of Calmar, as never to have violated their laws, except by the introduction of foreigners. Some, however, blame him for leaving Eric in possession of Gothland, and permitting him to molest the Swedish commerce and coasts with impunity. This connivance indeed was wrong policy, and an injury to his subjects; but allowance ought to be made for his relation to that unhappy prince, and that delicacy of mind which would not suffer him to aggravate the misfortunes of a once powerful and respected monarch. All the Danish writers extol Christopher as a prodigy of moderation, prudence, and patriotism; the Swedes exclaim against him as a tyrant. Certain it is, that he preserved the

the kingdom in great tranquillity and order, increased the wealth and commerce of his subjects, and greatly augmented the felicity of his people, by whom he was highly regretted (A).

Christopher dying without issue, great contests arose concerning a successor to the crown of the three kingdoms. The Swedish diet assembled at Jenecoping; and it was the opinion of a strong party, that the treaty of Calmar should be implicitly followed, and nothing determined with respect to the succession, before the states of the three kingdoms met. Another faction, headed by Canutson, who aspired at the crown, supported the contrary opinion, and were for proceeding to an immediate election. They affirmed, that the union of Calmar was sufficiently broke through already, and that it never had any other effect than to raise Denmark on the ruins of Sweden and Norway. Besides, they alleged that the Danes were guilty of a direct infraction of the union, in calling Christopher to Denmark, without consulting the inclinations of the two other kingdoms. In fine, their discourse was designed to inflame the Swedish nation against Denmark, and to revive in the minds of the people the ancient animosity between the two nations.

Great disputes in the three kingdoms about a successor to the throne.

As soon as these intrigues were known in Denmark, the senate resolved to proceed to the election of a king; for it did not appear expedient to commit the government of affairs to the queen-dowager, at a time when they had every thing to fear from the two neighbouring crowns. At this time a lord of great weight, property, and ambition, sought the queen in marriage, the more easily to pave his way to the throne. This is a fact mentioned by Pontanus and Meursius, though neither takes notice of his name^a. But as for a great number of years there was no precedent for electing a king out of the body of nobility, though agreeable to law, the queen entered into the views of the senate, and declared she would give her hand to no prince who should not be judged deserving of the crown by the supreme council of the nation.

Resolution of the Danish diet.

The advantages which would have accrued from annexing the duchy of Sleswick and Holstein to the crown, made the senate first cast their eyes on Adolphus. This matter required no long deliberation; all saw the conveniencies

They make offer of the crown to Adolphus of Holstein, which he refuses.

^a Pontan. lib. ix. Meurs. in Vit. Christiani, p. 3.

(A) It must be observed, that we hear speak of Christopher's conduct with respect to Denmark only.

resulting

resulting from such an union, and gave their assent. Immediately an embassy was dispatched with the offer to Adolphus; but that prince consulting the good of his subjects, whose interest would have been absorbed in the superior weight of Denmark, declined it, with a moderation and disinterestedness altogether uncommon among princes. However, that he might not be wanting in respect to the senate, he proposed to them his nephew Christian, second son to Theodoric, count of Oldenburg, a prince bred up at the court of Adolphus from his infancy. The proposition was so agreeable to the senate, that, without loss of time, the ambassadors were sent to Theodoric, to demand either of his sons he should pitch upon for their king. Theodoric's answer to the ambassadors was remarkable: "I have three sons, says he, of very opposite qualities. One is passionately fond of pleasure and women; another breathes nothing but war, without regarding the justice of the cause; but the third is moderate in his disposition, prefers peace to the din of arms, yet stands unrivalled in valour, generosity, and magnanimity." He said he painted these characters for the senate's information, desiring they would chuse which of the young princes they believed would render the kingdom happiest. It was a matter which would admit of no hesitation: with one voice the senate declared for that prince whose panegyric the father had so warmly drawn; and under these happy auspices commenced the origin of the grandeur of the house of Oldenburg, at this day seated on the throne of Denmark°.

CHRISTIAN, or CHRISTIERN, of Oldenburg.

*Christian I.
of Olden-
berg elected
king of
Denmark.*

IN the mean time Canutson acted with such policy in Sweden as procured him a majority of votes in the diet; in consequence of which he set out for Upsal, to have the ceremony of his coronation performed. As soon as he was acknowledged king, he notified his accession to the Danes and Norwegians, founding at the same time their inclinations with respect to continuing the union of the crowns; but finding both kingdoms averse to his exaltation, he returned to Stockholm, with intention to revenge himself, and subdue the island of Gothland. Two thousand men were immediately embarked, under the command of two generals, whose instructions were to invade that island, and make themselves masters of Eric's person. Informed of his design, the Danish senators sent ambassadors to him, requesting him to withdraw his troops before hostilities

• Meurs. Vit. Christ. p. 3. Des Roches, tom. iv. Vit. Christ.

should commence. The ambassadors represented, that Gothland belonged, by right of conquest, to the crown of Denmark from the time of Valdemar III. and that queen Margaret had redeemed it of the grand-master of the Teutonic order, to whom it was mortgaged by king Albert. They had instructions to add, that, in case of refusal, his Danish majesty would not fail to oppose his designs, and make reprisals. But Charles was too proud to acknowledge the right of Denmark, and too sure of conquest to relinquish his scheme. His answer was such as induced the senate immediately to request of Christian to come to Denmark, and vindicate the rights of the crown. Accordingly he proceeded to Lunden, and was met by the senate and different states of the kingdom in a hall called Tollerabob, a place anciently destined for the election of the Danish kings. There he was proclaimed king of Denmark and Norway, and received from archbishop Yvon the standard of the kingdom.

Eric all this while was closely besieged in Wisby. Obligated to abandon the town, he retired to the citadel, with a resolution to defend it to the last extremity, leaving the care of the city to the inhabitants. Matters soon wore a different aspect on his retreat. The inhabitants, fatigued with a long siege, lost their courage. The out-posts were neglected, and they no more appeared in such numbers, or with the same spirit, on the ramparts. This change did not pass unobserved by the besiegers: they easily conjectured the reason, and resolved to give the assault, which proved fatal to Wisby, and brought it into the hands of the enemy. Such trepidation did the fury of the assailants occasion, that, had they attempted the citadel, they would have probably succeeded. Meursius, however, alleges, that the ladders were actually placed to the walls of the citadel, and vigorous efforts made by the Swedes; but defeated by the vigilance and bravery of Eric, who exerted himself in a very extraordinary manner on this occasion.

But whatever countenance he might hold out to the enemy, he was greatly disconcerted by the loss of the city. Provisions began to fail, and courage to be rendered of no effect when famine stared him in the face. In this perplexity he held a council of his officers, and desired their advice; but all declared themselves unable to determine upon any salutary measures. He, therefore, resolved to demand an interview with the Swedish generals, which was granted. He told them, that, on the whole, he owed great obligations to the Danes, who permitted him to enjoy this retreat unmolested,

A.D. 1448.

Eric besieged by the Swedes in Wisby, and his gallant defence.

unmolested, whatever cause of complaint he might have for their first defection. The same he could not allege in favour of the Swedes, who not only frequently took arms against him, deposed him, and placed in his throne a base usurper, but now sought to drive him out of that little spot of ground, situated in the middle of the sea, and the only place where he could end his unfortunate life in tranquillity. He represented to them, that nothing could be more inglorious than to accumulate misfortunes on those already oppressed with misery, or to deprive their king of his only remaining hope, that of dying in ease.

The generals replied, that they could not, with honour or safety, forbear executing their instructions, which were to give him no quarter, if he refused to surrender prisoner at discretion, and give up his whole treasure. But Eric cajoled them with such flattering expressions, and softened them with so horrible a picture of his situation, that they granted a truce for a few days. It is said, that Magnus Green, the commander in chief, touched with the misfortunes of this prince, held a private correspondence with him, and agreed to the truce, in hopes that, before it was expired, he would have put himself in a state of defence. He even connived at his laying in stores of provision and ammunition.

Eric made the best use of the opportunity, and laid in stores and provision sufficient to stand a long siege. At the expiration of the truce, he was summoned to surrender the citadel: but on terms less rigid than were before offered. In consequence of orders from their king, the generals now permitted him to go wherever he pleased, with all his effects. King Charles dreaded the preparations made by Christian, knowing that he should be forced to withdraw his troops, if succour was sent to Eric; and this consideration it was that occasioned these fresh instructions and moderate terms, which however were rejected by Eric. He now found himself supplied with necessaries, and refused to comply with any conditions until he could hear from Denmark. Accordingly he sent ambassadors to acquaint the senate with his situation, to demand speedy assistance, and to offer the citadel to be garrisoned by Danish troops. His proposal was embraced with joy. Christian equipped a fleet with great celerity, and gave the command of it to Olaus Axelson, an officer of great reputation. His instructions were to take possession of the citadel of Wisby, to place a strong garrison in it, and to remove Eric, with all his effects, to any town of Denmark, or of Pomerania; at his op-

*Eric puts
the citadel
of Wisby
into the
hands of
the Danes.*

tion

tion. The fleet put to sea, and arrived off the island of Gothland: Olaus had an interview with Green the Swedish general, who permitted him to enter the harbour of Wisby unmolested; he landed his troops, took possession of the citadel, and conducted Eric safe to Burund.

In a few days after his arrival he received a deputation from Christian, which does great honour to the politeness and humanity of that prince. He was requested not to take up his residence in any place out of the Danish dominions. He was offered the island of Femeren, and an appointment which would enable him to live in a manner worthy of his dignity. Eric was affected with these instances of tenderness: he was ready to embrace the proposal, according to some historians; but afterwards altered his sentiments, and retired with a slender retinue to Rugenwald in Pomerania, to which place he was attended out of respect by the Danish deputies. There he ended his days in great tranquillity, without attempting to recover his crown, or even repining at the loss. It is supposed, that some punctilious scruples prevented his returning to Denmark, and induced him to prefer an easy though obscure life in his own country, to one more splendid and agreeable in an island, that composed but a very small part of his former dominions ^p.

The citadel of Wisby had changed its garrison, without altering its real situation. Still the Swedes pushed the siege; and the garrison, finding provision and stores growing short, dispatched a messenger to Denmark to acquaint Christian, that, unless they received speedy assistance, they would be forced to surrender. Alarmed at this intimation, the king raised troops, and equipped a squadron with all possible expedition, resolving to drive the Swedes out of the island. He put to sea with a body of choice troops, attended by the flower of the Holstein nobility. On his arrival off the coast Gothland, he sent Axelsen to treat with the Swedish generals, and prevail on them, if possible, to withdraw their troops, to avoid the effusion of blood. Axelsen laid his instructions before the generals: but could obtain no other answer than that they were ready to agree to a suspension of arms for a certain time, during which the two kings might negotiate a peace, things now remaining in their present posture; that is, Wisby in the hands of the Swedes, and the citadel in those of the Danes. His majesty, not satisfied with this answer, immediately disembarked the troops, supplied the citadel with all manner of stores and provision, razed some forts the Swedes had built round it,

A.D. 1449.

The Swedes continue to besiege the citadel of Wisby.

Christian relieves the besieged.

^p Meurs. *ibid.* p. 10.

and then encamped before the city, to which he laid siege. One very brisk action passed, in which neither side gained any considerable advantage; however, it determined Christian to set fire to the city, upon which the Swedes retired to the large houses built with stone. Upon their retreat the king ordered the walls to be demolished, and then attacked the garrison confined in the large houses, with so much vigour, that he soon became master of the whole city, the enemy submitting at discretion.

The conquest of the island was not, however, the sole object of this expedition. Christian sought the affections and friendship of the Swedish nation, in order to pave the way for the union of the three crowns. He exhorted the nobility, and officers, his prisoners, to enter into these measures, and they promised compliance, on condition the prisoners should be set at liberty without ransom. Christian having garrisoned all the forts and strong posts in the island, returned victorious to Denmark, where he was solemnly crowned by the archbishop of Lunden. The same day he espoused Dorothea, widow of the late king Christopher.

Charles of Sweden, to console himself for the disgrace sustained in Gothland, made a descent on Norway, and exerted himself so vigorously, that he was crowned king at Drontheim, in spite of all the endeavours of the nobility, who exhorted the people to adhere to the union of Calmar. But fearing that Christian might, in the mean while, invade Sweden, he appointed a regency in Norway and returned with the utmost dispatch. But though Christian was by no means pleased with this transaction, he resolved to sit down quietly, and rather support the loss of the crown of Norway, than harass his people with fresh disputes, as they were already reduced very low by the long wars with Holstein, and bad economy under Eric. With a view to establish peace, he sent an embassy to Sweden, inviting king Charles to an interview at Helmstadt, to compose all differences between the two kingdoms. The ambassadors were ordered to demand, that if Charles did not chuse to attend in person, he would send two ambassadors with full powers to treat and conclude a peace.

On their arrival in Sweden they laid their instructions before the senate, and were answered, that the business of the nation required his majesty's presence; but two ambassadors should attend the congress, with all the necessary powers. Besides the plenipotentiaries, Charles appointed twelve deputies to accompany them, to whom he gave peremptory instructions, to part with neither the kingdom of Norway nor the isle of Gothland, to his Danish majesty; but to submit

mit that affair to the decision of the pope or emperor, or of the sword.

Christian, at the congress, complained that Charles, in prejudice of all the treaties between the northern crowns, had, from an ambition to reign, procured to himself the crown of Sweden; an usurpation which it was evident would entail a perpetual war on the three kingdoms. He represented the advantages of the union of Calmar, so solemnly swore to by the states of the three kingdoms. He affirmed it was the only measure that could be thought of, to preserve peace, repress the ambition of the great, who might aspire at the crown, and oppose all attacks from foreign enemies. He added, that he could not, without astonishment, reflect on Charles's late proceedings in Norway, where he had compelled the states to elect him king, although he well knew that Norway appertained, by right of succession, to the king of Denmark. He doubted not, therefore, but that prince preferred war to peace, else would he never go on in a series of such practices. He concluded with exhorting the assembly to labour with him in avoiding hostilities, and a war which could not fail of proving ruinous and destructive to the subjects of the three kingdoms, a consequence, in his own opinion, not to be balanced by the most signal advantages to the king^a.

Christian complains to the diet of the conduct of his Swedish majesty.

It was evident that Christian's harangue made an impression on the Swedish plenipotentiaries and deputies, already disgusted with the government of Charles, whom with regret they had permitted to ascend the throne, only because they could not oppose his elevation. They replied therefore to his majesty, that nothing would give them so much satisfaction as a solid peace. They promised to use all their endeavours to procure the restitution of Norway, to which it was certain Charles had no manner of right; and they even went so far as to engage that he should abdicate the crown of Sweden, provided he could obtain the viceroyship of that kingdom. This reply was entirely correspondent to the king's wish, and indeed more than he could well expect, at the first mention of his design: he told the plenipotentiaries, that for the sake of peace he accepted their offer, provided that on their return they would exert themselves in the performance of their promises.

The Swedes disgusted with Charles's government.

On their return to Sweden they laid before the king the conclusion of the negotiation, with which Charles was violently enraged. He accused the plenipotentiaries of having

^a Des Roches Hist. de Danmarc, tom. iv. Vit. Christ.

exceeded their instructions and betrayed him : he confiscated their estates, under pretence of their having conspired against his crown ; assembled a diet at Calmar, where he took care that only his own creatures should be present, and obliged them to renew their oath of allegiance. But instead of promoting his interest by such violent measures, he seemed to labour his own destruction. The plenipotentiaries were noblemen of high distinction and great influence ; the deputies joined with them ; and all resolved to revenge the

A.D. 1450.

affront and injury they had sustained. They made offer of their services to Christian, who rejoiced at an acquisition, which Charles despised, under the false notion that his authority was too well established to receive any shock from the revolt of such a handful of his subjects.

Christian waited some time at Helmstadt, expecting an answer from Sweden, with respect to the conditions stipulated at the congress ; but the time appointed being elapsed, he called a diet in Zealand, to deliberate on the necessary measure to be taken. It was the opinion of the diet, and upon this a resolution was formed, that his majesty should not enter upon open war, but content himself with annoying the commerce, and harrassing the coasts of Sweden and Norway, a plan of conduct which would increase the people's distaste of Charles's government, of which they already complained, and make them more eager to renew the union of the three crowns. Accordingly an army was levied, and a fleet equipped. Orders were given to the generals and admirals, to make descents on all the coasts of Sweden, where they imagined they could be successful, but without hazard. They punctually executed their commission, ravaged the whole sea-coast, and advanced within sight of Stockholm. Here the troops were landed, and terrible incursions made to the very walls of the capital ; after which they embarked again without loss, carrying with them a prodigious booty.

A.D. 1451.

Next year Christian went to Wismar, under pretence of performing a vow ; but in reality to confer with the margrave and other German princes, and to persuade the Hanse Towns to refuse Charles the succours he solicited. In one respect this journey was of service to the Danish monarch ; in another it was prejudicial to his interest. He executed all he desired with the German states ; but Charles taking advantage of his absence, revenged upon Schonen the insults which had been committed by Christian's fleet on the Swe-

dish coasts. He entered the province in the depth of winter, with an army said to amount to seventy thousand men, burning and destroying all before him. Men, women, and children, without distinction, were cruelly put to the sword. Such as were happy enough to escape the fury of this barbarous foe, took shelter in the mountains and inaccessible rocks, where, endeavouring to avoid the sword, they encountered a death more terrible from cold and famine. Nor did the villages and little market towns alone feel the weight of Charles's resentment. The towns of Helsingburg and Landskron were reduced to ashes. Lunden indeed repulsed all the endeavours of this formidable army. Archbishop Tychon, at the head of a body of brave volunteers, made such furious sallies, as forced the Swedes to retire with great loss, after they had set fire to the suburbs. Charles continued for several weeks before this city, but the last sally he could not stand. Tychon had collected his whole force, and pouring forth from one of the gates like an irresistible torrent, drove all before him, and was seconded in the pursuit by a great body of peasants, who fell upon the flying Swedes, and made terrible destruction. This disgrace only served to sharpen the cruelty and sword of Charles. Retiring to the monastery of Dalben, he sacrificed in cold blood a number of merchants, who had taken shelter in the monastery as a place of security. He burnt several other religious houses in his retreat, and attacked the castle of Wetzhefle, where he met with a repulse from the lady to whom it belonged. This heroine collecting together her vassals and tenants, gave Charles so warm a reception, that he was glad to pursue his march without making any farther attempts. Thus Charles was twice disgraced by two persons the least fit for conducting military operations; one on account of his sacred function, the other by reason of her tender sex.

Charles enters Schonen, and lays waste the provinces.

Christian's absence deprived the unhappy Schoneners of protection; and now, on his return, the Sound was shut up with ice in such a manner, as prevented him from giving them any effectual succour. Enraged at the barbarity of Charles, the Danish monarch meditated revenge; and early in the spring sent a strong squadron, under Olaus Axelson, to lay siege to Stockholm, while himself, at the head of a powerful army, entered Sweden on the other side. His first shock fell upon West Gothland, where he easily reduced Ladese, and made some stay in order to repair the fortifications: but his time was not idly spent. At Ladese he had frequent conferences with the nobility and gentry of West

The Danish fleet lays siege to Stockholm.

Gothland, all of whom promised to acknowledge him for their sovereign, as soon as he should have conquered a certain part of Sweden. Others did not demand any conditions: they, without hesitation renounced their allegiance to Charles, and swore obedience to Christian. Nor did the fortifications so wholly employ the Danish troops, as to prevent their making very profitable excursions into the neighbouring country, where they plundered the houses and estates of such as remained in their allegiance to Charles. The Swedish peasants sought shelter in the mountains; but receiving intelligence that the enemy were less numerous than at first they imagined, they assembled and attacked the Danes, whom they found dispersed in quest of booty about the country, and cut great numbers of them in pieces. Another body of Danes, hearing of the fate of their fellow-soldiers, drew the peasant army to a battle in the open plain, and had their revenge, by obtaining a signal and complete victory. In consequence of this last advantage, the whole province submitted to Christian; all the inhabitants, whether peasants or nobles, acknowledging Christian for their sovereign.

*Charles
returns to
Sweden
with a
great army*

During these transactions in West Gothland, Charles entered Upland at the head of his army, and descended into the forest of Tyweden, with intention to oppose Christian's progress. With this view he placed his troops in ambush on the road which the Danish army were obliged to take; but hearing that Stockholm was invested, he altered his design, and flew to the relief of the capital. His arrival was seasonable: the city had been closely blocked up by sea, and the troops were just beginning to carry on their approaches by land. The besieged, encouraged by the presence of their monarch, took the most vigorous measures for their defence; and the Danes, perceiving that all their endeavours to reduce the place would be vain, quitted the siege, and set sail for Denmark.

This disappointment was followed by another, more important. Christian, determining to return to Denmark on account of the approaching winter, sent before him a detachment to clear the roads, and secure the army against ambuscades. The officer appointed to this duty discharged his business so negligently, that he fell into the ambush he was sent to avoid, and was cut in pieces, with his whole detachment.

*Affairs of
Sweden.*

This success gave fresh courage to Charles, who, advancing towards West Gothland, detached a part of his army to attack Ladese, which place had been newly fortified by the

the Danes. Thord Bonde was chosen to execute this plan, and he acquitted himself with astonishing diligence, marching day and night through thick forests, over steep rocks, and mountains covered with ice and snow, until he at length arrived before the town, which he attacked, sword in hand, and carried, making the whole garrison prisoners at discretion. No sooner had Charles received the welcome news than he hastened with his army to West Gothland, and obliged all the governors who had been placed in the different garrisons by Christian, to surrender their trusts to him *.

Christian was not, however, disconcerted at these successes gained by the enemy. He had another game to play; it being less his intention to carry on a war with Charles, than, by dint of policy, to oblige the Swedes to demand the execution of the union of Calmar. To effect this aim, he did not enter upon fresh hostilities, but continued to keep the whole nation under perpetual alarms, and constrain Charles to maintain so large a standing army as would have soon impoverished the kingdom, and rendered his government odious to the people. At last the Swedish troops began to murmur at the frequent marches and countermarches they were forced to make, according to the alarms spread by Christian. The people complained loudly of the weight of taxes, and the oppression of the military law. This was precisely what the artful Danish monarch foresaw; but these were not all the misfortunes to which unhappy Sweden was exposed. The governors of provinces, towns, and forts, seized the opportunity of enriching themselves with the spoils of the people, under the pretext of supporting the requisite military force, and even raised contributions as if they were in an enemy's country. All these accumulated miseries might, however, have been thought tolerable, had it not pleased the Almighty to crown them with those two most dreadful scourges of mankind, pestilence and famine, which raged with unrelenting fury among men and cattle.

Such, for a considerable time, was the deplorable condition of Sweden; while Denmark, the neighbouring kingdom, enjoyed ease, plenty, and security. If at any time the repose of the kingdom was disturbed, it proceeded only from some slight skirmish with the enemy, or incursion into their country.

Christian resolved to distress Sweden still more, and at once to reduce Charles to the necessity of making peace on

* Meursi. *ibid.*

A.D. 1455. the terms he should think fit to grant. At the head of a numerous army he passed the borders, and laid siege to Elfsburg, which fortress he carried by assault. Next he repaired the fortifications of Denholm, the key of Schonen, to prevent the enemy from over-running that province a second time. Encouraged by his successes, he formed greater designs; the first step to which was the conquest of the island Oeland. This expedition he intrusted to general Green, who had left the Swedish service in disgust. That officer made a descent, in spite of the resistance of the inhabitants, and sat down with his army before Borkholm. The garrison did not surrender before a large breach was made, and the Danes were preparing to give the assault, and then too upon honourable conditions. Green, however, took one precaution, and strictly prohibited any officer or soldier of the garrison, under pain of death, to carry off any thing besides his own effects. He had received advice that Charles had lodged a considerable treasure here to support a war against Denmark¹.

*Christian
again in-
vades
Sweden.*

*He takes
the isle
of Oeland.*

On the other hand, Christian was making a rapid progress in the reduction of the continent of Sweden, inso-much that the bishops and nobility, to avoid the horrors of war, were forming a design of bestowing the crown upon him. They complained that Charles, naturally haughty, was grown intolerable since his accession, governing in the most arbitrary manner, attacking the privileges of the different states, and regulating all things by his will, without regard to law and the constitution. Since the reign of Margaret, the bishops had been strongly attached to the interests of Denmark, that queen having raised their authority in the government above the nobility. They could not support the thoughts of a reduction of power, which Charles was continually attempting, nor that any of the church-lands should be sequestered for the use of the crown. That prince had appointed commissioners to examine into the titles by which the clergy held divers estates; and he had published a decree, forbidding all his subjects, under severe penalties, from founding religious houses and establishments, so prejudicial to the kingdom in general, and injurious to individuals.

*Christian
fomented the
discontents
of the
Swedes.*

Nothing could be more agreeable to Christian than this policy of the Swedish monarch, which was unseasonable with respect to his own interest, though salutary to his people. The clergy treated him as a heretic, and regarded his attacks on their temporal interest as an attempt against

¹ Meurs. Vita Christ. p. 19.

religion, in which view they artfully represented it to the people. In a word, they openly revolted against Charles, though he had never meddled with religion, and engaged more than half of Sweden in their designs. The archbishop of Upsal, on account of some personal grievances, declared himself the head of this revolt. He sent privately to Christian, inviting him into Sweden to restore the union of Calmar, assuring him, that all the clergy would declare in his favour, and that they were ready to a man to receive him in their cities and garrisons as their lawful sovereign.

A.D. 1456.

Christian had long watched this occasion, and now resolved to embrace it. He equipped a fleet, which he sent to Finland, under the command of general Green. Wiburg was besieged and taken, and then the citadel attacked with the same vigour; but Green, perceiving the garrison resolute and well provided, set fire to the city, and retired. Now the haughtiness of Charles, which had been supported by power and the strongest fortresses in the kingdom, began to falter. The late motions of the clergy gave him a violent shock, and the progress of the Danish arms in Finland opened his eyes to his own danger, and set in full view the dreadful precipice on which he stood. In this emergency he called a diet at Stockholm, to deliberate on the most effectual means of opposing the impending storm. But the business on which the diet entered was of a quite different nature: the archbishop of Upsal demanded an equivalent for certain ships he had lost the preceding spring, by means of the Danes. Charles, who did not imagine himself bound to make satisfaction, referred the matter to the diet, who gave judgment against his majesty. Dissatisfied with their decision, he accused the diet of partiality and corruption, a charge which soon put an end to their proceedings, and made the assembly break up in very ill temper, fully resolved to revenge themselves with the first opportunity.

*Affairs of
Sweden.*

It was not long before the states found occasion to shew their disposition. In the spring the king went to Calmar, with intention to reconquer Oeland, and his absence furnished the archbishop of Upsal with the means of executing the scheme he had projected. First, he arrested Hacquin Swenson, marshal of the household, and imprisoned him in the castle of Solstedt. Afterwards entering the metropolitan church, and convening the chapter, he put on his sacerdotal ornaments, and prostrated himself before the high altar, then laying aside his habit, he swore he would never again resume it until he had driven king Charles out of

A.D. 1457.

of the throne of Sweden, and substituted another sovereign in his room. Taking up a sword and shield, he marched out of the church at the head of all his vassals and dependents, and fixed a declaration on the church-door; by which he not only renounced his allegiance, but declared Charles the enemy of his country, and a tyrannical usurper, who would overthrow the liberties of the people and the established religion. His next step was to justify these violent measures to the nation, which he did by a bitter charge drawn up against the king, accusing him of violence, tyranny, oppression, pride, arrogance, and avarice; in a word, of every crime which could render him detestable in the eyes of a free people.

The archbishop knew well that no time must be lost in backing so open a declaration with force: he left no stone unturned to bring the nobility and commons into his sentiments, and he commenced hostilities by laying siege to Arhusen in form. Charles was no sooner informed of these proceedings than he marched with the utmost expedition towards Arhusen, with intention to surprise the archbishop; but the artful prelate, informed of his motions, made a forced march in the night, and, by day-break, attacked the king's forces near Stregnez, while his majesty believed him at the distance of a day's journey. At first he was disconcerted; but immediately recollecting himself, he encouraged his troops, and relied upon his numbers. However, a wound which he received obliged him to retire out of the field; a circumstance that so disheartened the soldiers, as gave the archbishop an easy, but no very important victory. Charles took shelter in Stockholm, and, to prevent his being pursued, ordered the suburbs to be set on fire. Thither he was followed by the prelate, who, after having raised the whole country in arms, laid siege to the capital. His operations were vigorous, and the king's situation declining. At last, Charles despairing of relief, and finding the greater part of the nation disaffected, concealed the public treasure in the house of the Dominican friars, and embarked with his own private riches in a ship, with which he set sail in the night to Dantzic. This event happened in the month of March, 1458, and in the ninth year of his reign. Immediately the Swedish lords in Denmark returned to Stockholm, entered upon the public affairs in consultation with the archbishop, and unanimously resolved to elect Christian in the room of Charles, who had, by his flight, abdicated the throne. Accordingly they dispatched an embassy to invite the Danish monarch to accept of their crown, and come to Stockholm

to

A. D. 1458.

*Charles is
deposed.*

to have the ceremony of his coronation performed. The offer was not rejected; Christian equipped a fleet, and set sail, attended with a great number of nobility, for Sweden. On his first arrival he was presented with a writing, containing the chief articles of the privileges of the nation, which he read over and signed without hesitation, finding them perfectly consonant to reason and justice. He was then conducted, first into the church by the archbishop and senate, and then into the citadel, amidst the acclamations of the people. No sooner was he invested with the badges of authority than he applied himself diligently to re-establish tranquillity and good order. An infinity of complaints against the late king came pouring in daily, the people protesting that they had taken arms against their present sovereign only because they had been deceived by the cunning of Charles. The king gave obliging answers to all the plaintiffs, and bid them be of good courage, for it should be his study to redress all their grievances, and render their lives happy".

*Christian
is elected
king of
Sweden.*

The acquisition of the Swedish crown soon gained Christian that of Norway. He had nothing more to do than present himself at Drontheim and receive the allegiance of the states of Norway. To this was added another valuable acquisition, and the more so, as it had for above half a century been the cause of numberless misfortunes to Denmark. Adolphus, duke of Sleswick, uncle, by the mother's side, to Christian, dying without issue, the duchy reverted incontestibly to the crown of Denmark; but there remained disputes about the succession to Holstein and Stormar, that laid the foundation of much trouble to all the neighbouring states. Christian had a just claim upon these territories; but as they were personal, and not derived from his crown, it will be unnecessary to enter upon particulars: sufficient it is to observe, that the counties of Holstein and Stormar were ceded to the king, on condition that he paid to Otton, count of Schawemburg, the other claimant, the sum of forty thousand ducats, buying off likewise the pretensions of Gerhard and Maurice, nephews to the late Adolphus, for an equivalent.

*The duchy
of Sleswick
reverts to
the crown
of Den-
mark.*

When Christian took possession of these counties, it was expedient he should receive an oath of allegiance from his subjects and vassals. The city of Hamburg was within the jurisdiction of Stormar, and thither the king went to receive the allegiance of the magistrates. But they represented to him, that all the former counts were satisfied with

*Christian's
moderation.*

a promise of obedience, without ever exacting an oath; they therefore besought his majesty that he would not break through an ancient custom, which greatly affected their liberties. Christian's moderation profited him on this occasion; he seemed satisfied with their apology, and they, in return, not only promised obedience, but likewise to take the oaths whenever they should be required by his present majesty or his successors.

A.D. 1460.

The king held his court this year at Reinsfelden, in Sleswick, where he endeavoured to compose certain disturbances, which had their origin in the free town of Lunenburg. The senate of this town finding the public debt inconvenient, had applied certain effects of the church to the payment of the most oppressive incumbrances. The bishops of Schwerin and Lubec complained violently of this application, and laid it before his holiness, who immediately interdicted the senate and inhabitants, until such time as restitution should be made to the church. This event occasioned an insurrection in Lunenburg; the inhabitants conspiring against the magistrates, deposed them, created new officers, who were soon turned out to make room for the old. Seditions of the same nature happened in Lubec and Hamburgh, and were carried on with equal violence. John, bishop of Werden, who, of all the clergy, happened to incur the pope's censure, on account of his siding with the senate of Lunenburg, came to wait on the king at Reinsfelden. At this prelate's request Christian interposed, and, by his mediation, brought about a good understanding and perfect reconciliation between the people and clergy of the Hanse Towns. It was this year that he obliged the Dominicans to refund the treasure lodged in their hands by Charles, after they had for a long time denied the fact.

A.D. 1461.*His policy.*

In the following year the pope's legate came to Sweden, with full powers to grant indulgencies to all those who would contribute a certain sum towards carrying on a war against the infidels: a stale pretext which the holy see had often successfully used, to fleece the subjects of every crown that acknowledged the supremacy of the pope. Christian, however, put a check to the rapid progress the legate was making in levying this tax upon superstition. He pretended that money was wanted to execute an expedition he designed against certain schismatics in his neighbourhood, and came to an agreement with the legate, that the sum levied by indulgences should be divided between them; in consequence of which he replenished the treasury without dissatisfying the people.

About

About this time the two brothers, Gerhard and Maurice, sons of Adolphus, came to a rupture about the county or earldom of Delmenhorst, to which both laid claim. Gerhard was supported by the king; but the affairs of Sweden requiring his return, he wrote to the duke of Brunswick and bishop of Munster to assist Gerhard, who was then besieged by his brother in Delmenhorst; a request with which the duke immediately complied. He marched with great diligence to the relief of the besieged, attacked Maurice in his trenches, and, after a very bloody action, forced him to raise the siege. Next year his majesty mediated a peace between the two brothers, in which he did not forget his own interest; but we are not informed of the particulars.

A.D. 1462.

This year Christian made a tour to Mecklenburg, and held a congress at Wismar, in the Marche of Brandenburg, with a number of German princes; the intention of which is not set forth by writers. It is supposed, however, that measures were concerted for humbling the pride of the Hanse Towns, whose insolence daily increased with their opulence, and gave umbrage to all the neighbouring states.

A.D. 1463.

In the mean time the Swedes began to complain loudly of his majesty's absence, and his permitting the people to be oppressed by lieutenants and officers. They were astonished that a prince, so prudent as Christian, should have fallen into an error of government so fatal to several of his predecessors. They also blamed him for applying the national treasure, recovered from the Dominicans, towards the purchase of Holstein and Stormar, two counties with which Sweden had no connection. On the other hand, Christian was informed of the discontents of the Swedes, and all their motions; in consequence of which he passed suddenly to Stockholm, with intention to stifle the first sparks of sedition: his project however miscarried, and he fell into the snare laid for him by his enemies. This is not the place to enter minutely upon the whole of the plan schemed out by some artful enemies to Christian and their country; sufficient it is to observe, that they produced a jealousy between him and the archbishop of Upsal, his most faithful subject, which was the first occasion of the revolt that followed. His majesty first seized upon the archbishop's person, and sent him prisoner into Denmark, making himself afterwards master of all the garrisons within that prelate's jurisdiction. Katill, bishop of Lincoping, nephew to the archbishop, wrote to the king to release his uncle, threatening in case of refusal to use force. Christian despised his menaces, was besieged in Stockholm by the prelate,

The Swedes begin to express uneasiness under the new government.

A view of the affairs of Sweden.

prelate, and after a sharp action forced to retire privately into Denmark, to avoid falling into his hands.

A.D. 1464.

*The Swedes
revolt.*

Early in the following spring he returned with a powerful armament to Sweden. Katill, unable to oppose so numerous an army, retired to the province of Dalia, and blocked up all the roads with forts built in convenient places, and trees cut down in all the avenues. Christian, trusting to his strength, pursued his march, imagining he should easily surmount all the difficulties raised by so slender a body of men; but upon entering the forests and narrow ways, his troops were so galled with the arrows discharged by the peasants placed in ambush, that he was forced to retire precipitately to Stockholm, after having lost a great number of his best men and officers. Katill pursued him thither, and immediately laid siege a second time to the city. His majesty, not chusing to run the consequences of a siege, having fortified in the best manner possible the town and citadel, took ship and sailed to Denmark (A).

*Charles re-
called to the
throne.*

It was soon after his majesty's retreat that Katill published a manifesto in vindication of his own conduct, filled with large promises to the people, bitter invectives against Christian, renouncing the allegiance he had sworn to that prince, and inviting Charles, his rival, to return to the throne. Charles did not hesitate to embrace the proposal; he returned, and was a second time acknowledged king; but his good fortune was of short duration. Divisions arose among his subjects; he soon became as odious as ever; and he abdicated the crown with more dishonour than before, having the additional disgrace of not profiting by experience*.

Christian at length perceived his own error in disobliging the whole body of the clergy, by the affront put on the archbishop; he therefore studied to repair his fault by releasing the prelate, loading him with civilities and excuses,

* Meurs. *ibid.* Puffend. lib. iv. Hist. Univer.

(A) This is the relation of Meursius; though we find it contested by other writers. All however agree, that after Christian's second retreat Katill remained master of Sweden; but was moderate enough in the height of his prosperity to make repeated offers to the king of restoring him, if he would consent to release his uncle; a proposition which he constantly rejected (1).

(1) Meurs. Vit. Chris. lib. i. p. 10.

and

and obtaining his promise to forget all injuries, and take up arms against Charles. The archbishop asked no troops, knowing that Christian would have occasion to employ all his forces in another quarter; he contented himself with a sum of money, and posted to Sweden to raise forces.

In the course of this year some disturbances appeared on the side of Holstein. Gerhard, count of Oldenburg, took arms to compel his Danish majesty to pay him a sum of money due to him as the heir and executor of Maurice. Under pretence of visiting some noblemen in Holstein, he entered the country with a body of troops, and seized upon several strong holds by surprize. So beloved was this prince in Holstein, that no one opposed his progress; only the states wrote to Christian, that however busied he might be with the affairs of Sweden, those of Holstein required his immediate presence. His majesty ordered a diet at Kiel, and attended in person. Prince Gerhard likewise appeared, and spoke with such force of eloquence, that the king promised to pay him the money in dispute, or give him an equivalent in land. Gerhard accepted the proposal, and the two princes parted extremely good friends.

A. D. 1465.

Disputes between Denmark and the earl of Oldenburg.

But other matters of dispute soon arose; the more his majesty granted, the more was required by his ambitious and turbulent brother. At the time when Christian imagined he had perfectly satisfied him, it was matter of surprize to hear that Gerhard had seized upon Heusum, was at the head of a body of forces, and in hourly expectation of being joined by the East Frieslanders. Christian lost all patience at this fresh instance of disobedience and unbrotherly conduct. He marched immediately to attack the rebels; and Gerhard hearing of his approach with a superior army, fled precipitately, leaving the Frieslanders to the king's mercy, who punished only the ringleaders and fomenters of this sedition.

In Sweden the archbishop performed his engagements to Christian: he got together a numerous army, advanced and besieged Stockholm, and gave battle to Charles upon the ice. Both sides fought with the utmost obstinacy; at last the prelate gained a complete but bloody victory. Charles was driven back to the city, and forced in a short time to surrender at discretion. Then the archbishop called a diet, obliged Charles to renounce the crown, and swear that he never more would aspire at remounting the throne, nor even accept of the crown should it be tendered to him. Finally, he was sent prisoner to Finland, with a certain appointment for his subsistence.

Affairs of Sweden.

Charles renounces his claim to the crown.

But

A.D. 1466. But although the affairs of this unhappy prince were ruined in appearance, Christian profited nothing by them. High disputes arose about a successor. The archbishop supported Christian's interest; and Eric Axelson espoused Charles, to whose daughter he was married. In the end Axelson was chosen protector; and the election of a king postponed. This new form of administration soon became odious, and the people loudly called out for restoring Charles; a proposal which the archbishop opposed with all his power. The inactivity of Christian upon this occasion is indeed unaccountable; hardly any measures were taken to support his party in Sweden; all was referred to the archbishop, who exerted himself in a manner that shewed him equally a statesman and soldier. Only two reasons can be assigned for Christian's conduct; either his brother Gerhard gave him too much employment on the side of Germany, to allow him to attend to the affairs of Sweden, or he was apprehensive of becoming unpopular, by enforcing his claim with an army of Danes and foreigners. At last, after four years had passed in perfect inactivity, Christian fitted out a large fleet, and made a descent on A.D. 1469. Sweden, where he took some fortresses. His successes, however, were not proportioned to the public expectation, and the king returned without having gained any considerable advantage ^y.

*Christian's
inactivity.*

Axelson, the protector, resolved to make reprisals, and began his march to invade Denmark, when he was met by the king at the head of an equal force. Both armies engaged, and the Swedes were defeated with such loss as prevented their ever again making head against Christian, and obliged them to propose terms of accommodation (A). The propositions were, that all the states of Sweden should acknowledge him king; that Charles should rest satisfied with certain lands appointed for his maintenance; and that a

^y Meurf. *ibid.*

(A) This year the Danish squadron attacked a rich fleet of Lubeckers, under pretence of their supplying with provisions and warlike stores the enemies of Denmark. The booty was prodigious, and the Lubeckers sent deputies to demand restitution; but Christian answered, that it was impossible, the booty having been divided among his whole fleet and army; an answer with which the Lubeckers were forced to rest satisfied (1).

(1) Meurf. p. 10.

congress

congress should be held at Lubec, to terminate the whole business to his majesty's satisfaction. Christian was naturally inclined to pacific measures; he chose rather to relinquish the certain fruits of his victory, than reject these propositions, which were made with no other intention than putting a stop to his progress in Sweden. He ceased hostilities, and returned to Denmark to wait the execution of the protector's promise.

On the day appointed for the congress, his majesty arrived at Lubec, expecting to find the Swedish deputies, but they were not so punctual; and when they came, their apology carried evident signs of backwardness to the business expected from them. In a word, so many difficulties were started by the Swedes, that not an article was agreed upon, and the congress broke up without effect.

The Lubeckers embraced this occasion of making fresh remonstrances to Christian about the restitution of their ships and effects. They were more successful than before; the king having paid down a sum of money in part, and given the fortress of Kiel as security for the remainder. Although Christian expressed no resentment to the deputies, yet he took measures for revenging their breach of promise. He was unfortunate only in not choosing a proper season for executing his purpose. In the depth of winter he passed with an army into West Gothland, and laid siege to the strong fortress of Oeresteen. The Swedes flew to the relief of the garrison, and, by a bold push, broke through the king's lines, and threw in a considerable reinforcement, which obliged his majesty to raise the siege, after having received a wound, as some authors allege^z, and return to Denmark.

This year Charles Canutson, so often deposed, yielded up his last breath; an event which occasioned the meeting of a diet, to deliberate on the future election. A strong party appeared in favour of Christian, but at length Steen-Sture was chosen regent of the kingdom; the nobility apprehending, that should they elect a king, he might recover all the fortresses and castles belonging to the crown, which they had usurped. They likewise flattered themselves with enjoying more liberty under a regent; though, in fact, this magistrate differed only in name from a king: Christian determined to support his claim and adherents by force of arms. A powerful armament was set on foot, with which he sailed strait to Stockholm; but here he was again amused with proposals for an accommodation, and fair speeches, until the Swedes had augmented their forces.

A.D. 1470.

*Affairs of
Sweden.*
*Christian
enters
Sweden.*

^z Vert. Revol. de Sweden, tom. i. Puffen. lib. v.

The king perceived his error when it was past remedy; but, enraged at their treachery, he landed his forces, engaged the enemy with great vigour, and would, in all appearance, have been victorious, had he not been disabled by the wound of an arrow in the mouth, which broke several of his teeth, and by another of a musket-ball in the throat, which obliged him to quit the field. He drew off his army in good order, and retreated unmolested to his ships^a. The Swedish historians speak different; alleging, that the Danes were defeated, and a great number taken prisoners. Certain it is, that Christian returned to Denmark, and never afterwards undertook any considerable enterprize against the regent; though his fleet hovered round the coasts, and kept the kingdom under continual alarms. He constantly preferred peace and tranquillity to the din of war; and from a natural aversion to spilling the blood of his subjects, as well as from an ambition to leave the kingdoms of Norway and Denmark rich and flourishing to his successor, he neglected to prosecute his claim upon Sweden.

A.D. 1472.

*He applies
his mind to
domestic
affairs.*

Now it was that this excellent prince applied his mind wholly to the good of the state, and to works of piety. Besides enforcing the laws, and amending them where they appeared defective, he gained the affections of the clergy; but especially of the lame, blind, and decrepid, by his liberality and generous endowments. His temper was tender and compassionate, even to weakness. His donations to the clergy were bestowed with the utmost regard to merit, and those only honoured with his favours who were exemplary for piety, and respectable for their learning and talents.

A. D. 1473.

In the following year his majesty set out on a pilgrimage to Rome, or rather upon a visit to the pope, paying his respects to the emperor Frederic III. in his way. It was at this time he represented to his imperial majesty, that in the Danish dominions subject to the empire were a pernicious bold set of men (Dithmarsians) who acknowledged no authority, and perpetually harrassed their neighbours. He requested the emperor's permission to reduce them to obedience, and unite their country with Holstein and Stormar, under the title of a duchy. Frederic granted his request, and invested Christian in the usual form with this whole country, in the manner he desired. He then pursued his route to Rome, and was received with extraordinary distinctions by his holiness, and the college of cardinals.

^a Meurf. lib. i. par. ii. p. 11.

His first transaction, after his return to his own dominions, was founding an university at Copenhagen for the encouragement of arts and sciences.

He founds an university.

Two years afterwards Christian resolved to strengthen the succession by the marriage of the hereditary prince. With this view he sent an embassy to Saxony, to demand Christina, daughter to the elector Ernest, for his son. The proposals were accepted, and preparations made for solemnizing their espousals with the utmost magnificence. It was not, however, before the year following that the marriage ceremony was performed. On this occasion, according to Meursius, and some other writers, the order of the Elephant was first instituted; though some other historians attribute its establishment to Frederic I. or II. or to Christian IV. (A).

The hereditary prince marries Christina of Saxony.

Hitherto Christian had deservedly bore the reputation of the most moderate, merciful, and mild prince, who had ever swayed the Danish sceptre; but this year his temper took a sudden and very extraordinary turn, for which writers do not pretend to assign any cause. He persecuted several of his courtiers, and among others a certain nobleman, who took shelter at the court of Albert of Mecklenburg, where he died of grief. This person's name is not mentioned; but we are told that his children endeavoured all in their power to regain his majesty's favour, but in vain: he was no less inexorable to the innocent children, than to the perhaps guilty father^b.

A, D. 1479.

Christian persecutes a certain noble family of Denmark.

About the year 1480 Christian endeavoured to restore the union of Calmar, and obtained a congress to be held with this view at Helmstadt. The plenipotentiaries of the three kingdoms met, and all were perfectly satisfied of the mutual advantages that would result from the union; but it was impossible to prevail on the Swedes to acknowledge Christian for their sovereign. The Danish ministers, however, obtained of them a promise that they would elect John, hereditary prince of Denmark, at his father's decease. Soon after this prince John was associated with his

^b Meurs. lib. i. part ii. p. 11.

(A) Originally this order bore a patriarchal cross, which, after the Protestant religion was introduced into Denmark, was changed for a gold chain, with an elephant suspended to it. The king conferred this order only upon princes and nobility of the first distinction, observing one rule, which is never to bestow it on those who have not first been favoured with the military order called Danebrog (1).

(1) Vid. P. Buffier, p. 47.

father in the throne of Denmark, and solemnly crowned at Lunden.

The hopes afforded by the Swedes, that the union of Calmar might one day be revived, and the prince's elevation to the throne of Denmark, were the occasion of great joy all over the kingdom. The birth of a young prince, named Christiern after his father, was an addition to the public joy. Nothing but feastings, tournaments, and other rejoicings, were to be seen in Denmark; but all this festivity was converted into grief and mourning by his majesty's death, which happened on the 2d day of May, 1481, after a short illness, from which no danger was apprehended.

His death.

Character.

Christian wanted no other quality of a great prince, than a slight tincture of polite learning. In piety, justice, fidelity, moderation, courage, magnificence, and true dignity of mind, he had few equals. During a reign of near thirty-three years, he cannot be reproached with a single foible in his administration, except his arresting the archbishop of Upsal, his permitting himself to be amused with Axelson's promises, and his persecution of the noble family we have just mentioned. With respect to the first, his honesty was abused. The archbishop was accused of high crimes and misdemeanors which he never committed, by persons whose veracity Christian had no reason to doubt. As to the second, he is blameless, since the most solemn assurances were given him, both by the regent and chief nobility of Sweden; assurances which he could not suspect, as they were the real interest of the kingdom. But, with respect to the third accusation, we cannot pretend to vindicate Christian, as the fact is too obscurely related by historians. This we may venture, however, to advance, that his persecuting an unhappy family is so inconsistent with the whole tenor of his conduct and his natural disposition, that we may very well suppose he must have had some cogent reasons for his conduct.

He left three children; John, who immediately succeeded to the crown; Frederic, duke of Sleswick; and afterwards king of Denmark; and Margaret, queen of Scotland, by whom James IV. had the Orkneys and Shetland, with this proviso, according to the Danish writers, that the kings of Denmark should be at liberty to redeem those lands at a certain price, and re-annex them to the crown of Norway, to which they originally belonged (A).

S E C T.

(A) Before we enter upon the following reign, it may not be improper that we give a short account of the house of Oldenburg, from which the Danish monarchs, beginning with Christian,

S E C T. XII.

Containing the Particulars of the Reign of King John.

J O H N.

ALTHOUGH John, son of Christian, was acknowledged king of Denmark and Norway, in his father's life-time, and the Swedes had laid themselves under a solemn promise to chuse him for their sovereign, yet he chose

A.D. 1481.

Christian, are descended. This family then derives its origin from Wittikind, one of the ancient princes of Saxony, who bravely asserted the liberties of his country against Charlemagne for the space of thirty years, and was at length forced to submit to that powerful and fortunate monarch. He was soon after converted to Christianity, and created duke of Saxony, in consequence of some signal services he did the emperor. History affirms, that he died fighting with his sword in his hand for the same emperor, whose overgrowing power he had so obstinately opposed. This happened in a battle against the Swedes, A.C. 820. As to the succession of the Oldenburg family, before its princes ascended the Danish throne, Buffier, in his Memoirs of the Danish kings, speaks in the following terms: Haio, descended from the dukes of Friseland, married Rixa, daughter of John count of Oldenburg, the younger son of Walpert, son of Wigbert, who was the only son of Wittikind, duke of Saxony. This Haio left by his wife Rixa, an only son called Elemar, who succeeded to the county of Oldenburg, at the death of his cousin Frederic.

O 3

Elemar II. his son, succeeded him; and he in his turn was succeeded by Christian his son, a valiant prince, who sustained long and bloody wars against Henry Leo of Saxony, whom we have had frequent occasion to mention in the preceding history. Christian being assassinated in his way to Jerusalem, the county fell to Maurice, a cadet of the family, who, retiring into a monastery, left his dominions to his eldest son Otton. Otton dying without issue, was succeeded by his third brother, Christian II. After his death John, his eldest son, became count of Oldenburg, being succeeded by Conrad, who left his dominions to his son Maurice. This prince dying without male issue, was succeeded by Theodoric his cousin, who by marriage came into possession of the county of Delmenhorst. Theodoric, or Thierry, upon the death of his first wife, married Hedwig, widow of Balthasar, duke of Mecklenburg, and sister to Gerhard and Adolphus, dukes of Holstein and Schleswick, by whom he had several children; and among the rest Christian, the late king of Denmark, and the first of the Oldenburg family raised to that throne.

chose to derive his claim from a free election of the states of the three kingdoms. With the prince's permission the Danish diet sent ambassadors to Sweden and Norway, inviting the diets of those kingdoms to send deputies to Helms-tadt, in order to proceed to the election of a sovereign of the three kingdoms, agreeable to the treaty of Calmar. Steen-Sture perceived that this proposition tended to the annihilation of his authority, as regent and administrator of Sweden, and therefore at first thought of making no reply to the ambassadors. However, to conceal his ambitious views, he determined at length to perform his promise by sending deputies, but to obstruct the business of the congress by all possible methods. The more strongly to evince his sincerity, he set out in person from Stockholm to attend the congress; but feigned so many obstructions to the journey, and at length sickness on the road, that the day for holding the congress was elapsed before he arrived.

His election confirmed by the states of Denmark and Norway.

Upon advice of the administrator's proceedings, the deputies of Denmark and Norway immediately confirmed John's election, swearing they would never, during his life, acknowledge another sovereign. Afterwards a general diet was held at Calmar, and a fresh oath was taken by the several states of the two kingdoms, the governors of cities, provinces, and castles, and by all persons possessed of places or pensions under the government.

The first act of John's reign was to assemble the states of Sleswick and Holstein at Kiel, to regulate some differences between himself and his brother Frederic; and this affair terminated to the advantage of the latter, at the intercession of the queen-mother, who expressed the utmost tenderness for her younger son. Holstein was given him as his hereditary portion, and Sleswick as a revocable fief of the crown, for which he was to pay homage. A concession so important was looked upon as a proof of the extraordinary influence her majesty had over the states, as well as of her affection for Frederic. It occasioned several remonstrances to the king about the illegality of the proceeding, and the injustice done to his own family, in case he should die the father of male issue, who might perhaps not succeed to an elective crown, and in that case would be left destitute of all provision. This was the opinion of the

throne. This prince was styled king of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, of the Goths and Vandals, duke of Sleswick, Holstein, Stormar, Wagria, and

Dithmarsh; count of Oldenburg and Delmenhorst, &c. all which titles descended to John his son.

Danish diet; but the states of Sleswick and Holstein stuck fast by the queen and Frederic. They carried their point, and these two valuable duchies were again dismembered from the crown, notwithstanding the inconveniences lately felt from the grant made to the children of Gerhard^c. It is indeed difficult to conceive how either his majesty or the Danish diet should ever accede to such an act. The fact however is certain, and we must leave the motives to be suggested by the reader, as we do not find them specified in history. Before the breaking up of the diet, John pardoned the children and family of that nobleman, who had been persecuted by Christian towards the end of his reign, gave them back the estate that had been confiscated, and restored them to all the titles and honours the family had ever possessed.

On his return to Denmark, he requested the senate to proceed to the ceremony of his coronation; but it was deferred for above two years, perhaps because they were willing to dive into the character of their prince, before they absolutely confirmed him in the sovereignty. The tranquillity which the kingdom enjoyed inspired his majesty with the design of redeeming a number of crown lands and revenues which had been mortgaged by the late king. For this purpose he laid a general tax on all the subjects of Denmark, and summoned the diet of Holstein, from which he obtained leave to impose a tax of two ducats upon every plough (A). The same was granted by the states of Sleswick, although this tax came afterwards to be the occasion of a war.

John's assiduity to pay off the crown debts, and his attention to public affairs, were so agreeable to the senate and people, that they resolved to defer his coronation no longer. Accordingly he was solemnly crowned at Copenhagen, at a full diet of the states of Denmark and Norway, a great number of German princes and deputies from the Hanse Towns, honouring the ceremony with their attendance. Soon after John went to Norway to receive the oaths of his subjects in that kingdom, and was again so-

A D. 1483.

*John pays
off the
crown
debts.*

^c Meurf. Vit. Johan. p. 22.

(A) From this circumstance writers; and indeed Meurfius it would appear that the sole alleges, that a partition of the sovereignty of Holstein was not the duchies of Sleswick and Holstein was made between John ceded to Frederic, notwithstanding the assertions of several and his brother (1).

(1) Meurf lib. ii. par. ii.

lemnly crowned at Drontheim. At his return he was strongly solicited by his courtiers to carry on the war with Sweden, and urge the re-establishment of the treaty of Calmar; but the queen-mother dissuaded him from the enterprize. Dorothea was a woman, who, to profound skill in politics, and the business of the cabinet, annexed a moderation dictated by prudence and regard for the welfare of her subjects. She represented to John the difficulty of forcing a king upon a people so tenacious of liberty as the Swedes; and should he succeed in this attempt, the little probability there was of keeping them in obedience. She told him, that he was more powerful in being the sovereign of two kingdoms only, and possessing the affections of his subjects, than if he wore a triple crown, at the expence of employing the force of two to enforce the obedience of the third. She intreated him to rest satisfied with his present dominions, and not suffer ambition to ruin the felicity which he himself and his subjects enjoyed, by bloody wars, which at last would only impoverish and depopulate the kingdom. She added, that it was highly probable the Swedes, tired of their dependence on the regent, and wearied out with the inconveniences of a form of government not suited to the genius of the people, would, of their own accord, throw themselves in his arms, in which case he would be more certain of their fidelity and attachment^d.

*John enters
upon nego-
ciations
with the
admini-
strator of
Sweden.*

Such were the sage counsels of this politic princess, which diverted John from entering upon a war with Sweden. He did not fail, however, to begin negociations for renewing the treaty of Calmar; and, at length, matters went so far, that a congress of deputies from the states of the three kingdoms was appointed to sit upon a certain day. The Swedish clergy had warmly espoused the cause of John, and the senate urged the congress so strongly, that the regent could obtain nothing more than the power of inserting certain articles in the deputies instructions, with which he imagined John would never comply. The chief articles to which his majesty was to swear, previous to his election, were, that he should first of all pay the debts contracted by his father while king of Sweden; that he should repair all the losses of the people; that he should put a final issue to the differences between Sweden and Denmark, concerning the island of Gothland; and those with Norway, respecting Skardal and Swarto. It was believed by the regent and his friends, that neither John nor the Danish diet would digest these terms; but the eagerness of the king and kingdom to see the crowns united, and the

^d Meurs. lib. ii. p. 25.

treaty of Calmar renewed, made them overlook every difficulty, and accede, without hesitation, to all the propositions. The regent finding himself disappointed in his expectations, set all engines at work to frustrate the resolution of the congress. He applied in person to all the nobility of the kingdom, requesting that they would not receive John before he had executed all the conditions stipulated; and to give the more specious colour to his disobedience, he published a report that John had refused to pay his father's debts, or to terminate the dispute about Gothland. In a word, his arts succeeded so happily, that, for two or three years, we hear no more of the congress.

The year 1484 was ushered in by the most terrible plague and famine that Denmark had ever felt. Near half the people were swept off; all the great towns, and even villages were almost depopulated. The plague, in spite of all endeavours to check its progress, continued to rage for the space of two years. On the third it abated, and, in a short time after, wholly disappeared, to the great joy of the whole kingdom. His majesty did every thing that became a wise and humane prince, for the relief of the poor: and, to his excellent regulations and liberality, historians attribute the short continuance of the famine, which ceased long before the plague.

*Plague in
Denmark.*

*John's
humanity.*

In the course of this year the king called a diet at Copenhagen, to deliberate on the means of preventing the regent's gaining possession of the island of Gothland. Steen Sture was using all his endeavours to reduce it under the obedience of Sweden. He beheld with jealousy a place of so much importance to Denmark, in a Swedish war, in the hands of his enemies: he began, therefore, to tamper with the governor, offering him a valuable equivalent in any part of Sweden, if he would resign the island and his government in Finland. Ivar Axelson was governor of both. He was a Swede, who had been promoted for his good services by the late king; but now suspected, and not without cause, for he gave up Finland at the regent's pressing instances, but refused to listen to any propositions about the island. The regent threatened to use force, which intimation Axelson resented so highly, that he said he would surrender Finland to the Russians if the Swedes in the least incommoded him.

A.D. 1486.

Axelson's resentment burst forth at the next Swedish diet, where he joined with several of the nobility well affected to king John, to depose the regent, and place Arsfwed Trolle at the head of affairs. This was only a pretence; their real design being to put the kingdom, according

*Affairs of
Sweden.*

ing

ing to their promise, in the hands of his Danish majesty; but the regent's address warded off this blow, and disappointed the friends of Denmark.

A. D. 1487.

King John had exact intelligence of all the proceedings in Sweden. The enmity between the regent and Axelson left him no room to doubt but attempts would be made on Gothland, and the Danes run the hazard of disgracefully losing an island they possessed ever since it was conquered by Valdemar III. It was therefore resolved, in a full senate, to take the government from Axelson, and declare war upon Sweden. Immediately a fleet of forty ships were ordered to cruize off the coasts of the island; yet, after all, the security of Gothland was only a pretence of the king's to cover a design more important; at least this was the opinion of the Swedes, who immediately assembled a diet, at which some of the leading persons warmly insisted upon avoiding the impending storm, by calling John to the throne, and renewing the union of Calmar.

His majesty having joined his fleet before Gothland, had the town and citadel of Wisby immediately surrendered to him by Axelson. The regent, dreading the consequences of a war with Denmark, requested that John would grant him an interview and passport. He declared to the king that his coronation was deferred on account of the senate, and not from any fault of his, who was no more than the servant of the senate, forced to act according to their pleasure. Finally, he took an oath of allegiance to the king, and solemnly promised, if it was possible, to prevail on the senate to follow his example. John was duped by these liberal promises and specious appearances. Steen Sture took oaths only to deceive, and to promote his own interest; for, after having prevailed on the king to procure from Axelson the surrender of the island Oeland and the fortrefs of Borkholm to the Swedes, he then exerted all his influence against John, knowing that his own grandeur depended upon excluding him from the crown^e.

A. D. 1494.

After this transaction Denmark enjoyed profound peace till the year 1494, when the king was seized with a kind of phrensy, without any apparent cause. His illness did not, however, continue long, but went off without the assistance of art. As soon as he recovered the use of his understanding, he sent to demand a categorical answer from the regent, with respect to the resolutions of the last Swedish diet, and his own intentions with regard to Oeland; giving him to understand, that he was no longer in a humour

to be put off with promises. In consequence of this message a diet met, and a great majority, headed by the bishop of Upsal, appeared in favour of John, a circumstance which created a mortal enmity between that prelate and the regent. Nothing, however, was done besides appointing a congress of the states of the three kingdoms, to meet on the 24th of June in the following year.

When the deputies of the three nations met, they waited long for the regent, who was detained by no adverse winds, bad roads, nor sickness, but want of inclination, as was now evident to all. His repugnance occasioned the congress to be adjourned to the month of November, when such measures were taken by the king as, he persuaded himself, would infallibly secure to him the crown of Sweden. Accordingly he set sail, with a fine fleet, for the coast of Sweden; but was obliged to return, after having lost one ship by fire, and several more in a dreadful storm. The misfortune of one ship in particular greatly affected him, as on board her were all the papers and titles he proposed producing at the diet to justify his claim. Steen Sture was so elevated with John's disappointment, that he now openly refused to enter upon any negotiations, and even absented himself from the diet, which he had assembled by writs signed with his own hand.

A.D. 1495.

A congress of deputies from the three kingdoms.

John prepares to invade Sweden.

John, perceiving that it would be difficult to force the regent into terms while he was in alliance with the Hanse Towns, fell upon divers stratagems to break the treaty between them. But all proving unsuccessful, he engaged the Russians to enter Finland, where they made terrible devastation. Against these barbarians the regent opposed himself at the head of an army; but though he thirsted for revenge, he dreaded coming to a battle, or engaging in open war with a nation so potent as Muscovy. John's friends took advantage of the regent's absence, a diet was assembled, and Steen Sture solemnly deposed, a measure which laid the foundation of a civil war we shall have occasion to relate in the history of Sweden.

A.D. 1497.

During these transactions in Sweden, John did not waste his time idly in his own dominions. A second time his son Christian was declared hereditary prince of Denmark and Norway, and a war resolved upon with Sweden. The army he raised upon this occasion was composed of Germans, French, English, and Spaniards; in a word, of soldiers of fortune, introduced into Germany by Magnus, duke of Lower Saxony. No pay was given them; and, as they were to subsist wholly on plunder, they were esteemed rather banditti of robbers than a regular army. With this mixed

mixed corps he laid siege to Calmar, while his fleet ravaged the island of Oeland and the coasts of Sweden. The citizens of Calmar, finding resistance in vain, capitulated upon honourable terms. Borkholm next surrendered to the Danish fleet. The most terrible ravages were committed by the king's army all over the country where the foldiers dispersed themselves; even the forests were set on fire, and every species of hostility committed which his majesty thought would force the Swedish nation into his terms, and render them weary of the regent².

In the mean time the regent pressed hard on the king's adherents in Sweden, and blocked the archbishop of Upsal closely up in the fortress called Steka. John flew to the prelate's relief, raised the blockade, and then pursued his march to Stockholm, with intention to lay siege to the city; ordering his fleet to block it up towards the sea, and by every possible means to assist his operations. When the regent found the capital invested by sea and land, he immediately applied himself to the Dalecarlians, the most warlike people in Sweden, and, by large promises and specious arguments, excited them to take arms for the relief of Stockholm. John was no sooner informed of their march than he summoned a council of his general officers, and was rejoiced to find them all eager to come to an engagement. It was the cry of the whole army not to wait in their trenches to be attacked, but bravely to march out, and engage the enemy in the open field. The king made his advantage of this eagerness of his troops. Marching the cavalry out of his camp in the utmost silence, he covered their motions from the besieged, by the disposition he made of his infantry. In the night the infantry filed off, and before break of day joined the horse, which were drawn up at a post some distance from the camp, through which the enemy must pass.

*Defeats
the Dale-
carlians.*

It was not long before the scouts brought notice that the Dalecarlians were near; upon which his majesty went through the ranks, encouraging his troops, by promises of reward, to maintain the honour of their several countries, and exhorting them to put an end to a destructive war, by an exertion of their valour for a few hours. He was answered by a shout, which convinced him of the ardour of the foldiers. Immediately he led them on, and attacked the enemy at Rootebroe. The Dalecarlians stood the shock with great firmness. A cloud of arrows was discharged, that covered the whole Danish army, and made such

slaughter as would certainly have wrested victory out of the king's hands, had the enemy been supported with cavalry. Having nothing, however, to oppose to the king's horse, they were attacked in flank, broke, and put in disorder; then the carnage became dreadful; the repeated endeavours of the brave Dalecarlians to rally, only prolonged their fate, and rendered their destruction more complete. Too obstinate to quit the field, they were hemmed in on every side, most of them preferring a glorious death to flight or captivity. The king, satiated with blood, ordered a retreat to be sounded, and returned in good order to his camp, without permitting his army to plunder the baggage, lest the desperate Dalecarlians should seize this opportunity of rallying the few remaining dispersed troops. Immediately he ordered the standards and other trophies of his victory to be erected in view of the garrison of Stockholm, thinking by this expedient to intimidate them to surrender. The effect this action produced was directly contrary to his expectation, but not less successful. Steen Sture imagining that the Dalecarlians, after having defeated the king, were now pillaging the camp, opened the gates, and permitted all the inhabitants to go and partake in the general joy and plunder. His majesty fell upon them, drove them back to the walls, and made prodigious slaughter; the regent himself escaping with great danger in a little boat. In consequence of this rout the city capitulated; the nobility, most averse to John's election, came and sued for pardon, and the regent himself intreated the king to grant him an interview. Their first conference passed in reproaches from the king, and excuses on the side of the regent. In the end, however, he was pardoned, and John crowned king of Sweden, in the manner we shall relate more particularly in the history of that country.

At a feast which his majesty gave the Swedish nobility after his coronation, he asked a German officer at table, whether any thing was wanting to render the solemnity complete? "Nothing, says the German, besides an executioner to cut off the heads of some of those lords, and impress the rest with just notions of the fidelity and obedience they owe to their sovereign." The king was so enraged at this speech, that he continued for some time silent, with his eyes fixed on the ground. At last, darting a look full of resentment at the German, he replied, "I had rather see all my evil counsellors hanged on a gibbet, than be overwhelmed with the shame of an action so barbarous as that you recommend. God forbid I should ever
Is elected
king of
Sweden.

A.D. 1493.

A noble
saying of
John's.

be the oppressor of liberty, or deny any free people the right of chusing their own governors:" an answer that sets the character of this prince in the most conspicuous point of view, and deserves to be engraved on the hearts of all princes^b.

*He marches
against the
Dithmar-
sians.*

About the beginning of the following year, the king engaged in a war, which terminated little to his honour or advantage. It was occasioned by the grant made by the emperor Frederic to the late king, of that country inhabited by the people called Dithmarsians. For many ages this brave people had thrown off the Danish yoke, and aspired at perfect independency, never acknowledging themselves subject to the archbishop of Bremen, except when they dreaded the arms of Denmark. The late king's death prevented his intention of reducing them; and the desire of extending his frontier induced John to attack them. He communicated his plan to his brother Frederic, and engaged him to join the Danish army with the troops of Holstein. John began his march in the month of February, accompanied by his brother Frederic, and the flower of the nobility of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway. When joined by the auxiliaries, his army was so numerous, that he expected the Dithmarsians would make their submission, without striking one blow. He could not persuade himself, that a handful of militia would presume to meet in the field a powerful well-disciplined army, flushed with victory, and the conquest of a potent kingdom. But he was mistaken, and greatly astonished, when he found that this determined people disdained submission; and the inhabitants of a district, not seven miles in extent, prepared to face the sovereign of three respectable kingdoms. So sure did the Danes make themselves of victory, that they had shared the booty before the engagement; and every one brought carriages for moving off his proportion of the spoil. Merchants attended the army, having with them large sums of money, imagining they might purchase things of value at a low price from the soldiers. A kind of infatuation possessed the whole: all proposed immense riches to themselves, without dreaming of the danger, or the chance of war. Even the senators were so infatuated as to divide among them all the benefices, wantonly assuming the title of abbots; a piece of temerity which gave birth to the saying, "Never was battle so fatal to the abbots." The truth is, jealousy and faction prevailed in the king's army. Many persons dreaded his aggrandizement by new conquests, not doubting

A. D. 1500.

^b Meurs. *ibid.*

but a series of wars would ensue, instead of peace and tranquillity. Ambition, said they, is boundless, and the Hanse Towns will be the next object of conquest. Others, who thought their services in the Swedish war but ill requited, went so far as to conspire against the king's life; but their villainous design was happily discovered by an infant, just as it was on the point of execution.

Such was the condition of the king's army, while valour and unanimity supplied the place of numbers among the enemy. They thoroughly weighed the strength of the Danes, and fought the means of resisting them with the utmost caution and vigilance. Meldorp, their capital, was neither fortified by art nor nature to their satisfaction, so that they were afraid to trust to its walls and stand the siege. On the other hand, their want of cavalry made it hazardous to give battle in the open plain. They resolved therefore to retire into the heart of their country, where the canals and dykes would serve for ramparts, and greatly incommode the enemy.

After the king had passed some days at Ham, expecting the Dithmarsians would offer their submission, at last he began his march towards Meldorp, which he took almost without resistance, the inhabitants having deserted it with all their valuable effects. The consternation of the Dithmarsians was great upon the loss of their capital; some talked of surrendering, while others were for making a desperate push, and risking all. While the king staid to refresh his troops at Meldorp, he sent out a detachment to examine the country, and discover the enemy. Hardly a man of this corps returned, with such fury did the Dithmarsians attack them. Then the king set out with his army to chastise their insolence, and was first obliged to attack a narrow pass, which the enemy had diligently fortified. His body-guards led the van, the infantry were in the center, and the cavalry marched in the rear, through narrow rough roads, lined on both sides with wood. At first this was the only difficulty his majesty encountered; but on approaching the enemy, he found them strongly entrenched, and inaccessible on all sides; besides, the narrowness of the roads, and disposition of the cannon and baggage, in the front and rear, rendered it now hazardous either to advance or retreat. His embarrassment did not escape the enemy: they were prepared for it, and played their batteries with great vigour and success. Showers of arrows were likewise poured among the king's troops, and the endeavours of the Dithmarsians were greatly assisted by a violent shower of hail, blown directly in the faces of the king's troops.

John defeated by the Dithmarsians.

troops. In a word, every thing co-operated to effect the disgrace and ruin of the Danish army. Cold, fatigue, and despondency, universally prevailed. Baffled in their endeavours to retreat, there remained no means of safety but cutting their way through the midst of the enemy's camp, a scheme which was immediately attempted. The attack begun with great vigour, supported by the king in person, and was sustained with no less courage and firmness. Whole ranks of the Danes were hewn down by the grape shot of the enemy, while the Danish fire was vainly spent upon dykes and batteries. Encouraged however by the presence and example of their king, one rank advanced upon another of their slaughtered companions, and soon met their fate. Confusion began to follow this terrible carnage, and even the king himself was dismayed. His falling back was the signal to a general rout, and now it was that the most dismal terror and disorder appeared. The cannon and baggage in the rear blocked up every passage, and the men fell back upon each other in one tumultuous crowd. The infantry threw themselves into the ditches to make room, and the cavalry, finding themselves blocked up, trod down the foot, as if they had been enemies. To give the finishing blow to the distress of the Danish army, the Dithmarsians sallied out among them, sword in hand, hewing them down without pity, remorse, or resistance. At the same time they opened their sluices, and almost overwhelmed them with a torrent of water, which however had this unexpected good effect, that clearing the ditches, and carrying away a great part of the baggage in the rear, it opened a passage for the cavalry to retreat. Nothing indeed could be more providential than this last action of the enemy, which alone prevented the Danes from being killed or taken prisoners all to a man. Some writers alledge, that this opening was made by the garrison the king left at Meldorp, who now came to his relief, and removed the cannon and baggage that blocked up the rear. What we can affirm for a certainty, upon the authority of all writers, is, that the king was totally defeated, and the ditches were filled with dead bodies; a circumstance that facilitated the escape of the survivors, by diminishing the crowd, and forming a kind of foot path in the deep and muddy trenches.

Cruelty of the Dithmarsians.

The Dithmarsians did not bear their success with moderation. All sorts of cruelties were committed on the bodies of the wounded and slain; their eyes were plucked out, their noses slit, and their ears cut off, with a barbarity unworthy of a warlike people. It was with difficulty they were prevailed on to bury the dead; nor did they at last

last comply with these last duties of humanity, but to avoid the inconveniency of the putrid exhaltations arising from the corrupted bodies. After all, the infantry alone were interred, while the cavalry were left a prey to birds and beasts¹.

With respect to the number of slain, we have no certainty; but the most common opinion is, that four thousand Danes were left on the field, besides the wounded and prisoners. Among the former were Adolphus Otton, and the count of Oldenburg, together with three hundred and sixty officers of less note. The king lost likewise an infinity of standards, colours, and other trophies, besides all his artillery and baggage. Such was the event of this unfortunate expedition, undertaken from motives of ambition, and unsuccessful for want of foresight, unanimity, and from too great confidence in the superiority of numbers.

John having collected the remains of his scattered forces in Holstein, was meditating another invasion, in order to wipe off his disgrace, and revenge the manes of so many brave soldiers, when a peace was mediated by the German princes between him and the Dithmarsians, which continued until Frederick II. made another expedition into their country. *Peace concluded.*

The rumour of this defeat once more roused the ambition of Steen Sture, and excited a rebellion in Sweden, which ended in a revolution, and the elevation of that nobleman to the rank he before held. He was adored by the peasants, as the protector of their liberties, and encouraged by the nobility as the necessary tool of extending their own privileges. But we shall postpone the relation of particulars until we come to the history of Sweden, that we may avoid repetition. Sufficient it is, to observe that this revolution was effected in the year 1502, and forms one of the busiest and most interesting periods in the annals of either kingdom. *A.D. 1501.*

But the ambition of Sture was not satisfied with being the first person in Sweden; it was necessary to acquire also the supreme authority in Norway to fill the measure of his designs, and gratify a soul wholly occupied with the lust of power. No obstacles could discourage him, and he panted after the accomplishment of this enterprize with an eagerness proportioned to the difficulty of attaining his ends. The people had always testified an inclination to the union of Calmar, and a strong attachment to the kings *A.D. 1502. Sweden revolts.*

¹ Meurs. Vit. Johan. ibid.

*Distur-
bances in
Norway.*

of Denmark ; but Steen Sture was not to be repulsed by obstructions which he thought would melt away before the heat and fervour of his genius. He wrote to the nobles ; he employed emissaries to debauch the minds of the vulgar : to the former he promised unlimited privileges, and to the latter an exemption from taxes imposed by the Danes and every thing else that could cajole, amuse, and engage them in his interest. Motives so powerful as these wrought the desired effect : the Norwegians loved ease and liberty ; here in imagination they saw a happy prospect ; they pushed forward with eagerness, declared themselves, and joined the Swedes against Denmark, chusing Canute Adolphus, a powerful lord of the country, for their leader.

John was grieved and astonished at the first report of this revolution ; but he did not despair of regaining the Norwegians. With this view he deputed to them the bishop of Roschild and Henry Crommeditz, after having obtained passports from Canute Adolphus. They had an interview with this nobleman, which ended in reproaches, and his assassination, without its ever being known whether the Danish deputies had the king's instructions for committing this barbarous and insidious act. Confusion and tumult were the immediate consequences of this murder : the Norwegians retaliated on the Danes ; and such were the heats produced, that no time could be afforded to inter the body of Adolphus for the space of twelve years ; with such rage did they pursue their mutual animosity (A). As the king never took much trouble in discovering the murderers, it was conjectured that he was privy to the design ; and thus he lay under the imputation of being at least an accessory to two horrid assassinations, without perhaps having any share in either ; nor indeed can we at all conceive what purpose the latter murder, in particular, could have answered : we find it however related, that on his death bed he was so touched with remorse at being instrumental in the marechal's death, that he often called upon his name in a kind of phrenzy ^k.

^k Meurs. Vit. Johan. ibid.

(A) About this time two Norwegian assassins came to Denmark, one of whom stabbed the grand-marechal as he was passing from the citadel to the city of Copenhagen ; and afterwards flung his body into the sea, saying, that land was not so natural an element for a fish as the sea, alluding to Saumond, which was the first part of that nobleman's name (1).

(1) Meurs. Vit. Johan.

All

All this year the king was busied in the Swedish war, and blocking up Stockholm; the loss of which place, and the queen's imprisonment, greatly affected him. We shall see, in its proper place, how Sture came into possession of the capital and of her majesty's person, who defended it for some time with the valour and skill of the greatest general. He now had some intelligence that the Hanse Towns were ready to join the administrator; and he applied every engine to prevent their designs, by a renewal of the treaty subsisting between them and Denmark. The bishop of Odensee, accompanied by two gentlemen of the court, were sent to Lubec, to lay before the regency the series of Sture's perfidy, his breach of treaties and oaths, his rebellion against his sovereign, in defiance of gratitude, repeated obligations, and the laws of his country, to which he had solemnly sworn; his imprisonment of the queen, in open breach of a particular treaty with her before she surrendered the citadel of Stockholm, together with a thousand other articles of impeachment. In fine, he demanded of the regency, out of respect to him and the friendship subsisting between Denmark and the Hanse Towns, that they would promise not to favour the administrator, by sending supplies of warlike stores and provisions to Sweden. He assured them of his friendship, if they would comply with this reasonable request; and on the other hand declared, that he could not avoid holding as enemies whoever should openly countenance and support rebels against their king and country.

John's negotiations with the regency of Lubec.

To this remonstrance the regency answered, that their city being in peace with both kingdoms, it was unjust to put a stop to their commerce on account of their particular quarrel; and, indeed, neither his majesty nor the administrator had any right to lay restrictions on their trade. From this answer it was obvious the regency had taken their resolution; John, however, did not fail soliciting them by fresh instances; and negotiations of the same nature he carried on by his ambassador with all the Vandal cities, and with much the same success¹.

King John was provoked at the conduct of the Hanse Towns, and gave orders immediately for a squadron to be sent to sea to intercept all their commerce with Sweden. This squadron had scarce entered the Baltic, when it fell in with a rich Lubecker, bound for Sweden, which the Danish commander seized, and carried into port. Lubeck was immediately in arms. The people insisted upon de-

He quarrels with the Hanse Towns.

¹ Chytræi Chron. p. 76.

declaring war against Denmark, and the regency inclined to their opinion, but were deterred from pursuing it, from motives of prudence, and the exhausted state of the public treasury. It was therefore thought adviseable to try the effects of a negotiation; and deputies were accordingly sent to Denmark, which John treated with great haughtiness in his turn. He gave them to understand, that he had no particular quarrel with Lubeck, or any of the free towns; and it was by no means his wish to break with them; but they were before apprized of his intention if they continued to assist his enemies, a method of proceeding which he could not avoid construing into an indirect alliance against Denmark. In a word, he gave the deputies to understand, that he had it in his power to be revenged on Lubeck in particular. "This city, said he, had its privileges from the kings, my predecessors, in reward of its attachment to the interest of Denmark; it is possible it may lose them, as the just punishment of its ingratitude."

On the return of the deputies with this answer, the citizens of Lubeck cried out with one voice for war; but the regency foreseeing the inconveniences of a rupture with Denmark, made repeated remonstrances to the king by letters of request, and every other possible method. Finding him inflexible, at length, with reluctance, they determined to take arms, and keep no measures. The diligence with which they levied troops, and equipped a fleet, made it apparent that they were resolved on vigorous measures; nor was the king less diligent in preparations to resist them.

In the mean time Frederick, duke of Sleswick and Holstein, offered his mediation between Denmark and the Hanse Towns. He went with that view to Lubeck, and omitted nothing to prevent a rupture; but the minds of the populace were too much inflamed to admit of the equitable proposals of this pacific prince. They persisted in demanding liberty of trade with Sweden, the confirmation of the privileges in the ports of Denmark, and restitution of the ships taken by the king's squadrons. Incensed at their obstinacy, John augmented the fleets intended to cruize upon their coasts. He sent likewise for aid to the kings of France, England, and Scotland. But though no succours arrived, except from the latter and the marquiss of Brandenburg, the rumour of such powerful alliances discouraged the Lubeckers, made them lay up their fleet, and disband their armies.

Two stout ships of war were sent from the king of Scotland, and several battalions of infantry by the elector of Brandenburg; but the king not thinking it adviseable again to rouse the spirit of the Hanse Towns, who seemed disposed to lie by, resolved to employ his auxiliaries in the conquest of Norway. Prince Christian was appointed to command the armaments destined for this enterprize. The first attempt made by the prince was attended with uncommon success; he took prisoner the chief of the malcontents, condemned him to death, and ordered him to be broke on the wheel. Sture sent succours to the rebels; but the Swedish troops being defeated on their first arrival, Christian was left at full liberty to reduce the rest of the kingdom. In a word, the rigour with which his highness treated the rebels, and especially the nobility, a great number of whom he put to death, gave so rapid a progress to his arms, that in one campaign he saw himself master of all Norway.

Prince Christian's success in Norway and Sweden.

Thence he passed into Sweden, where he laid siege to Elsburg and Oeresteen. His operations were so vigorous, that the garrisons soon offered to capitulate; but he refused to grant any terms to rebels, resolving to impress terror by this severity. Sture perceiving of what consequence it was to relieve these two places, marched with a body of horse and foot with great secrecy and diligence, towards Elsburg (A).

The Swedish troops had advanced within a few miles of the Danish camp, when they were discovered by a peasant, who gave immediate notice of their approach to Canute Thimee, the Danish officer upon guard for that night. Immediately he carried the news to the commander in chief; for the prince it is said lay that night in the citadel of Elsburg, which had been surrendered the day before. But as it was now the hour for relieving the centinels, the enemy had time to approach the camp, and seize upon an eminence from whence they could overlook the Danes, before word came to the commanding officer. Nothing could be more favourable to Sture's designs than this opportunity. The whole Danish camp was overwhelmed with sleep, and the prince absent. Sture however imprudently relying more upon the bravery of his men than upon the surprize of the enemy, ordered the trumpets to

The Swedes endeavour to surprize the Danish camp, and are defeated.

(A) Some writers affirm, that this party was commanded by one Achon, and not by Sture in person (1).

(1) Meurs. *ibid.*

be founded, and the charge given; an order so ill-timed, that one of the trumpeters took the liberty of asking; whether it were not more adviseable to fall upon the enemy asleep than to waken them, and give them time to put themselves in a state of defence: but the general would have his orders implicitly obeyed, saying, that he disdained attacking the king's son, and so many noblemen, otherwise than in fair combat; a circumstance that renders it probable that the administrator did not command in person. The Swede soon felt the consequences of this boasted delicacy. He broke with fury into the camp, made great slaughter at first, but was soon overpowered and forced to fly, after having lost more than half his cavalry; for his infantry had not yet joined him. It was the prince's arrival that gave this sudden turn to affairs. He instantly rallied the Danes, and gave them fresh vigour by his presence. Nor was he contented with repulsing the Swedes, and securing his camp; but pushing the siege of Oeresteen with redoubled efforts, he took the fortress in a few days, putting the garrison to the sword, as he had done that of Elsburg. After that he led his victorious army into East Gothland, where he burnt villages, took and pillaged towns and castles, and then passed to Schonen to refresh his troops ^m.

All this while Sture was not idle in Sweden. The Lubeckers had joined him with a squadron, consisting of six men of war; and he raised a body of land-forces, with which he became master of almost all the fortresses in the kingdom, except Calmar and Borkholm, the sieges of which places were raised by the seasonable succours sent by John. Still, however, the Danes continued their incursions, to put a stop to which, and gain time, Sture set a negotiation on foot concerning the queen's release. The pope's legate coming to Germany, it was thought a general peace would be established, as he laboured to unite the Christian princes, in order to engage them against the infidels. The legate wrote to king John, desiring he would send ambassadors to a congress at Lubeck, to which he had summoned deputies from Sweden, and all the Vandal cities. The deputies of the several states met accordingly; but Sture's agents equivocated so grossly, that the legate declared, unless the administrator released the queen, surrendered his authority, and returned together with the whole kingdom of Sweden to the obedience they had

^m Meurf. Vit. Johan. *ibid.*

sworn to king John, he would engage his holiness to pour down upon them all the thunders of the church.

These menaces operated powerfully on the minds of the regency, and the Swedish deputies; the former requesting leave to accompany the latter into Sweden, to treat with Sture in person concerning her majesty's release. They likewise sent deputies to Stralsund, to treat with king John, concerning certain preliminary articles of peace.

It was a matter of less difficulty than was imagined to procure the queen's liberty; the whole Swedish nation having long endeavoured to prevail on the administrator to send her back to Denmark. Her majesty was attended at Helmstadt by crowds of the nobility; and his majesty, followed by the prince and court, met her at a considerable distance, and conducted her to Copenhagen, amidst the joyful acclamations of the people, who loved the person and greatly respected the abilities of this heroine.

The queen of Denmark set at liberty.

The sudden death of Steen Sture in the following year effected a total change in the affairs of Sweden. Warm disputes arose whether his Danish majesty should be called to the throne, or the management of affairs be put into the hands of Suante Sture, grand-mareschal of the kingdom. The latter opinion prevailed, and the new administrator began his government by renewing the war, and laying siege to Calmar and Borkholm. More than common vigour was exerted in finishing those sieges; but all the efforts of Sture were baffled by the bravery of the garrison and the strength of the fortificationsⁿ.

A.D. 1504.

King John was foiled in his endeavours to reduce Sweden to his obedience; he therefore deliberated upon the most effectual means of punishing this rebellious nation, by striking some decisive blow. The island of Bornholm was the great security of their commerce in the Baltic, and of this he proposed to deprive them. While he was busied in preparations to execute this plan, the duke of Mecklenburg declared war on the Lubeckers. The regency, terrified at having two enemies at once to deal with, made proposals of peace, and agreed to whatever his majesty demanded; but the rest of the Hanse Towns, particularly Dantzick, Riga, and Revel, refused to sign the treaty, pretending that their union would not permit them to accede to articles which respected the interest and conveniency of one city only. Lubeck however concluded the peace; and as this was the only city that had powerfully supported Sture, his majesty was now at liberty to turn his whole force

John's designs against Sweden.

Peace with Lubeck.

ⁿ Hist. de Danemarck, par M. Des Roches, tom. iv. p. 373.

against Sweden. However, he gave ear to the arguments of the Scottish ambassador, who was sent to mediate peace among the northern crowns. A congress was fixed at Calmar, for the deputies of the three kingdoms. The king, the Scottish ambassador, and senates of Denmark and Norway attended; but they were disappointed in the usual manner by the Swedes, who thought proper not to keep their engagement. John was incensed at this indignity: he read to the congress the proofs and other documents of his title to the crown of Sweden, and the oath of allegiance that nation had taken. He accused the Swedes of rebellion and perjury; but that he might not give judgment in his own cause, he left sentence to be passed by the senators of Denmark and Norway. Accordingly they passed the following decree, that Suante Sture, and the other members of the Swedish senate, who had signed the oath of fidelity to the king, and were guilty of perjury by exciting rebellions in the kingdom against their sovereign, should be degraded from their nobility, have their estates confiscated, and be obliged to surrender the kingdom into his majesty's hands, by a certain day. This sentence was sent to the emperor Maximilian, with a request that he would examine and confirm it, if he thought it was founded on equity. His imperial majesty complied with the king's desire; the decree was canvassed before the aulic council, and solemnly ratified.

A.D. 1506.

When John found himself supported by the emperor's confirmation of the decree, he ordered it to be printed and published, and then took the necessary measures for enforcing it, beginning with degrading the persons levelled at, and confiscating their estates. He caused to be published in all the Hanse Towns, the imperial decree of ratification, declaring at the same time, that if they continued their intercourse with Sweden, or any ways aided or abetted the rebels in that kingdom, he would immediately revoke the privileges granted by his predecessors to their shipping in the ports of Denmark.

It appears that the Swedes were troubled at the publication of this decree in the empire. It created confusion in the kingdom, and alienated the minds of numbers from the regent. Dreading the consequences of their disaffection, Sture sent deputies to Denmark to negotiate peace; but as he had before broke his faith to the king, the deputies could only obtain a suspension of arms.

A.D. 1507.

Lubeck sought now to break the late treaty concluded with Denmark; but history does not specify the reasons for which she opposed the growing interest of John, in Sweden, which

which was the real occasion why the regency desired to come to a rupture with Denmark. The city received all the Swedish ships that came to her ports, and furnished them with ammunition, provision, and every implement of war, in open defiance of the king. John remonstrated to the regency, and they replied, that the ships he spoke of belonged to the Vandal cities. It was plain, however, that the trade of Sweden was carried on clandestinely in neutral bottoms; and John, to put a stop to this evil, ordered a squadron to cruize in the Baltic, and seize upon all the Lubec shipping that should fall in their way. Several rich vessels were taken, the regency was alarmed, and sent to demand restitution. The other cities followed their example; but all the deputies were dismissed with this answer, that the ships and effect seized were lawful prize, as they carried on a traffic with Sweden in direct violation of the late treaty. The populace of Lubec pressed the regency to make reprisals; but they more prudently contented themselves with an assurance to the administrator, given under their hands, that they would not fail of embracing every opportunity to aid and assist Sweden.

The Lubbeckers break the late treaty.

Encouraged by this promise, Suante Sture broke the suspension of arms between him and Denmark: he made an irruption into Bleking, took the fortress of Lych, pillaged and set fire to the surrounding villages, and retired precipitately with his booty to Sweden. This insult did not pass unrevenged. Norby, admiral of the Danish squadron, cruising in the Baltic, entered the port of Abo, in Finland, and reduced the capital to ashes. He then set sail for the island Aaland, razed the fortress of Castleholm, took Steen Tourson, a Swedish senator, and his family prisoners, and carried them to Denmark, with a great deal of rich plunder. Steen Tourson was connected with the best families in Sweden, and they all exerted themselves to bring about peace, as the only means of procuring his release. But the administrator frustrated the effects of all their endeavours, and after a tedious negociation, ordered matters so artfully, that only a suspension of arms for a year was concluded; only it was stipulated before this cessation of hostilities was granted, that at the expiration of the truce, the Swedes should either acknowledge John for their sovereign, or give sufficient reasons for their refusal of him or his son. Other articles of less consequence were likewise agreed upon, all of which were burthensome to Sweden, and grievous to the

War renewed with Sweden.

Hanse Towns. The Swedes were the first who declined performing the agreement ; upon which the king, finding he was trifled with, again took arms, and entered Westrogoth about the middle of December, at the head of an army. Here he burnt and pillaged Ladese, and laid waste all the country ; but Sture did not venture to oppose him, or at all to appear in the field before his majesty returned to Denmark. Then he entered Schonen, and carried ruin and devastation wherever he marched. Apprehensive, however, that the king would amply revenge himself, he dispatched deputies to Denmark, to demand that a diet of the states of the three kingdoms should meet on the 24th day of June following, at Calmar. Although it was easy to perceive that fear alone drove the administrator to this measure ; yet so desirous of peace was his Danish majesty, that he would not reject any overture that had a tendency to re-establish the public tranquillity.

A.D. 1508.

*The Lubeckers
assist
Sweden.*

Such was the situation of affairs, when the Hanse Towns interposed, in the beginning of the year 1508, and by their conduct destroyed all hopes of accommodation. The city of Lubec sent a fleet laden with all kind of stores to Stockholm ; they renewed their alliance with the administrator ; and even dissuaded him from giving ear to any propositions that might tend to the diminution of his own authority. The administrator was easily persuaded to break off a treaty for which he had no inclination ; and the king was astonished at so abrupt an infraction of a truce obtained by so much solicitation. He laid the affair before the diet, who immediately resolved upon declaring war against Lubeck. Ambassadors were dispatched to England and Scotland, to solicit naval assistance from both these kingdoms. In the mean time the Lubeckers had procured the emperor Maximilian's protection, and prohibition of all German princes and subjects from entering into the service of Denmark. His imperial majesty likewise wrote to king John not to molest the commerce of the Lubeckers ; but at length, at the intreaty of the French king, he withdrew his protection from this city.

*John blocks
up the river
Trave, and
the Lubec
commerce.*

King John blocked up the Trave with a squadron, and took three rich merchantmen belonging to Lubec. The Lubeckers unadvisedly made reprisals, by seizing all the Danish subjects and effects in their city ; a step which induced the king to give similar directions with respect to all the merchants and effects of Lubec, in all the different ports of his dominions. As this commercial city carried on a prodigious trade with Denmark ; nothing could be more

contrary

contrary to their interest than a measure which provoked the king to put a stop to their traffic, and seize on their merchandize. Immediately their insolence was checked, and they wrote to king John in the most supplicating manner, requesting that their merchants and subjects might be set at liberty : but these letters had no effect ; the king insisted upon such terms, that for the present the negotiation was dropt ^p.

With respect to the congress appointed at Calmar, the Swedish deputies did not appear ; but the whole nation, ashamed of so many breaches of their word, which could not fail to render them infamous in all the courts of Europe, thought to make reparation by sending ambassadors to the king to demand peace. King John desired the deputies to acquaint the senate, that he would transact the business at Helsinburg, if they would send commissioners with full powers thither. His proposal was accepted, and at this congress it was agreed, that Sweden should pay his majesty a tribute of thirteen thousand marks of the standard weight of Stockholm, until such time as himself or his son should be chosen king of Sweden ; that meanwhile the prince should have possession of Calmar and the islands of Gothland and Oeland, in which they promised not to disturb him. Several other conditions were stipulated, and this treaty was in fact only a renewal of the overtures made at Wandeburg a few years before. The chief motive which induced the commissioners to accede to such conditions, was, that now they hoped the Swedish commerce might be carried on without interruption, the nation being almost reduced to despair by the total stagnation of trade for some years past.

*Treaty
with
Sweden,
concluded.*

After all, the treaty was of no effect. Suante Sture exclaimed against a free nation's tamely submitting to pay tribute, and affirmed that the commissioners exceeded their instructions. In a word, whatever the situation of Sweden might be, he chose rather to hazard a war than ratify so disgraceful a treaty. In this resolution he was confirmed by the large supplies sent by Lubec, and the other Hanse Towns. Crowds of ships got safe into the harbour of Stockholm, almost all of which were dispersed and shipwrecked in a storm that overtook them in their return.

*Treaty
broke.*

The news of this loss revived the hopes of the Danes. A squadron belonging to that nation rode at anchor in the mouth of the Trave, ready to enter the river as soon as a fair wind should blow. In the mean time the Danish ad-

miral landed some troops, and burnt a great number of villages round Lubec; but still some advantages gained by the Lubeckers, convinced his majesty that this force was insufficient to awe the fleets of Sweden and Lubec. He therefore again applied to the kings of England and Scotland, publishing at the same time a declaration, whereby he permitted the ships of all nations to cruize against Lubec and Sweden, promising them, by way of encouragement, an exemption from duties in the ports of Denmark. In consequence of this declaration the Baltic was covered with privateers, and the Swedish and Lubec fleets dreaded shewing themselves out of port.

A.D. 1509.

*Peace
again con-
cluded
with
Sweden.*

Besides, king John acted with his own fleets against the enemy. A strong squadron was sent to Lubec, under the command of admiral Norby, who took Abo, after having pillaged and destroyed all the adjacent country. At last the Swedish senate, afflicted with the miseries of the people, applied themselves so warmly to the administrator, that he permitted ambassadors to go to Denmark to solicit a peace, which was soon after concluded, upon terms less advantageous to them than those which the administrator had rejected the year before. The self-same tribute was insisted on; but he found it dangerous to quarrel with the senate, who had now entered strongly into the only measures that could save their sinking country, namely an accommodation with Denmark. It was even stipulated that Sweden should by no means whatsoever, aid, assist, or trade with Lubec, while his majesty was at war with that city^a.

A.D. 1510.

*The admin-
istrator
joins the
Lubeckers,
and again
declares
war.*

Such were the hard conditions of peace to which the Swedes were forced to submit; however, like all other treaties with this and the former administrator, it was but of short duration. This year, in conjunction with Lubec, the administrator declared war against Denmark; and such diligence did the Lubeckers exert on this occasion, that their squadron appeared off Langland before king John had notice of their making preparations. Here they landed their troops, and burnt some villages; but were so warmly received by the inhabitants, who assembled to oppose them, that they were forced to return to their ships without committing farther damage, leaving all their plunder behind.

It was now that the king prepared earnestly for war. He laid an embargo on all the French, English, Scottish, and other shipping in his ports, ordering all the large vessels to be fitted out as ships of war; an unprecedented measure, which surely had the concurrence of the sovereigns to

^a Chytræi Chron. p. 81.

whom they were subject, else would he never have presumed to attempt it. But, in the mean time, a squadron from Lubec made a descent on the island Mona. On their approach Andrew Bilde, who commanded in the island, fortified the town and citadel of Stega, and took every other measure necessary for an obstinate defence. The Lubeckers landed, and finding the open country and villages deserted, imagined that the inhabitants, terrified at their approach, had taken shelter in the capital, which their consternation would render an easy conquest. Full of these hopes they advanced, and laid siege to the city. Bilde had ordered matters in such a manner as to impress the enemy with still stronger notions of his panic, in order to lull them into the greater security. He even suffered them to mount the scaling-ladders, and fill the ditch with men; upon which he sallied out, poured burning pitch, and other combustibles, large stones, and showers of shot, among them; playing, at the same time, his artillery with such success, that, after the loss of their commander, and prodigious slaughter of the soldiers, the Lubeckers were obliged to fly with great precipitation to their ships. Then a sally of the whole garrison was made, the fugitives were attacked with great fury, and such terrible destruction made among them, that few escaped.

When the news of this transaction reached the king's ears, he was so pleased with the bravery of the governor and inhabitants, that he sent a gentleman of his court to thank and assure them that he would never forget so signal a service, and such convincing proofs of their courage and loyalty. He afterwards gave instructions to all the governors of islands to place centinels at certain distances along the coast to prevent being surprised.

This repulse did not prevent the Lubeckers from endeavouring to revenge the affront by a descent on Langland; but the inhabitants kept so good a countenance that, after frequent attempts, they were forced to weigh anchor, without setting foot on land, and sail to Elsinore, where they met with no better success.

The Lubeckers repulsed at Langland.

While the regency were scheming the means of retrieving their disgraces, the soldiers mutinied, refusing to serve in a war which was undertaken without any apparent reason, and to the utter ruin of their country. This unfortunate accident occasioned some change in the measures of the regency, but none in their sentiments; for, perceiving themselves in no condition to man the proposed squadrons, they sent deputies to the administrator, exhorting him to attack Denmark by land, while the Hanse Towns were giving the king full employment by sea. This was a proposal

*The Swedes
defeated.*

posaf which Sture, always averfe to the late treaty, embraced with pleafure. He detached general Achon into Halland with a body of horfe, ordering him to ravage the country through which he paffed. Achon had fcarce entered the province when Tuche Crabbe, a gentleman of family and influence, fell upon him with a body of hardy peafants, and entirely defeated him, making great flauhter of his men ^b.

A defeat fo unexpected caufed great confternation in Sweden. The people apprehended that John would invade them with the whole ftrength of his kingdom on one fide, and engage the Ruffians to attack them on the other. To avert this laft inconveniency, the adminiftrator concluded, with all expedition, a treaty for fixty years with the czar George Betim.

On his fide, king John employed a great number of foreign fhipping, for the defence of his coafts, againft the attacks of the Hanfe Towns, which the city of Lubec had engaged to declare war againft him; he erected the fortrefs of Engelburg in Laaland, to ferve as a retreat for the inhabitants of the ifland, in cafe of a defcent: he renewed the prohibition on any of his fubjects trading with Lubec, or the allies of that city; and took fuch vigorous fteps as effectually diftreffed the regency of Lubec. But the very circumftance which almoft occafioned the ruin of this city, proved the means of its prefervation; for the regency, taking advantage of the deplorable condition to which the populace were reduced, engaged them to enter in their fleets and armies, their only refource againft famine and death. To this armament the Swedes joined a fquadron, and a plan of operations was concerted between the adminiftrator and the regency. Twenty-fix fail of Lubeckers landed in Bleking; and after having fet a few villages on fire, retired, on advice that the inhabitants were afsembling to oppofe them. Meurfius fays, that a report of the king's approach, with a numerous fleet, made them embark with fuch precipitation, that, leaving their booty on fhore, the foldiers infifted on being immediately carried back to Lubec. The admiral propofed a defcent on Fionia, a place fo rich as amply to reward all their toil; but his remonftrances were ineffectual; even the reinforcement of a ftrong fquadron, which joined them as they were leaving the coaft of Bleking, could work no change in their minds; all, with one voice, crying out Lubec! Lubec! and threatening to throw their officers overboard if they made any refiftance.

^b Vide Meurf. Vita Johan. ibid.

Towards the end of the year a squadron of Denmark, consisting of eight ships, had a sharp engagement with a Lubec squadron of equal strength. They fought obstinately the whole day, and were separated by the night, without any apparent advantage on either side; though it is judged, from the hurry in which the Lubeckers put into port, that they were sick of the rough usage of the Danes.

Engagement between the Danish and Lubec fleets.

Next spring the regency of Lubec licensed a great number of pirates to cruize against the Danes, to supply in some measure the room of a regular fleet, which the great expences of the preceding year rendered them incapable of equipping. This piratical squadron was commanded by one Conrad Regulus, who manned and fitted up near thirty merchantmen at his own expence. In order to block up or destroy this fleet, king John sent Haliger, with twenty men of war, to Travemunde; but the Lubeckers, having advice of his approach, drew all their ships within the interior harbour of the city, where they bid defiance to all the attempts of the Danish admiral. Haliger, however, had his revenge on the surrounding country, which he pillaged, and, after having fired the suburbs, set sail for Stralsund. Here he committed many excesses; and the regency of the city, to retaliate upon him, raised an army, which was defeated and cut in pieces by the Danes.

A.D. 1511.

In the mean time the administrator sent a fleet and army to lay siege to Borkholm, in the island of Oeland, where Canute Rudy commanded for the king. The siege was conducted by three Swedes of distinction, Hemming Goede, Breme Oestry, and Eric Abraham. It continued from the 24th of June to the 25th of November, although his majesty neglected no expedient to succour and relieve the garrison, which was at length forced to capitulate, on honourable terms, for want of provisions. To indemnify himself for this loss, the king meditated an expedition against West Gothland, with a body of infantry. This detachment penetrated to Scara, pillaged, laid waste, and burnt the country; but was forced to return, on advice that the Swedes had laid several ambuscades, and were taking effectual steps to cut off their convoys of provisions and retreat.

The Swedes take Borkholm.

In the autumn the Lubeckers had put a fleet to sea, and the king sent the admirals Haliger, Norby, and Gisel, in quest of them. Haliger, who was the commanding officer, set

*The Lubec-
beckers de-
feated in a
sea engage-
ment.*

set sail with a favourable wind, and soon came in sight of the enemy; upon which he exhorted his men to do their duty, promising them the whole booty. The men expressing their ardour to engage, the signal was made, and both fleets fought with the utmost fury. Haliger had placed his largest ships in the wings of the line, filling up the center with smaller vessels manned with soldiers, and keeping besides a small squadron in reserve; whereas the Lubec admiral fought too impetuously to observe the proper disposition. In the end the Lubeckers were defeated, with the loss of five ships; but the victory was not decisive, as night interposed, and Haliger found them drawn up next morning in the port of Bornholm in order of battle, and with a countenance that made it not very adviseable to attack them. He was, however, fortunate enough to fall in with three men of war off Stralsund, who were sent to join the Lubec fleet. They had mistaken the Danish squadron for that of their allies, and Haliger took two of the ships before they discovered their mistake.

*The Lubec-
beckers
seize on a
large fleet
of Dutch
merchant-
men.*

As the Lubec fleet was returning home, they met with a fleet of Dutch merchantmen, consisting of two hundred and fifty sail, under convoy of four men of war. The sight of so rich a prize excited their avarice, and roused their ancient animosity to this people, the rivals of their commerce. They attacked and soon made themselves masters of the whole fleet, except the men of war, with which the admiral escaped, on finding himself unable to oppose the powerful squadron of Lubec. These four ships went strait to Bornholm, and acquainted Haliger of what had passed; upon which the Dane assembled his officers, and obliged them to swear they would rescue the prize, or perish in the attempt. Immediately he set sail, taking with him the four Dutch men of war, came up with the enemy, found several of the Dutch vessels set on fire, others a-drift, after having been emptied of the richest part of their cargoes, and the Lubec squadron wrapt in full security, meditating upon nothing but the enjoyment of so rich a booty. Haliger gave the signal to engage; and the Lubeck admiral, perceiving himself attacked, led the flight, and, by a providential accident in his favour, gained the mouth of the Trave, in spite of all the endeavours of the Danish squadron to intercept him. Haliger had sprung a leak, and lying-by to repair his ship, the rest of the Danish squadron mistook it for a signal to stop the pursuit, by which means the enemy got clear off; but left behind all the Dutch vessels

sels, which were immediately restored to their owners, and sent home under the escort of their own admiral. Thus the Danish fleet rode triumphant in the Baltic; and such was the king's superiority by sea, that, notwithstanding the war continued for the space of ten years, yet every thing necessary to support life with comfort was in as great abundance, and sold at as low a price, through all his dominions, as in the profoundest peace^s.

The Dutch fleet re-taken by the Danes, and restored.

The death of Suante Sture, administrator of Sweden, A.D. 1512, occasioned fresh revolutions in that kingdom. The nation was divided in their choice of a successor. The archbishop of Upsal supported the interest of Eric Troll, a man of the most distinguished merit and family; while many senators, suspecting Troll's attachment to Denmark, espoused young Stenon, son of Sture. Stenon carried his point by a majority of voices; but the other party did not relinquish their claim; and while they were thus struggling in civil disputes, the regency of Lubec determined to break off the alliance, and make peace with king John. The people became clamorous from their poverty, and those who but the last year were loudest in the cry of war, now became mutinous for peace. A letter was written to the king, requesting his majesty to appoint a congress for terminating their differences; and John, naturally averse to war, could not reject any propositions that afforded a prospect of peace. He told the deputies, that the regency might safely send commissioners to Flensburg, where he would negotiate a peace with them, and the rest of the Hanse Towns. Some disputes arose at the opening of the conferences; but John firmly maintaining his point, obliged the Lubec deputies to comply with all he proposed: a peace was thereupon signed, by which the city of Lubec engaged to assist the king with all its force, in case the Swedes persisted in refusing to acknowledge him, or the prince, for their sovereign; or, at least, to pay the yearly tribute of thirty thousand marks of silver; to afford a retreat to none of the enemies of Denmark; and to compromise amicably all future disputes arising between his majesty and the republic.

Revolutions in Sweden.

Sweden was thunder-struck with the conduct of Lubec. Immediately the administrator and senate wrote to the king to appoint a congress, to deliberate on the means of establishing peace on a solid foundation. The Swedish deputies went farther; and even began to negotiate with

^s Chytræi Chron. ibid.

the king, whom they found disposed to listen to reasonable terms. In short, peace was concluded on one of these conditions; that Sweden should acknowledge John, or his son, for their sovereign; or pay the tribute of thirty thousand marks: but little regard was had to this treaty until after John's death.

John's domestic conduct.

His majesty now, at length, relaxed himself from public cares, at least from foreign concerns, and applied his mind to cultivate religion, morality, and learning in Denmark. He augmented the rights, privileges, and revenues of the academy founded at Copenhagen by the king his father. Experience having taught him the advantage of employing men of letters in public affairs, he made it a point to chuse his ambassadors and ministers out of this learned seminary. As a farther encouragement to the university, he prohibited his subjects from sending their children to foreign universities, or indeed to any other except Upsal; and even then made it necessary that they should first have studied three years in Copenhagen^t.

Having settled the affairs of Zealand, his majesty, accompanied by the queen, the prince, and a great number of the nobility, passed over to North Jutland. In this voyage he was overtaken by a tempest, which put the ship into so great danger, that as soon as the king set his foot on shore he turned round to the sea, and exclaimed, "Farewel sea! farewell for ever! you have treated me in such a manner to-day, that I have little hopes of again repassing you:" words that were afterwards looked on as prophetic. While the king resided at Ripen, the high tides overflowed the country, and detained him longer in the city than he proposed. It is reported that on this occasion, his majesty walking with some noblemen along the shore, said to them, looking at the sea, "It must be confessed that this is the work of the King of kings, who wants neither cannon nor instruments of war to block us up. This element alone is sufficient. We who never submitted to an earthly power, humbly prostrate ourselves before this heavenly Master, whom the seas and the earth obey."

When the waters retired, his majesty, going to Olburg, was thrown off his horse; an accident which brought on a fever, that put a period to the life of this excellent monarch, who bore his last agonies with a resigned firmness of mind, that does honour to his memory, and credit to

^t Meurs. Vit. Johan. *ibid.*

that innocence and integrity of life, which could alone inspire him with so calm a resolution at the approach of death. When he found his end drawing near, he thus addressed himself to the prince, before a great number of senators and noblemen: "My son, said he, I exhort you to worship God, and pray to the King of kings to inspire you with wisdom adequate to the heavy charge I am going to devolve on you. I recommend it to you to govern your people with equity, and above all things to be tender of their privileges. What glory is there in being the king of slaves! Let it be your ambition to be thought worthy to govern freemen. Do nothing by violence; consult your faithful subjects, and attach them as well by friendship as by duty. Administer justice in person, and let your ears be ever open to the complaints of the oppressed, and the groans of the injured and indigent. Fill all places of trust and profit with your natural subjects: God has given you charge of their interest; they called you to the throne, and gratitude requires a return from you: Reward my faithful servants, and attach them to you; they will then have a double tie to serve you with fidelity; love of my memory, and a sense of their obligations to you: and now, my dearest son, I pray God to bless you, to direct you, and to grant you a long reign, prosperous to yourself, and happy to your people." He expired on the 20th day of February, 1513, universally beloved, esteemed, and regretted. It would be unnecessary, after what we have related, to draw the portrait of this worthy prince; sufficient it is to observe, that he was just, prudent, pious, liberal, brave, and humane; in a word, possessed of every quality that could endear him to his subjects, render his life amiable and easy, and his last moments happy. In all his wars, which were numerous, he was successful, except against the Dithmarsians, where the misconduct lay wholly upon his officers. In his own particular, he exerted his courage, and distinguished his personal bravery in the repeated attacks he made on their trenches. His regard to his promises was so great, that foreign states never required more than his word; and so scrupulous was he in this respect, that he often became the dupe of the two administrators. It was perhaps his only weakness, and a generous one it was: he loved truth so much, that he could not persuade himself but others paid the same regard to it; even the repeated perfidies of Suante Sture would not convince him but his breach of oaths and promises arose from necessity. The Swedes, indeed, accuse

His exhortation to his son.

His character.

him of giving the best governments in that country to Danish subjects, contrary to the treaty of Calmar, and his last instructions to his own son; but this they probably intend as a tacit apology for the senate and administrator, who stand greatly in need of some pretences to justify their rebellion. Admitting the fact was true, need we be surprised at the little confidence he placed in a set of people who had disgraced themselves by their perfidy, and breach of word, in every court in Europe, before ever he came to the throne, and during the reign of his father? To conclude, John was of a middling stature, strong built, and lusty: his chest was broad and elevated, his face round, and his eyes modest. He despised dress; but was fond of neatness. His œconomy was frugal; his table plentiful, but not splendid; however, when he assumed the sovereign, all was great, rich, and magnificent. He was so great an admirer of the simplicity of the ancient Danes, that he even imitated their dress, and always wore an antique sword over his robe. He promoted science, encouraged men of learning, had them always at his table, sought their conversation, and on these occasions laid aside the sovereign for the character of the pupil. In a word, he was at least as wise, as amiable a prince as ever swayed the Danish sceptre^o.

• Vide Meurs. Vit. Johan. ad fin.

SECT.

S E C T. XIII.

Containing the Reigns of Christian II. and Frederick I.

C H R I S T I A N II.

CHRISTIAN II. succeeded by election to his father's crown; and his first care was to put himself in a condition to resist the enemies to his person and people. He could not imagine that the Swedes, who had so often revolted against his father, would shew more fidelity to him, nor that they would be in any hurry to execute the articles of their last treaty with Denmark. He knew that little confidence was to be placed in the professions of the Hanse Towns, as want of ability to prosecute the war compelled them reluctantly to sue for the late peace. Already the crown of Denmark was in alliance with the kings of France, England, and Scotland; with the dukes of Saxony, Frederick and John; and with the margrave of Brandenburg. Christian, therefore, resolved to strengthen his interest still more, by concluding a treaty with the emperor; by which means he meant to secure the friendship of the whole house of Austria. With this view he schemed a marriage with the emperor's daughter, Isabella, sister of Charles and Ferdinand, both of whom successively ascended the imperial throne; and the more easily to accomplish this design, he laboured to get himself crowned; which ceremony was performed in the month of May.

A.D. 1513.

*State of
Denmark
on Chris-
tian's ac-
cession.*

Immediately after his coronation he set out with a splendid retinue for the court of the princess Margaret, governess of the Netherlands: he made her highness acquainted with the nature of his visit, and was conducted by her to Brussels, where her son Charles resided. Here he again demanded the princess, and, on obtaining a promise, hastened back to Denmark, to prepare for his nuptials.

A.D. 1514.

Next year was ushered in by a terrible earthquake, which was felt in almost every part of Denmark. A storm of wind immediately followed, that overturned the steeple of the great church at Copenhagen, tore up whole forests of large trees by the roots, threw down an incredible number of houses, and killed a great number of people.

A.D. 1515.

Christian having got every thing in readiness for the reception of the princess, sent the grand-mareschal, the archbishop of Drontheim, and a great number of nobility, with a strong squadron, to conduct her to Denmark. On their return a violent storm dispersed the fleet, and almost ship-

*He marries
Isabella,
sister to
Charles V.*

wrecked the princess on the coast of Zealand, near Copenhagen. All the lords and ladies of the court went immediately to congratulate her on her providential escape, and to welcome her into Denmark. She was soon after married, with great pomp, to the king, and afterwards crowned and acknowledged sovereign of Denmark by all the different states of the kingdom.

Studious to please his bride, the king sent to the Low Countries for all the queen's servants, that she might enjoy the satisfaction of being attended in a strange country by persons to whose language and manners she was accustomed. He also sent for gardeners, in order to cultivate all sorts of fruits and other vegetables for her table, and assigned them the little island of Amag for this purpose, which soon was able to supply, not only her majesty's table, but all Copenhagen, with the most delicious fruits.

His domestic conduct.

His majesty then applied to matters of greater importance; and the first object of his care was to set commerce on the best footing, by establishing a general tariff. He forbade the exportation of corn, to prevent dearths in the country; and many other regulations, with respect to trade, were made, most of which had a tendency to enrich the capital, by drawing an afflux of merchants thither^a.

Affairs of Sweden.

Christian was thus employed in his own kingdom, while the affairs of Sweden seemed to take a turn favourable to his claim. The archbishop of Upsal, not having interest enough to establish Eric Troll in a share of the government, had, however, address to associate his son in the regency, and devolve half the authority on him. His gaining this point was, he imagined, of so great moment to the king, that he immediately acquainted him with it, by an express. Christian was not however satisfied. Restricted by laws, and a limited sovereignty in Denmark, he viewed Sweden as a kingdom where he might claim despotic power as the right of conquest. Imagining that young Troll might be useful in destroying the authority of the administrator, he sent persons to congratulate him on his new-acquired dignity, and accompanied his compliments with a considerable sum of money, as a more solid testimony of his friendship. The young prelate, who had just attained to the summit of his ambition, was vain, haughty, and loquacious, qualities of which the artful Dane did not fail to make his advantage. He represented his master's power, connections, and disposition, in such a light as wholly gained over the prelate, who gave the strongest assurances that he would re-

^a Meurs. Vit. Christ. p. 61, 62, et seq.

gard his associate in the administration, as the enemy to Sweden and Denmark, and should leave no engine unemployed to restore the union of Calmar in its full force.

Troll made good his promises, and every thing was tending to a civil war in Sweden, when Arcembold, the pope's legate, arrived in Denmark, and, by dispensing indulgencies, raised heavy contributions under the mask of religion. This pious robber was departing for Sweden, loaded with the spoils of the people; and Christian beheld, with regret, the necessity he was under to stifle his resentment at seeing his subjects thus pillaged, and his kingdom stripped of money, by an abuse of devotion, and the artful influence of the church over superstitious minds. However, he resolved to turn this circumstance to his advantage. The legate's interest in Sweden he knew would be of the utmost consequence, and he resolved to gain him by the most liberal sacrifices to his avarice. In fact he did so; the legate promised him his utmost interest, and appeared so hearty and sincere in his professions, that Christian put more confidence in him than prudence would seem to dictate. He laid before him the state of his forces and treasury, and the names of all his adherents in Sweden, together with the plan they had concerted for re-uniting the two kingdoms. The legate departed, was caressed by the administrator, and all his promises to Christian vanished before the dispelling power of Stenon's presents. The degree of intimacy into which the king had received him, furnished him with the means of becoming his most dangerous enemy; and the treacherous legate did not fail to exert this advantage^b.

*The perfidy
of the
pope's le-
gate.*

After having settled matters with the administrator, he returned to Denmark to raise fresh contributions, assuming the appearance of great chagrin at the little success of the commission with which he had been intrusted by the king. Christian saw through the thin disguise, was incensed at it, but wanted the power of redress. Nothing now remained but to attempt the reduction of Sweden by force of arms; and from this attempt he was for some time diverted by two incidents, which entirely engrossed the attention of the court: the first was the punishment of John Foburgh, first secretary of state, accused of extortion, and other crimes, by Torbern Oxy, bailiff of the citadel of Copenhagen.

Foburgh was one of those men whom fortune wantonly raised from obscurity to the highest dignities, only to render their downfall more conspicuous. Having passed with reputation through several private employments, he

^b Meurs. *ibid.* Puffen, tom. iv.

found means of being introduced to court, where he insinuated himself so artfully into the king's confidence, that he soon became one of his first ministers. His rapid elevation excited envy, and increased the number of his enemies, one of the most dangerous of whom was Torbern, who bore him a private grudge for his having endeavoured to ruin him, by insinuating that he carried on an intrigue with Columbule, the king's mistress.

*The rise
and fall of
Foburgh,
Christian's
favourite.*

Foburgh's pride and avarice increased with his grandeur: his intimacy with the king easily procured him whatever he asked; and his avarice spurred him on to make daily requests. At last the king's eyes were opened; he perceived the insatiable disposition of his favourite, and ventured to reject the last favour he solicited. Nay, he went farther, and sent the unhappy Foburgh with a letter to his enemy, Torbern, by which he was deprived of all his places, seized, imprisoned, and privately executed, all in one day.

This triumph over his adversary was but of short duration; the king had made Torbern the instrument of ridding himself of an insolent favourite; but he did not forget that Torbern maintained an amorous correspondence with his mistress, and he was even chagrined at the readiness with which he had executed his orders respecting Foburgh, whom he could not help loving, with all his faults.

A.D. 1516.

At an entertainment which his majesty gave the principal nobility it was, that he resolved to discover the truth of what Foburgh had often alleged. In the midst of their mirth, turning to Torbern with the appearance of good humour, "Tell me, Oxy (said he), if what Foburgh accused you of, has any truth in it: did you ever enjoy the favours of my mistress Columbule? I have my reasons for asking, and hope you will speak without reserve." Torbern's friends immediately saw the precipice on which he stood, and endeavoured to make him comprehend his danger by signs and gesticulations; but whether wine had impaired his understanding, or that he despised insincerity with the king, who had spoke so familiarly to him, he replied, "Sir, I have loved Columbule; I have solicited her favour, but never could obtain it." Immediately Christian's countenance altered, but he said nothing. A few days after this entertainment, Torbern was arrested and imprisoned. The affair was tried by the senate, and he was acquitted, because the law had assigned no punishment for simple concupiscence. When the senate's decree was related to the king, he flew into a passion, and said, that if his friends had been as numerous in the senate as Torbern's, their judgment would have been different; but as they refused

*Christian's
arbitrary
conduct,
and the first
cause of his
misfor-
tunes.*

to

to do him justice, he knew others who would not. Immediately he assembled a number of the peasants of the neighbourhood before the gate of the citadel; and ordered a square of lances to be formed round them, giving orders to the grand-mareschal not to let them go, before they had passed sentence on Torbern. Fear made them give a judgment, which no other motive could have dictated. They dreaded his majesty's resentment, thought they should be sacrificed if they did not comply with his humour, and accordingly gave their verdict in the following terms: "We do not judge Torbern, but his own words condemn him." Upon which the king said, that since he was condemned, he must suffer the punishment.

*Death of
Torbern:*

The king's resolution alarmed the whole court: it was striking at the very root of liberty, and no man's life was safe, if he could be made accountable for intentions, and punished for his thoughts. The whole senate, with the legate at their head; all the ladies of the court, preceded by the queen; in a word, every person of consideration in the capital interceded for Torbern, and besought the king on their knees to pardon him; but the stubborn, gloomy, and inflexible temper of Christian, would yield nothing to their tears and intreaties. The blood of Torbern alone could satisfy him; and this unhappy nobleman became the sacrifice of an ungratified inclination for the king's mistress.

In other respects, indeed, Torbern cannot altogether be vindicated. It is certain that he used the power in his hands with partiality; and that, in the affair of Foburgh, he sought rather the gratification of his own revenge than the public good. Besides, it is beyond all doubt, that Colymbule was poisoned, and all the world charged him as the occasion, if not the immediate instrument of her death. Be this as it will, he was innocent with respect to the crime for which he was condemned; the sentence was illegal, equally injurious to him and dangerous to the public. Torbern was executed agreeable to his sentence; and all Denmark trembled for their liberties, jealous of the king's arbitrary temper, and alienated from his person. The senate and nobility first expressed their displeasure at his proceedings; and soon after the people exclaimed loudly against the tyranny of his government.

*The whole
nation dis-
affected.*

Still his majesty had a few persons faithful to him, and strongly attached to his interest. These dreaded a general revolt; to prevent which they laboured with all their power to blast the memory of Torbern, and actually to prove him as guilty as the people believed him innocent. An extraordinary stratagem was made use of to accomplish their design.

design. The centinels on the walls of Copenhagen made oath, that they saw a light blazing about midnight like a star, under the gibbet on which Foburgh was hanged. The king made enquiry into the truth of the report, and finding it confirmed by an instance of the same nature the night following, he declared it was a proof of Foburgh's innocence, and charged Torbern with having been the cause of shedding that innocent person's blood. Immediately he ordered Foburgh's body to be cut down, and buried with great pomp in the great church of Copenhagen.

A stratagem so poorly contrived had an effect the very reverse of what the king and his friends expected. Instead of ascertaining the guilt of Torbern, this transaction only reminded the people of a former instance of the king's severity and inflexible cruelty.

It was apparent from his conduct the following year, that he believed himself faulty; for when he ordered the bishop of Odenfee, and his chancellor, to be seized, he only imprisoned them, by laying an easy restraint on their motions in a private family; yet was the cause of his being arrested of a more criminal nature than what either Foburgh or Torbern were put to death for. He was supposed to have given up the interest of his country, and sold the honour of his king to the Lubeckers for a sum of money, received when he transacted the last peace.

A.D. 1517.

Lutheranism first introduced into Denmark.

Next year began an epoch the most important of any in the Danish history. From the first planting of Christianity in Denmark, the church of that kingdom had always acknowledged the supremacy of Rome, and, in all ages, maintained a constant communion with the pope, and other bishops of that persuasion. Now the inclination which Christian shewed for the doctrine of Luther began to effect a change. The legate's avarice, and Christian's resentment, at seeing his people impoverished by the intrigues of that perfidious and insatiable emissary, made Luther's doctrines and arguments be received with double force in Denmark. Christian sent for skilful doctors and professors, to teach the Protestant religion in his dominions; but his too great eagerness in seizing some church-lands, and openly espousing the doctrine of Luther, cost him dear in the sequel. Nothing could be more unseasonable than any innovations in religion, at a time when the nobility were disaffected, and highly incensed by the death of Torbern; and the clergy provoked by the imprisonment of the bishop of Odenfee and sequestration of their lands. These two powerful bodies disapproved of the change he endeavoured to effect in the public belief, without their concurrence; and

and they seized the opportunity of retrenching the prerogative, which some late acts of Christian had enlarged beyond the natural boundaries between the king and people. With this view they raised up one St. Brigget, to preach prophecies concerning the king's banishment; oracles which were frequently obscure, but always interpreted in the manner most agreeable to their designs. The people took fire, and were at length infatuated into an implicit belief of the truth of these reveries, upon the declaration of Christopher Raimsborg, a person celebrated for learning and piety, that they were applicable to the king.

A pretended prophet appears in Denmark.

But Christian was not in the least disturbed by these pretended prophecies, at which he laughed publicly, and asked Raimsborg in a jocular manner, whether as they prophesied his banishment, they did not likewise foresee his return to his dominions? Certain however it is, that in a political light he ought to have treated an impostor, so dangerous to the public and himself, in a different manner.

In the mean time a civil war broke out in Sweden, and the administrator besieged the archbishop in the fortress of Steka, whither Christian immediately sent a fleet to his relief. The command of this squadron was given to Norby, Giffel, and Morian, who coming to an anchor before the fortress, landed their troops, raised the siege by obliging the Swedes to retreat, and relieved the archbishop without fighting. Indeed the Swedish historians speak differently, but very inconsistently of the consequences of this expedition, affirming that the Danes were cut in pieces, but taking no farther notice of the archbishop or garrison.*

Affairs of Sweden.

But whatever advantages the Danish arms might have gained in Sweden, a war with that kingdom was highly prejudicial to Christian's interest, as it strengthened the faction at home, while he was employed against foreign enemies. The legate Arcembold had likewise strongly united himself with the administrator and Danish malcontents, and even prevailed on the pope to fulminate his bulls against the reformists and sectarists, in which number were included all the king's adherents.

In this situation stood the affairs of both kingdoms, when the house of Austria, at the king's intreaty, interceded with the holy see in behalf of Christian. They obtained a revocation of the bull, and a decree of the pope and conclave, whereby the administrator and his adherents were laid under a severe interdiction for their disobedience and rebellion, and Christian was empowered to treat them as

A.D. 1518.

* Puffend. tom. v. ibid.

schismatics excommunicated from the bosom of the church. No sooner had Christian fortified himself with this spiritual commission than he determined upon prosecuting the war with vigour; but the difficulty was to raise the funds, all the money in the kingdom having been paid to Arcembold for indulgencies.

*Christian
mistaken by
his favourite
Sige-
brette, who
embroils
him with
the nation.*

In this dilemma he had recourse to Sigebrette, a lady who ruled him with the most arbitrary sway. She was mother to his late mistress Columbulé, of an aspiring and intriguing genius, who played so artfully on the king's passions, that the reins of government were directed wholly by her hands. She consulted, or rather she commanded the senate, disposed of all preferments and places, imposed taxes at pleasure, and had already abolished many excellent and ancient laws, from mere caprice. She was a native of the Netherlands, and had introduced the customs and manners of her own country. Such was the person to whom the care of raising the supplies for the war was committed. To effect her purpose, Sigebrette laid fresh burdens on the people, and established a kind of officers called scouts, in every town, for the rigorous exaction of the taxes. These they raised with the most insolent oppression, and without feeling or compassion for the poor, whose beds and household furniture were taken and sold for the king's use, and themselves and families turned out naked in the streets.

Heaven could not behold such tyranny without indignation, and, the more completely to fill the measure of its vengeance, permitted Sigebrette to contrive other schemes equally ruinous of the kingdom, and detestable to the people. One in particular, which had nothing to do with the supplies, raised a violent clamour; it was the abolition of the mendicant students in the university of Copenhagen. It had been a custom of great antiquity in Denmark, to train up young men of no fortune to the arts useful to society, by means of public charity. They were distinguished by a particular habit, which displeased the eye of this whimsical favourite, and she determined therefore to abolish the whole order. The matter was upon the whole of slight importance, but custom had given strength to it: the act was arbitrary; it was looked upon as a dangerous innovation, and the whole nation cried out against the king's edict, as if the bulwark of their liberties had been attacked.

Christian wrote to the bishops, to exhort their suffragans to a cheerful compliance with the taxes necessary to carry on a just war; but his proposition was unanimously rejected by the clergy, who complained of the sequestration of the church-

church-lands, and the frequent and heavy contributions to which they had been already exposed.

It was not the season to irritate so powerful a body; the king contented himself with exacting the usual tithes paid by the clergy; but as all he could levy on his other subjects was unequal to the expence of the war, he had recourse to foreign assistance. Ambassadors were sent to France, and they obtained of Francis I. a body of four thousand auxiliaries, with a train of artillery. They afterwards proceeded to Spain, and demanded of Charles, the portion of his sister, Isabella, and he gave an order upon the town of Antwerp for the payment of one hundred thousand marks, or one third of the portion, which by contract was to be paid at three instalments. The two other payments were made, in the sequel, by which the king was greatly assisted in pursuing his designs against Sweden.

In the mean time great contentions arose about the election of an archbishop of Lunden, in the room of Birger, deceased. The chapter recommended, or rather proceeded to the election of Agon, while the king supported the interest of Scolberg, and at last carried his point by dint of power and menaces. This prelate's first step was to write to the pope, requesting he would threaten Christian with excommunication if he did not immediately part with Sigebrette, the instrument of all the misfortunes which had lately befallen the kingdom. This, indeed, was an instance of his public spirit, but not of gratitude to a prince who incurred the ill-will of his subjects by so tenaciously espousing the prelate; but the archbishop soon received his punishment in a manner very extraordinary.

The election of an archbishop of Lunden.

His letter was intrusted to one Lang, who carried it to Sigebrette. As this woman's imagination was fertile in expedients of revenge, she immediately determined to deprive Scolberg of his dignity, and substitute in his room the king's barber, an unworthy sycophant, for whom she entertained a passion. By this despicable creature she prevailed upon the king to write to his holiness, representing him as the person elected to the see of Lunden, and imploring his holiness to confirm him in that dignity. The king's shaver presented his letter, was confirmed in the new dignity, and returned with the mitre and other badges of the archiepiscopal function, to the utter confusion and disappointment of Scolberg. It is true the pope, as soon as he discovered the fraud, revoked his confirmation, and reinstated Scolberg; but the affair ended with still more serious consequences, the clergy having highly resented this indignity to their order.

Toward

A.D. 1519.

*Christian
renews the
war with
Sweden.*

Towards the beginning of this year, Christian marched a body of troops to Schonen, under the command of Crumpen, an excellent officer. He likewise put to sea a formidable fleet, with orders to attack and occupy all the Swedish ports that were accessible. Armed with the pope's authority, he gave full swing to the bloodiness of his disposition, ordering his troops to commit all kinds of cruelty and excess, in order to intimidate the enemy, and wean the affections of the Swedes from the administrator. His instructions were but too well observed; Crumpen penetrated to the heart of Sweden, and committed dreadful disorders; after which he returned to Denmark, laden with rich booty, which he had gained without bloodshed.

*The Swe-
dish army
defeated.*

Christian was bent upon the conquest of Sweden. Impatient for the return of spring, he ordered Crumpen to enter West Gothland in the depth of winter, at the head of a numerous army, and by every possible method to endeavour bringing the enemy to a battle. In this aim he succeeded, the administrator marching against him with equal forces. Three battles were fought, in the first of which nothing was decided; in the second the administrator lost an arm, and was greatly hurt by a fall from his horse; and in the third the Swedish army was totally defeated and dispersed, the administrator dying soon after of the wounds he had received. A fourth engagement happened the day succeeding the last battle. The administrator had lodged a body of infantry, strongly intrenched in a neighbouring forest, to secure a pass which Crumpen determined to force. The Swedish peasants amounted to ten thousand, who repulsed the Danes in the first assault. A second was given, in which the French auxiliaries led the van, while Crumpen made a tour round the intrenchments to discover some place of less strength. The prince of Foucarmont behaved with that gallantry that has always distinguished his nation; he leaped over the ditch sword in hand, but fell back in consequence of a wound. His soldiers were now animated with a desire of revenge, they pushed forwards, and were happily seconded by Crumpen's attack on the rear, which soon put the enemy in disorder, though they disputed every inch of ground with obstinacy. At last, despairing of longer defending themselves, they sallied out sword in hand, and after prodigious slaughter on both sides, escaped under favour of the night, after having lost two-thirds of their number.

Crumpen having now nothing to oppose him, marched into the heart of the kingdom. At this juncture the archbishop of Upsal declared immediately for Christian; and the

the people being desirous of nothing so much as a sovereign, who might re-establish the repose of the country, did not seem averse to the motion, though there still remained a faction that used all their influence to elect a new administrator. In conjunction with some others, the prelate sent deputies to Crumphen, to demand a truce; but the Danish general, fearing the intention was only to gain time, would agree to no other terms than a suspension of arms for eleven days, during which the states were to assemble at Upsal. Here he appeared for his master, proposed an extinction of the dignity of administrator, and re-establishment of the union of Calmar; in both which he met with little difficulty, in an assembly wholly devoted to Christian. He promised, in the king his master's name, to procure an act of indemnity, to preserve the liberties, privileges, and immunities of the several orders of the kingdom, and exactly to observe all the conditions of the treaty of Calmar.

Affairs of Sweden.

As soon as business was finished, the archbishop declared Christian king of Sweden, in the name of the states of the kingdom; and he wrote to the provinces requiring them to comply with this resolution of the assembly, threatening those who should refuse to submit, with the most rigorous punishment of the law. The greater part of the kingdom submitted to the will of the states; but the administrator's widow still held the cities of Stockholm, Calmar, and others. Many bloody battles were fought, and sieges undertaken, after it was imagined that Christian was fully established in the government^d.

In the year 1520, the king arrived in Sweden, where, having reduced Stockholm, he was crowned with great solemnity, soon after which ceremony he returned to Denmark. In his absence the disaffected in Denmark had boldly spoke their sentiments of his government, and openly and insolently refused to pay the taxes. The senate and nobility, instead of opposing these discontents, seemed to countenance them: they bore with impatience the immoderate authority he assumed, and the despotism he affected, only to translate it into the hands of a haughty, capricious woman. However, his sudden return as conqueror of Sweden struck dumb the tongue of faction, and hushed every murmur of discontent. Every man endeavoured to conceal his sentiments, and put on a face of joy. His ministers, always ready to play on the passions of kings, told him that this was the time to secure his conquests by abolishing the senate, and rendering himself arbitrary: there was not,

Christian crowned king of Sweden.

^d Vide Hist. of Sweden.

they

they said, a single senator who did not wish to head a rebellion, in hopes one day of rising to the dignity of administrator; there was a necessity to humble the nobility for the same reasons; and his majesty ought, said these wicked tools, to cherish only the peasants, and those destined from their birth to cultivate the fruits of the earth, and the useful arts.

But the suggestions of Sigebrette co-operated more with the king's own natural disposition to infuse those maxims of arbitrary policy, than all the insinuations of the other courtiers. She had a particular manner of conveying her suggestions, which never failed to engage the king's attention, and draw him into her sentiments. Violent, impetuous, and ambitious, Christian was rendered still more so by her persuasions. He wanted to derive his authority solely from his dignity, not from the laws; and she wanted to raise him above all law, in order to elevate herself the higher, and govern both the monarch and the laws. Upon this principle it was, that she resolved to sacrifice the Swedish nobility and senate, the more securely to trample on the neck of liberty: but she wanted a specious pretext for the king's committing an action so cruel and so extraordinary. To assassinate so great a number of men, who had put themselves in his power, without the faith of treaties, was a scheme that required much deliberation and address. Several plans were projected for accomplishing this horrid massacre; but none appeared feasible to Christian, besides reviving the affair of the senate's excommunication, knowing well that no action can be too base and insidious to be covered under the cloak of religion.

*His horrid
plan for
massacring
the Swe-
dish se-
nate.*

Having fixed on this plan, he laid it before the archbishop of Lunden, and bishop of Odensee, with whom he concerted the means of execution. He passed over to Sweden, convoked the assembly, was publicly crowned, and bestowed the order of knighthood and the Elephant on a great number of German and Danish nobility; but not on a single Swede, an exclusion which occasioned loud complaints against his partiality. He afterwards invited the Swedish nobility to a magnificent entertainment in the citadel, where they were received with the utmost affability. For two days the whole kingdom was absorbed in luxury and pleasure: at length, when matters were found ripe for execution, and the nation was lulled in perfect security, a body of soldiers were ordered, under various pretences, to seize upon the administrator's widow, the senate, nobility, and the bishops themselves; and the Danish commissioners, and officers of the holy see, were to prosecute them as here-

tics.

tics. But this process being too long for the impatience of Christian's temper, the executioner was commanded to do his office, without allowing the unhappy prisoners the liberty of seeing their confessors at their last moments.

Nothing could equal the consternation that immediately appeared in every face, when the illustrious victims marched out in the middle of the day, surrounded by files of soldiers, to be immolated at the shrines of ambition, cruelty, and perfidy. Among the first was that respectable senator, Eric Vasa, whose son, Gustavus, was soon after raised to the dignity of administrator, and then to the throne of Sweden. The rest followed in a long train to the place of execution, amidst the profound silence of the inhabitants, who were struck dumb with terror and surprize. At length they arrived; and seventy senators, lords and bishops, some say eighty-four, were beheaded in one day. Christian made no distinction between friends and enemies, the better to convince the people that he acted less from motives of revenge than obedience to the holy see. But we cannot dwell here upon a scene so horrible, as will transmit this tyrant's name with stains of the deepest infamy to the latest posterity. In our account of Sweden we shall, however, endeavour to relate the transaction with all the perspicuity which an event, the most memorable on record, deserves.

A D. 1521.

He executes the plan.

Christian, not satiated with the blood of so many noble personages, let loose his troops upon the citizens, to commit the most shocking enormities: a conduct so barbarous was beheld at the time with resentment, and cannot be related so many ages after without horror. It called loudly for the divine vengeance, and heaven laid up store of punishment to thunder down upon his guilty head. In his passage from Sweden to Denmark, instances of his cruelty are to be met with: it now became habitual; and Christian could as well refrain from food as from thirsting after the blood of his subjects. Stopping in his journey at the monastery of Nuvac, he was told, that part of the corn and provision of the monastery was concealed in a neighbouring forest. Although there remained abundance for his retinue, he gave orders to seize the abbot and monks, immediately after mass was performed, and to throw them, bound hand and foot, into the river. The abbot found means to escape out of the hands of the ruffians employed to bind him: he ran towards the river; but was pursued and murdered by the king's order, before he could save himself by swimming.

Other instances of Christian's cruelty.

^c. Meurs. Vit. Christ. p. 77. Puffend. tom. iv.

MOD. VOL. XXIX.

R

Christian's

Christian's stay was but short in Denmark ; for soon after his arrival, he set out on a visit to his brother-in-law the emperor ; from whom he obtained the reversion of Holstein to the crown of Denmark.

Revolutions in Sweden.

In the mean time Gustavus, son of Eric Vasa, projected great schemes for the delivery of his country from the tyranny of Christian. At Mora he raised a body of peasant with such secrecy and celerity, that he attacked and defeated the governor of the province before he was apprized of an insurrection. His army soon increasing with his prosperity, he attempted greater matters ; and over-ran most of the provinces of Sweden, before any army could be brought into the field to oppose him. The people, in general, cried out to revenge the butcheries committed by the Danes : the brave Gustavus was somewhat startled with a message sent to him by Christian, that unless he laid down his arms, and quelled the sedition, he would put his mother and sisters to the most cruel tortures. But patriotic love suppressed even the feelings of nature : Gustavus marched on, followed by the faithful Dalecarlians, put all the Danes he met with to the sword, and even gave no quarter to those Swedes who were obstinately attached to Christian.

All this while Theodore, the king's viceroy, was levying forces, with which he at last marched to the river Brunebec, with intention to dispute the passage with Gustavus : however, some motions made by the latter, determined him to return to Stockholm, which city he plunged into the depths of luxury, as if it had been in the midst of profound peace. Gustavus taking advantage of the viceroy's retreat, pushed on to Westeras, where was encamped a large body of Danes, whom he attacked and defeated, after an obstinate engagement. Then he entered the town, where, finding no resistance, the soldiers abandoned themselves to drinking and pillaging : an imprudence that had nearly ruined the cause of liberty ; for the garrison of the citadel falling out upon them while they were thus disordered, would have destroyed the Dalecarlians, had not the vigilance, bravery, and good fortune of Gustavus averted the impending blow. Ordering a corps of officers to make head against the Danes, he flew like lightning to recall his men from pillaging, rallied them, and led them on so furiously, that the enemy were soon repulsed, and the citadel immediately forced to surrender.

Rise of Gustavus.

Every day twined new laurels round the conqueror's brow, and at length encouraged him to march strait to Stockholm ; but not with a view of besieging it, for he had no fleet

fleet to block up the harbour: his design was no more than to strike terror, and perhaps countenance the insurrection of his friends in the city. In this aim he was disappointed; but his appearance had one good effect: it drove the viceroy and archbishop to seek their safety in flight, and commit the command of the city to an old Danish officer.

Christian beheld the rapid progress of this revolt with uneasiness and chagrin; but many circumstances concurred in preventing his sending succours to the viceroy. The first was the queen-mother's death; and the next, and more powerful, the general discontent which prevailed all over Denmark. He knew that nothing but a strong standing army kept the nobility in awe, and that the moment he either sent away his troops, or went away in person to Sweden, he should expose himself to the consequences of a revolt in Denmark. In this situation were matters when the viceroy and archbishop arrived at court, where they were received with reproaches of cowardice and treachery. The viceroy was seized, put to the torture, and forced to confess a number of horrid crimes of which he had been guilty; upon which the king appointed a day for his execution. Even the tears and intreaties of Sigebrette could not save this favourite, so provoked was Christian at the loss of Sweden, which he now looked on as irrecoverable. Finding himself in no condition to oppose Gustavus, he resolved upon executing his revenge in the most cruel and brutal manner on his mother and sister, both of whom he caused to be tied in sacks, and thrown into the sea. Next he ordered his governors of provinces and garrisons to put all the Swedes within their jurisdiction to the sword; a barbarity which induced Gustavus to publish an edict, commanding his adherents to exterminate the Danes, without giving quarter.

Towards the year 1522, Christian sent Norby with a strong fleet and army to raise the siege of Stockholm, before which city Gustavus had sat down with his whole army. Norby was vigilant in performing his duty, though from motives selfish and ambitious. He flattered himself, that if he could defeat Gustavus, his success might pave his way to the throne of Sweden. He knew the people would never support the tyranny of Christian, and might perhaps be prevailed on to accept for their king a person whose power and military capacity would be able to protect them. Full of these notions, he landed his troops, and led them against the Dalecarlians, whom he drove out of their lines. Gustavus however rallied his men, and fought with such vigour, that Norby re-embarked the Danes, and suffered him

him to prosecute the siege, after he had thrown supplies of stores, men, and provision into the city.

Gustavus, finding it impossible to compass his design without a fleet, had recourse to the regency of Lubec; and obtained an auxiliary squadron on such grievous terms as would have been dishonourable, had the case been less urgent. Now the harbour was blocked up, and the city reduced to great straits, a Danish convoy having been intercepted. Norby again set sail for Stockholm, and found in the road a squadron of Lubeckers and Flemings, which he attacked, and fought furiously the whole day, renewing the combat again the next morning. A storm of wind however arose, which parted the combatants before victory declared on either side, and the Danish admiral moored his ships in the creek of a little island, at a small distance from the place of action. Here in the night he was fixed by a sudden frost, that exposed him to all the attacks of the enemy. Gustavus took advantage of the favourable opportunity, and, resolving to burn Norby's squadron, put himself at the head of the Lubeck troops encamped on the coast, passed over on the ice to the island, and advanced in the night as near as he possibly could to the enemy. Norby, on discovering him, began a continual fire with his cannon and small arms; which, however, did not prevent Gustavus from advancing boldly to the sides of the ships, some of his men pouring in volleys of small shot and arrows, while others held lighted torches in their hands to set fire to the rigging. Both sides fought with obstinate bravery; but the Danes had the advantage from their high situation, their cannon, and the slippery footing of the enemy. All the endeavours of Gustavus could not overcome these difficulties, which began to break the courage of the Lubeck general, and at last made him sound a retreat, in the very middle of the battle. The heat of the sun soon dissolved the ice, and furnished Norby with an opportunity of setting sail before another attempt could be made^f.

*Discontents
in Den-
mark.*

In the mean time all Denmark was in confusion. The number of the disaffected increased daily; and the king, always violent, became now furious, resolving to trample upon all law and government. He endeavoured, by menaces, to extort from his uncle, Frederick, his dukedom of Holstein, and claim on Norway; but was disappointed by the vigilance, prudence, and moderation of that prince. He irritated the Vandal cities to lay siege to Elsinour, which

^f Revol. de Sued, de M. Vertot, tom. i. p. 127.

they reduced to ashes. To oppose them, he assembled an army of twelve thousand men in Zealand, at the time when the general diet was assembling at Arhus. The Jutlanders, who knew the cruelty of his disposition, began to apprehend that this military force was set on foot to enable the king to sacrifice them, as he had done the nobility of Sweden. He appeared at the diet of Holstein in arms; and would probably have enforced his demands by dint of superior strength, had not the duke wisely taken measures to oppose him. His whole conduct assured them of his intention to govern by military laws; and they determined to risque all rather than support so intolerable a yoke. They knew the sentiments of the whole nation concurred with their own; but they believed it glorious to arm the first in the cause of liberty. All Jutland rose in one general revolt; Christian was formally deposed at a general diet held at Wiburg, and a particular decree passed, specifying the reasons for such a measure. Magnus Munce, chief-justice of Jutland, was intrusted with the dangerous commission of making the king acquainted with the resolution of the diet. He met Christian on his way to attend the diet at Arhus, complimented him on his happy passage to Weel, where he then was, dined with the king, and, after dinner, left in the window the decree of the Jutland states. It had not lain long in that place, before the king, observing a large scroll of parchment, ordered it to be read, and no sooner perceived the contents than he ordered search to be made for Munce; but that nobleman had removed himself out of the reach of danger.

A.D. 1523.

*Jutland
revolts.*

*Christian
is formally
deposed.*

Christian seeing there was no safety for him in the country, set out for Kolding, a town situated on the frontiers of Holstein and Jutland. He was master of Copenhagen, all the islands in the Baltic, and the kingdom of Norway; yet distrusting foreigners and subjects, and his conscience representing the evil beyond remedy, he took no steps towards quashing the rebellion. On the contrary, he began supplicating those subjects whom he had used with such pride and barbarity. Insolent prosperity is ever the most abject in adversity. His chief counsellors, in this situation, were Olaus Rosencratz, Magnus Bilde, governor of Kolding, and Reinold Heiderstorp, general of the infantry. The first gave it as his opinion, that his majesty ought to demand powerful succours from the emperor, his brother-in-law; Bilde advised him to offer terms of accommodation, and all the satisfaction he could make to his subjects; and Rosencratz contenting himself with observing, that his ma-

*Christian
abdicates
the throne.*

jesty ought to provide for the safety of the queen, and the young princes.

*Endea-
vours to
restore him-
self.*

Christian would seem to have asked their opinion only to mortify them by preferring his own. Instead of making proposals to the diet, he went to Ringstadt, where there happened to be a great fair. He harangued the populace with tears in his eyes, and so pathetically set forth his penitence and misfortunes, that, moved with his condition, the generous peasants took a fresh oath of allegiance, and offered their assistance against all his enemies. The king thanked them for their good intentions; but it was now in vain, he thought, to attempt re-establishing himself by force of arms. He distrusted his best friends, and imagined the whole world was combined against him. His great dread was lest the Baltic should be shut up by fleets of the Hanse Towns, and his escape from Denmark cut off. To prevent this greatest of evils, he equipped at Copenhagen a fleet of twenty sail, on board of which he put all his private treasure, the jewels, ornaments, and plate of the crown. Next he sent to Callemburg, and removed from thence the public treasury into his own ship, together with all the records, charters, and public acts of the government. Attended by his queen, children, and Sigebrette, he set sail from Copenhagen, and was overtaken in his passage to the continent by a violent storm, which beat his fleet about the Baltic for the space of three weeks, until he was reduced to the last extremity for provisions. At length arriving at Wesel, he sent to his brother-in-law the emperor, not doubting but he would arm all Germany to restore him, and little considering that the friendship of princes dies away with the prosperity that gave birth to it, and often degenerates into contempt and rancour. Thus Christian, who had attained a greater degree of power than any of his predecessors, by the union of the kingdoms of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, of the duchies of Sleswick, Holstein, and Stormar, and the alliances of Germany, Spain, France, England, and Scotland, was deposed by his own subjects, deserted by all his friends, and left a most piteous monument of the effects of pride, cruelty, and despotism, exerted over a free-spirited, generous, and warlike people. He seemed, indeed, to be one of those princes which heaven in wrath sets over a nation, as a punishment for the sins of the people, and a trial of their patience. Yet, with all his faults, Christian was brave, and perfectly skilled in the art of reigning; but the exertion of his understanding was impeded by the corruption of his heart.

By

By his queen, Isabella of Austria, he had five children; John, who shined for some years in his disgrace; Philip, and Maximilian, who died young; Dorothy, married to the elector Palatine; and Christina, who had for her first husband, Sforza, duke of Milan, and for her second, Francis, duke of Lorrain.

F R E D E R I C K I.

THE abdication of Christian II. paved the way to the throne for his uncle Frederick, duke of Sleswick, Holstein, Stormar, Wagria, and the country of the Dithmarsians. These dominions he inherited by the will of his father, though his brother, king John, wrested from him half his territories. He had often attempted to recover not only the countries taken from him during his minority, but to make good his claim upon a certain portion of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway; without, however, bringing his projects to bear, for want of strength to support them.

The Jutlanders were the first who declared for Frederick; and their voice was echoed by all the other provinces of Denmark. Copenhagen still adhered to Christian, and the example of the capital was followed by the kingdom of Norway. Frederick's first endeavour, therefore, was to reduce Copenhagen, which Magnus Gye, the governor, resolved to defend obstinately, relying on the succours which Christian promised to send from Germany. Being disappointed, however, in his expectations, he surrendered the city in the beginning of the year 1524.

Immediately after he had got possession of the capital, Frederick convoked a general diet, by which he was solemnly proclaimed king of Denmark, after an edict had been first published, declaring the reasons of the diet for withdrawing their allegiance from Christian. The states of Norway acceded to the resolution of the Danish diet, and proclaimed Frederick with the same formalities. Still, however, the satisfaction of the new king was incomplete and imperfect. He could not behold Gustavus, raised to the throne of Sweden, but with an eye of jealousy: he eagerly wished, from motives of ambition and interest, to see the three kingdoms re-united, and with that view wrote to some of the chief nobility of Sweden. The answer he received was not agreeable to his wishes; but it did not damp his hopes.

Archbishop Troll added the breath of adulation to these sparks of ambition, which soon blazed forth with more strength than was natural to the pacific disposition of the new monarch. This prelate regarded the elevation of Gustavus, *He harbours designs against Gustavus,*

tavus as an insurmountable obstacle to his own return to his archbishoprick of Upsal. He seized, therefore, all occasions of representing to Frederick, that the crown of Sweden belonged to him, as the son of Christian I. and that he could not, without incurring the contempt of Denmark and Norway, suffer it to remain long in the hands of an usurper. Nor did he forget to add the inclination which the Swedish clergy always entertained for the kings of Denmark, assuring him at the same time, that his adherents wanted only his countenance, and his claiming publicly the crown of Sweden, to declare openly for him.

Frederick made no great resistance: he yielded quietly to arguments so congenial to his own thoughts, so flattering to his ambition, and agreeable to his interest. Before the diet broke up, he procured their approbation for his being crowned king of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway; and he dispatched ambassadors to the Swedish senate, complaining of the election of Gustavus in prejudice to his right, and in direct violation of the treaty of Calmar.

*State of
Sweden*

The Swedes were no longer in a disposition to give ear to such remonstrances. The union of Calmar had more than once almost proved fatal to their liberties, which they now enjoyed in the greatest felicity, under a prince possessed of every quality that could engage their affection, render the nation respectable, and secure happiness to his subjects. It was therefore the intention of the senate to dismiss the ambassadors with a very abrupt answer; but Gustavus prevailed on them to treat them as the representatives of a great monarch. After having entertained them magnificently at his own table, he had them introduced into the senate, gave them permission to set forth their master's claim, and referred the answer, in order to render it more satisfactory, to the general diet. When the diet met, the ambassadors pleaded their master's claim in a laboured harangue; and were answered, in a spirited manner, by the speakers of the diet, that the crown of Sweden was elective, and as such bestowed upon Gustavus, their present monarch, as the just reward of his merit, and the tribute due from the gratitude of a people delivered from tyranny and oppression by his valour and conduct. They then declared, in the name of the diet, Troll, archbishop of Upsal, a traitor and enemy to his country: and, in the heat of their zeal and affection for Gustavus, the speaker was authorized to declare before the ambassadors, that Gustavus should have power to declare peace or war, and to enjoy many other prerogatives never before granted to a Swedish monarch, out of pure respect to his person.

An

An answer so explicit left no room for expostulation; the ambassadors were for withdrawing out of the kingdom; but Gustavus politicly entertained them for some days with a review of his troops, a sight of his arsenals, and every thing that could evince his power, and strike a damp on the pretensions of Frederick: he then dismissed them with magnificent presents, and the highest esteem for his person and character. He accompanied the Danish ambassadors with an envoy from himself to Frederick, to demand the release of the administrator's widow, and other ladies, who had been imprisoned by Christian. Nor was this the only object of his commission: Gustavus knew well, that the emperor was brother-in-law to Christian, and powerful enough, with the union of Spain and the Indies, to re-establish Christian, in defiance of the united endeavours of the three kingdoms, especially if they were divided and at war with each other. The agent was ordered to examine narrowly into the character and designs of Frederick, and to see whether there were hopes of engaging him in a solid peace, so necessary to both nations in the beginning of their reigns, and the very dawn of their authority. So well did this minister acquit himself, that he filled Frederick with esteem for the character of Gustavus, and respect for his power, very different indeed from what the archbishop of Upsal had represented. This was not the time to revive his pretensions, and begin a war with a prince so much master of the affections of his subjects; he therefore offered the envoy to terminate all their differences amicably, and to form a league offensive and defensive with Gustavus. The more to shew his esteem for the Swedish monarch, he sent back all the prisoners under a strong escort, and particularly the administrator's widow, attended by a splendid retinue, to the frontiers of Sweden.

Conduct of Gustavus to the Danish ambassadors.

An alliance between Frederick and Gustavus.

In the mean time the conduct of admiral Norby called loudly for chastisement. That officer had retired with his fleet to the isle of Gothland, of which he was governor, claimed independency, commenced pirate, and committed ravages on the high seas, on the shipping of all nations without distinction. The Lubeckers and Hanse Towns were, in particular, great sufferers by him; and they carried their complaints to Gustavus of Sweden, with such promises of assistance, as induced that monarch to undertake the conquest of the island. Accordingly eight thousand men were landed in Gothland, under the conduct of Bernard Milen, while the Lubeck fleet cruised round the coasts, to prevent all succours from Frederick from entering the island. Norby was soon reduced to difficulties; upon which

Revolt of admiral Norby.

which he sent one of his creatures to Frederick, to assure him that he was ready to acknowledge his sovereignty, provided he would send him assistance against the Swedes; a proposal with which the Danish monarch did not hesitate to comply. He became jealous of the enterprising genius of Gustavus; and saw that it was his interest to check the aggrandizement of a neighbouring prince. Besides, the island of Gothland depended on the crown of Denmark; and this consideration more particularly led him to accept the terms offered by Norby. However, as it was not possible to succour him while the Lubeck fleet kept the seas, without engaging in a direct war with the Hanse Towns, at a time too when he feared a descent on his dominions by Christian, he resolved to try the effects of a negociation. He dispatched an ambassador to Lubeck, complaining of the attempt made by Gustavus on his dominions, and prayed the regency to use their mediation in prevailing on him to withdraw his forces.

*Frederick's
negotia-
tions with
the regency
of Lubeck.*

Frederick knew perfectly well the treaty lately executed between Lubeck and Gustavus; but he exerted his endeavours to break it. To effect this aim, he represented by his ambassador, the concern the regency had in preventing Sweden from growing too powerful: that Gustavus was an enterprising prince, full of courage and ambition, who would require the union of all his neighbours against him, to set reasonable bounds to his conquests. That Gothland was a dependence on the crown of Denmark; and that Norby now returning to his duty, he should be under the necessity of supporting him as his subject. That, however, he would submit the whole affair to the arbitration of the Hanse Towns, rather than kindle a war in the North: and finally, that he consented to sequester the island into the hands of the regency, until the disputes regarding it should be finally decided.

*He relieves
Norby,
who was
besieged by
the
Swedes.*

Frederick's proposals were too moderate, too politic, and too agreeable to the interest of the regency, not to be perfectly well received. They saw themselves relieved from the piracies of Norby, and at the same time exempted from the expence of maintaining a fleet at sea, to protect the conquests of the Swedish monarch. They preferred seeing Gothland defended by their own garrison, though attended with some expence, to putting it into the hands of Gustavus, and thereby enabling him to molest their commerce. It was for these reasons the regency concluded a secret treaty with Frederick, by which they promised to connive at his endeavours to throw in succours into Wisby. It was likewise stipulated, that the king of Denmark should send

an ambaffador to Sweden, to complain of Guftavus's invafion of Gothland; and that he fhould be followed by deputies from the Hanfe Towns, offering their mediation, and declaring they would take arms againft the party who fhould oppofe a reasonable accommodation.

In confequence of this treaty fupplies were thrown into Wifby; an interview paffed between Frederick and Guftavus, at which the affair of Gothland was warmly debated, and referred for a full decifion to a congreff of commiffioners from Denmark, Sweden, and the Hanfe Towns. The Danifh deputies appeared at the time appointed, but made only a fhort ftay for the Swedes, who were kept back by contrary winds. Frederick made ufe of this occafion to break off a congreff to which he had no inclination, having now thrown in fupplies into Wifby, and received an oath of allegiance from Norby. His Swedifh majefty remonftrated, but to no effect, as Frederick was in no humour to fubmit to the hazard of arbitration an ifland of which he thought himfelf already fecure. In a word, he over-reached the commiffioners of Lubeck and Sweden; but was himfelf almoft outwitted by Norby, who had entered upon a negociation with the Swedifh general, Milen, his old friend, and obtained from him a fufpenfion of arms. The fieve was raifed without the knowlege of Guftavus, and to the great difcontent of the whole Swedifh army. No fooner was Norby delivered from the terrors of a fieve than he refolved to break his oath to Frederick, and preferve his independence. In vain was he fummoned; in vain was he threatened with punifhment by the Danifh monarch: he not only refufed keeping his word, but made a defcent with his fleet on Schonen, where he was joined by all the burghers and peafants attached to the late king Chriftian. Here he burned a number of villages, and made himfelf mafter of Salsburg, Lunden, Landfcroon, and fome other places.

John Rantzaw was fent by the king to oppofe his progrefs, with two battalions of infantry and a few fquadrons of horfe. Norby was at this time employed in the fieve of Helfinburg; and that his operations might receive no interruption, he detached one of his generals, with eight thoufand men, to give battle to Rantzaw, whose whole force fcarce amounted to half that number. It was indeed expected, that Rantzaw would not have ftood his ground; but this experienced officer knew what degree of confidence was to be placed in difcipline and valour. He attacked the enemy with fuch firmnefs, that their ranks were foon broken and put in diforder, about a thoufand of them killed, and the

Norby refufes to execute his promife to Frederick.

He is defeated by Rantzaw.

reft

rest put to flight. Five hundred prisoners taken in the pursuit were sent to king Frederick, with a great number of ensigns, and other military trophies.

This defeat greatly disconcerted Norby, and obliged him to raise the siege of Helfinburg. After some motions to collect his scattered troops, he retired to Landscreon, which he put in the best posture of defence. Rantzaw immediately followed and blocked up the city, until a sufficient reinforcement arrived to commence the siege in form. Here he did not remain long before Otton Stiggot, collecting together several thousand peasants, who adhered to Christian, marched with intention to raise the blockade; and Rantzaw having advice of his motions, marched out of his intrenchments to give him battle, which he did with all imaginable success, dispersing the peasant army, and returning the same day to his camp before the city. This stroke operated powerfully on the courage of Norby; he immediately demanded a parley, and delivered proposals of capitulation, which Rantzaw sent for the approbation of king Frederick. The king fearing that Norby would deliver the isle of Gothland to the Swedes, should he insist upon too rigorous terms, erred perhaps in the other extreme, by shewing too much lenity and indulgence to a man who had so often broke through oaths and the most solemn engagements. He contented himself with a promise from Norby, that he would refrain from all farther violences, put the city and citadel of Wisby into his hands, and take a fresh oath of allegiance; terms with which Norby made no scruple of complying, as he intended to regard them no longer than necessity and his interest required. Taking with him some Danish lords, into whose hands he was to surrender Wisby, he set sail for Gothland; but when he arrived, put off the performance of his promise, and prevaricated in such a manner, that it was plain he had other designs. Frederick, however, took his measures so vigorously, that he reduced him to the necessity of surrendering the city, and evacuating the island.

*Further
proofs of
Norby's
perfidy.*

A.D. 1526.

*Religious
disputes in
Denmark.*

In the following year, Margaret of Austria sent some ships into the Baltic, to make a diversion in favour of Christian: but nothing considerable was performed by this squadron. Frederick seemed to enjoy perfect tranquillity in temporal affairs; but it was not so in spirituals. Lutheranism had made such progress in Denmark, under Christian, in defiance of all the endeavours of the bishops and Romish clergy, that, under Frederick, who himself embraced Protestantism, the

nation was divided into two parties ; and each of them supported their sentiments with all the zeal and heat peculiar to religious disputes. To prevent civil discord, the king published an edict, prohibiting all his subjects, under severe penalties, from laying any restraints on conscience, or any way depriving a man of his reputation, fortune, or liberty, on account of his religious opinions. The doctrines of the reformation were permitted to be preached publicly; and thus the Romish religion lost its influence every day. The Lutherans ascribe the king's conduct to piety, while their adversaries affirm, that policy alone governed his actions^h: be that as it will, his moderation conveys no contemptible idea of his understanding, and certainly, at the time, contributed greatly to his firm establishment on the throne.

At this period, the king held a general diet of the states, to make some new regulations in religion, for the quiet and repose of the kingdom. Here it was that he first openly avowed himself a Protestant, bitterly inveighed against the spiritual tyranny of the church of Rome, and stopped the persecutions of the popish clergy, by an act passed by the diet, importing, that every subject of Denmark should be free to profess either the doctrines of Luther, or of Rome; that no person should be molested on account of his religion; that the king should exert his royal prerogative in defending the reformists against the tyranny and oppression of their enemies; and that the religious of all orders should be permitted to marry and live in any part of the kingdom they thought proper, without respect to particular monasteries, foundations, or societies.

In consequence of this decree all abbeys and cloisters were deserted, all austerities and celibacy in particular disregarded; Lutheranism was publicly preached, and embraced in all quarters; yet still many warm contests arose between the clergy of either party, in which the king was forced to interpose. At last the city of Malmoe erected the standard of Luther, publicly prohibited mass, idols, and the other superstitions of the Romish church; and set an example, which was soon followed by the rest of the cities, to the utter extinction of popery. The New Testament and Psalms of David were translated into the vernacular language; professorships of theology founded, and filled with Protestant doctors. The bishops took the alarm, and waiting upon the king in a body, could obtain nothing more than that the affairs of religion should receive farther regulations at the next general diet.

A.D. 1527.

Frederick openly declares in favour of the reformed religion.

The city of Malmoe destroys all the badges of Romish superstition.

^h Seckendorff, Ep. 149.

A.D. 1531.

Before the diet assembled, some attempts were made by Christian for recovering his crown. He had constantly resided in Flanders, and never failed imploring the emperor Charles V. to assist him with forces and money, but without success. That wise prince saw too clearly into his character, to believe that he could keep possession of an authority which he had so grossly abused, or recover the affections of a free, spirited people, whom he had endeavoured to enslave. His prayers, however, prevailed with Margaret of Austria; who fitted out a fleet, and raised a body of forces in his favour. The fleet was scattered, and ten ships lost in a storm; but others landed the troops in Sweden and Norway, where they were joined by great numbers of discontented persons, and particularly by the Roman catholics, who sought their revenge in rebellion. His arms made such progress, as to call upon Frederick's serious attention: accordingly he fitted out a fleet, under the conduct of Canute Gyllenstiern, and Eric Gyllenstiern, brothers to the viceroy of Norway. These generals set sail, and came up with Christian's fleet before Bahus. Here they attacked them, and, after an engagement which lasted the whole day, took, sunk, burnt, and destroyed the Flemish squadron, without letting a single ship escape.

*Christian
makes some
attempts to
recover his
crown.*

Christian was at this time laying siege to Aggerhus, which he raised on advice of the defeat of his fleet. The Gyllenstierns landed their forces, and obliged him to attempt a retreat to Sweden, through West Gothland; but he found himself opposed by a body of three thousand horse, sent to block up the passage by king Gustavus. Christian was now greatly embarrassed: on one side he saw the forces of Denmark, and on the other those of Sweden, neither of which his situation would permit him to engage, with any probability of success. In this dilemma he threw himself into the town of Congel, which he fortified in the best manner circumstances would allow, rather with a view to procrastinate his fate than in expectation of being able to defend himself for any time. Here he was pressed with famine, deserted by his men, and reduced to so piteous a condition, that Gyllenstiern, bishop of Odensee, taking compassion on his sufferings, used all his arguments to prevail upon him to surrender rather than perish with hunger. He remembered that Christian had formerly been sovereign of three powerful kingdoms; and was led by his humanity to stipulate terms which he had no power to grant. In a word, he persuaded that prince to put himself in his power, that he might conduct him to Frederick, assuring him that the force of blood would operate so

*He is made
prisoner.*

strongly

strongly on the king, as to procure Christian the kindest reception. Gyllenstiern intended no artifice; he firmly believed all that he advanced, and was greatly astonished to find Frederick incensed at his conduct. He was even stung to the heart, on hearing that unfortunate monarch was seized and imprisoned on his arrival at Copenhagen. He remonstrated to Frederick, but could obtain no redress. Christian was confined and strictly guarded in the castle of Sunderburg, until Frederick's death, which happened at Gottorp on the 13th of April, in the year 1533. A.D. 1533.

Frederick obtained the name of Pacific, from his aversion to war, and the moderation of his conduct. He was the first Danish monarch who had openly embraced and espoused the reformed religion; for though it was introduced in the reign of his predecessor, yet had it made no considerable progress. Historians greatly celebrate the piety, prudence, and steady government of this prince. His reign indeed was prosperous to himself and his people; he lived in their affection, died highly esteemed and regretted by one part of his subjects; while the Roman Catholics, in general, detest his memory to this day, for effecting a reformation in religion to the utter extinction of their tyrannical superstition and spiritual power. *Death and character of Frederick I.*

S E C T. XIV.

The History of the Reign of Christian III.

C H R I S T I A N III.

FREDERICK was succeeded by his son Christian III. governor of Sleswick and Holstein. A general diet assembled at Copenhagen on the 24th of June, in order to deliberate on the election of a king, to which Christian sent two noblemen of distinction to appear in his name. All the bishops and Romish clergy strongly supported the interest of prince John, second son of Frederick, in opposition to Christian, who had embraced the reformed religion. They alleged, in favour of this young prince, that he was born after his father's accession to the throne, though their true motive was, the hopes they entertained of breeding him up in their own religion. A third party were for recalling Christian II. but this faction was small, and entirely absorbed in the two others. The nobility in general supported Christian III. and the clergy, finding they could not carry their point at that time, proposed that the election *Disputes about a successor, and the kingdom divided into three factions.*

tion should be deferred to the following year, in order that the states of Norway might be assembled, and the same king seated on the throne of both kingdoms. This proposal having gained the assent of the majority, the states next resolved to send an embassy to Mary, governante of the Low Countries, to propose a peace, or at least a truce for some years.

*Artifices of
the popish
clergy.*

In the mean time some of the chief nobility, among whom were Magnus Goe and Eric Bonner, entered a protest against adjourning the diet. In this they bitterly exclaimed against the bishops, whose private interest they affirmed prevailed over every measure for the general good. Having entered this protest they retired into the country, followed by a great number of the other nobility, and thus left a clear majority to the clergy in the diet. The bishops did not fail to take advantage of this circumstance: they proposed the following decree, and had influence enough to get it passed; that the election of a king should be deferred for one year; that church-lands and monasteries should remain in their present situation, until the next diet; that as the bishops had drawn up different charges against certain ministers of the reformed religion, and particularly an accusation of a heinous nature against J. Toulson, he should be obliged to appear and answer to the charge; that Christian, the eldest son of the late king Frederick, should be disqualified from succeeding to the throne, on account of his having embraced the reformed religion; and that John, the second, should be bred in the faith of the Romish church, and for that reason preferred to his brother in the future election¹.

A.D. 1534.

*Several
diets held
for the elec-
tion of a
sovereign.*

About this time was held a general diet at Odensee, for the election of a sovereign. Christian of Sleswick sent ambassadors thither, who used every artifice to gain a majority. They represented, that Denmark being without a head, and exposed to a number of enemies, it would be for the public good that a treaty of perpetual union and alliance were concluded between Denmark, Norway, and Holstein; a proposition quite agreeable to the sentiments of the diet, though it did not take place at that time. They engaged that Christian would govern the kingdom rather as the father than the sovereign of his people. They promised that he would preserve the liberties of the people, and extend, as far as was in his power, the rights and influence of the nobility; but that if the diet thought proper to prefer his brother John, he would acquiesce in their

¹ Puffend. tom. iv.

judgment, and never give him any molestation. They added, however, their master's request, that the diet would proceed to the election of a king, in order to stop the confusion and discord that now distracted the kingdom. Yet after all, this diet likewise broke up without coming to any agreement.

At this period, ambassadors arrived from Sweden, with an account of the conspiracy formed by the regency of Lubeck against the king. The Danes offered their mediation, without knowing that a similar plot was formed against themselves. This ambitious regency, in order to accomplish higher views, had projected the restoration of Christian II. and in this design they engaged prince Christopher of Oldenburg, a cadet of that family, archbishop Troll, John, count of Hoya, a great number of exiles, many of the discontented clergy, and the chief magistrates of Malmoe and Copenhagen. Christopher of Oldenburg was charged with the enterprize of setting Christian II. at liberty. With this view he passed the Elbe at the head of four thousand foot, and then wrote to Christian of Sleswick, demanding to know why he detained king Christian a prisoner in Sunderburg. He complained that his majesty was confined contrary to the faith of a treaty, and the safe-conduct granted him by Frederick's general. He insisted that he should be released, otherwise he threatened to employ all his own forces, together with those of his friends and allies, to procure him liberty and justice.

The ambitious designs of the regency of Lubeck.

Duke Christian answered, that the king was confined by order of his late majesty, in consequence of repeated remonstrances from the states of Denmark and Sweden; that he could not therefore set him at liberty, without the joint consent of both these nations: and finally, he gave him to understand, that in this particular he was not his own master. But this answer was by no means satisfactory to Christopher, who replied, that he was astonished Christian should excuse himself by such a pretence, as he was independent of both kingdoms. It was notorious, he said, that Sunderburg belonged to him, and consequently he had power to set at liberty a prince confined against all law and equity; concluding, that the regency of Lubeck and the Vandal cities would interest themselves in the affair, and employ force of arms to obtain what was denied to fair remonstrances^k.

Having made the same remonstrances to the senate of Denmark, and with the same effect, he returned to Lu-

^k Chytræi Chron. p. 92.

*Christian
lays siege to
Lubeck.*

bec; upon which the regency ordered their army to march, under the command of Wallenweber and Marc Meyer, into Holstein. Here he raised heavy contributions, and took the fortresses of Trittaw and Eudin. They formed the siege of Segeberg, took the town, and were preparing to attack the citadel, when they heard that Christian, having received a reinforcement from Denmark, was on his way to give them battle. It was the same Rantzaw, of whom we have spoke in the preceding pages, that now commanded Christian's forces, attacked the Lubeckers, defeated them, and retook Eudin¹.

This defeat did not discourage the prince of Oldenburg, and his confederates the Lubeck generals; it only obliged them to alter their measures, evacuate Holstein, and embark their army, in order to invade Denmark, and thus divide the forces of that kingdom. The Holstein general made the best use of their absence. He penetrated to the town of Travemunde, which he besieged and took. Having demolished the fortress of Muggeberg, he began to throw a bridge over the Trave; a measure which greatly alarmed the city of Lubeck, who immediately sent all their forces to oppose him. These Rantzaw defeated, pushed farther, and put Christian in possession of both sides of the river, by which means he became entire master of all the ships in the harbour. Here he remained for some months, burnt all the shipping, and greatly distressed the city of Lubeck.

In the mean time Denmark was in the most perilous and distracted condition. George Munter, consul of Malmoe, had treacherously seized upon Gyllenstiern, governor of the citadel, after which violence, he razed it to the ground, and declared in favour of king Christian II. just as Christopher of Oldenburg entered the Sound with his fleet. Munter immediately went on board the prince's ship, and relating the success of his enterprize, induced Christopher to land his forces. He soon became master of Roschild, Koge, Stockholm, Stega, and Copenhagen, which last city was surrendered to him on condition that he should enlarge its privileges, and his swearing to preserve the inhabitants in the free use of the Lutheran religion, which they had embraced. All these places he held in the name of Christian II. exacting an oath of allegiance to that prince from the inhabitants of the several towns and fortresses in his possession. In a word, he became master of Zealand

¹ Des Roches, tom. v. p. 51.

and Schonen, and was upon terms with the diet of Norway for restoring the deposed Christian ^m.

The islands of Laaland, Falstre, and Langland, having followed the example of Zealand and Schonen, the Lubeckers beheld with satisfaction the rapid progress of their arms, and now thought it necessary to justify their proceedings by a manifesto, setting forth their reasons for entering upon this war. But they were such as only convinced the whole world of their ambition, which, by being directed to wrong objects, soon turned them into ridicule. In this manifesto they had the presumption to prescribe in points of religion to Denmark, and talk with an air of authority altogether vain and absurd, because it was unsupported by adequate power; for, at this time Christian III. was laying siege to the city; and however successful their arms were in Denmark, they were reduced to the greatest necessity at home. Happily however for them, the states of Jutland resolved to meet for the election of a sovereign. Holstein took the same resolution, and they assembled on the 4th of July, at a place called Rye, near Sunderburg. It was the general opinion that their choice ought to fall upon a prince capable of governing by himself, whose experience and conduct might again re-establish the tranquillity of the kingdom. A majority of voices declared for duke Christian, who had an army powerful enough to execute his designs. The states of Fionia were invited to accede to their election, and they accepted Christian, to whom ambassadors were immediately sent with an offer of the crown.

The Lubeckers masters of a great part of Denmark.

Christian III. elected king of Denmark.

The clergy had made some complaints, on account of his religion, but they were disregarded. John Fris de Hefsalager was sent upon this commission, and likewise charged to acquaint Christian, that it was of the utmost consequence to provide against the enemy's getting possession of Fionia, which had now declared for him. Christian set out directly for Hertsens, where the nobility and commons of Jutland were assembled to receive him. Here he was solemnly crowned, and acknowledged king of all Denmark, and as such received the oaths of all present.

King Christian's first care was to apprize Gustavus of Sweden of his election; to complain of the irregular conduct of the Lubeckers; to exhort him to enter Schonen with a force sufficient to wrest that province out of the hands of the enemy, and reannex it to Denmark, and, in a word, to humble the pride and clip the soaring wings of

^m Des Roches, *ibid.* Puffend, *ibid.*

this ambitious republic. Gustavus did not hesitate in what manner he was to act. He longed for an occasion to revenge himself on the Lubeckers, and embraced this opportunity. He exhorted the inhabitants of Schonen to acknowledge Christian III. for their sovereign, and he seconded his remonstrances with force. A body of troops was detached into the province, and effectual measures were taken for driving the Lubeckers out of Denmark.

*Fionia
revolts.*

While Christian III. was at Kolding, he received advice of the revolt of the island of Fionia, at the instigation of the count of Oldenburg. The burghers and peasants rose up against the nobility, and were determined to throw off their subjection to them, by driving them out of the island. To compose these troubles, and assist the nobility, Christian sent a body of forces, which soon obliged the people to take a fresh oath of allegiance to him; but the count, landing a superior force, had the town of Neoburg treacherously surrendered to him, and a new insurrection was made in his favour, which in a short time put him in possession of the whole island.

At the same time the duke of Mecklenburg and landgrave of Hesse mediated a peace between the city of Lubeck and duchy of Holstein, in which both sides agreed to give no assistance to each other's enemies. By this accommodation, Christian was enabled to employ all his forces in Denmark; and he accordingly marched an army into North Jutland, under the command of the celebrated Rantzaw and Eric Banner. These two generals advanced directly to Alburg, a town which had been taken by Clement, a Lubeck pirate, who was encamped with a body of peasants before the walls. Rantzaw attacked this corps, defeated Clement, and took the town by assault, putting the garrison to the sword. Clement escaped out of the battle, but was afterwards taken at Kolding, confined in prison till the year 1536, and then beheaded. His head was fixed on a stake in the market-place, and crowned in derision with a leaden crown, on account of his insolence in preclaiming Christian II.

Although this advantage decided nothing, yet it produced overtures for peace, and an interview between Christian and the count of Oldenburg, which broke up without any determination besides that of deciding the difference by the sword. When the count returned to Copenhagen, he assembled the states, and demanded a supply of money. As the treasury was extremely exhausted, and the country impoverished, he proposed that the nobility and gentry should dispose of their jewels, and trinkets; but this was

an

an expedient with which they did not chuse to comply, though they found means to raise the sum required. Scarce was this affair finished, when George Munter and Ambrose entered the assembly with a bitter complaint against the nobility and senate, whom they accused as the authors of all the national misfortunes, by deposing Christian II. They demanded, therefore, that the count would punish them according to their deserts. Fear seized the whole assembly, and no man ventured to withdraw, until the count had given them a solemn assurance that no violence should be offered.

It was now that the count's wicked designs came to be disclosed. He had laid a scheme for the destruction of the nobility of Schonen, whom he assembled at Landskroon for that purpose, and was just ready to give the finishing blow, when Gustavus appeared very providentially at the head of an army, on the borders of the province. He was instantly joined by five hundred nobility and gentry, who assisted in driving the count's forces out of Schonen.

In the beginning of next year the Swedish army entered Halland, and began their operations by laying siege to Helmsstadt. After they had remained some days before the town, the magistrates declared voluntarily for Christian III. upon which the Swedish army proceeded on their march. Passing through the country round Helsingburg, Landskroon, and Malmoe, they were joined by great numbers of nobility and gentry, and soon after gave battle, and obtained a complete victory over the count of Oldenburg and the forces of Lubec. A strong reinforcement was then sent by Christian III. by means of which the Swedish army was enabled to lay siege to Malmoe and Landskroon at the same time. But the victory at Helsingburg had more important consequences. It induced the nobility of Norway to declare in favour of the new king; but this advantage was counterbalanced by some inconveniences. Meyer, the Lubec general and burgomaster, being taken in the engagement, a dispute arose between the Swedes and Danes: the former insisting upon his being their prisoner, because the victory was obtained by their forces; and the latter urged, that it was more reasonable he should belong to them, as he had immediately surrendered to the Danes. This difference was carried high, but at length terminated by an agreement, that he should be confined in the frontier town of Wardeberg. There he was a prisoner on parole; and Meyer used this opportunity not only to obtain his liberty, but to prevail on the magistrates to declare for Christian II. and afterwards to seize on the citadel.

A. D. 1535.

*Progress of
Christian's
arms.*

In the mean time the regency had engaged the duke of Mecklenburg in their interest, and sent him with a fleet to Copenhagen, in order to attempt the release of Christian II. (A); but a difference arising between him and the count about the command of the army, Lubec derived but little advantage from this alliance. Not long after their army in Fionia was defeated and cut in pieces by Rantzaw, a great number of soldiers and officers killed or taken prisoners, and, among the latter, archbishop Troll, who soon after died of his wounds.

From Fionia Rantzaw passed into Zealand, where he was joined by the king in person, and siege laid to Copenhagen. The sieges of Malmoe and Landskroon were likewise vigorously pushed in Schonen, and Wardeburg was wrested out of the enemy's hands by Nadon Ulston. Thus every thing conspired to ruin the designs of the Lubeckers, and firmly to establish the new king on the throne, who was now solemnly crowned, at Odensee, king of Denmark and Norway.

*Interview
between
Christian
and Gus-
tavus.*

During the siege of Copenhagen, Christian, contrary to the advice of his council, made a dangerous visit to Gustavus at Stockholm. His intention was to concert measures with that prince against the designs of the emperor, who, under pretence of procuring the crown of Denmark for the elector Frederic Palatine, had projected a scheme for reducing the three northern crowns under his own obedience. The Danish historians allege, that Gustavus made certain demands with which Christian could not comply; and that the manner in which the Swedish monarch received this denial, obliged Christian to retire with the utmost expedition out of Sweden. It is affirmed, that queen Christina gave him notice of certain plots contrived against him, and that Gustavus afterwards used this princess so ill, that she died of grief; but theseⁿ conjectures are diametrically opposite to the assertions of the Swedish historians, and indeed to the character of the heroic Gustavus. Whatever resentment Gustavus harboured, he entirely concealed it, and took every measure to perform his engagements, and establish Christian on the throne: and, to the Swedish troops may we in a great measure ascribe the reduction of Copenhagen, which, together with Landskroon, was surrendered in the following year, after a long siege.

ⁿ Des Roches, tom. v. p. 72.

(A) Christian was confined in the citadel which had not surrendered to the Lubec fleet.

Now

Now it was that the emperor began to concern himself in the affairs of Denmark, and to push the interest of the elector Palatine. With this view he sent an ambassador to the duke of Saxony and landgrave of Hesse, declaring Christian III. an usurper, and pleading the right of the elector. This embassy had no effect; for these princes jointly replied, that his imperial majesty had no business with the affairs of Denmark; and that Christian's claim was undoubted, as the eldest son of king Frederic, solemnly called to the throne by the states of the kingdom. The emperor received another check from the pretensions of the count of Oldenburg, who began to aspire at the crown; with which intention he sent a faithful emissary to the Low Countries to sound the inclinations of the governante, to demand succours to raise the siege of Copenhagen, and the widow of Francis Sforza, duke of Milan, in marriage. But he met with a repulse, the governante declaring in favour of the elector Palatine.

A.D. 1536.

The emperor endeavours to procure the crown of Denmark for the elector Palatine.

The new king, Christian, was not ignorant of what was transacting at the emperor's court. Some letters of the governante's, which he intercepted, gave him a more distinct idea of the intrigues carrying on against him, and of the elector's strength. One of these was addressed to the garrison of Copenhagen, exhorting them to be of good courage, as the elector would speedily raise the siege with a numerous fleet and army. It was now the whole scope of Christian's politics to frustrate all these machinations. In the first place he entered into a treaty with Menard de Hour, who had long commanded the forces of the duke of Gueldres, whereby that officer undertook to make a diversion by attacking the emperor's troops in Ems. This general, whose predominant passion was the love of fighting, immediately entered upon action, and made himself master of several places in that country in the name of Christian III.

While Menard was employing the forces of the empire round Groningen, an interesting scene passed in Norway. Christian had sent deputies to the archbishop Olaus, to keep him and the states of Norway firm in their alliance and union with Denmark. Every thing appeared to succeed according to his wish, when an embassy arrived from the Netherlands with magnificent presents to the prelate from the governante. The instructions of the Flemish ambassadors were to exhort the archbishop and states, in the emperor's name, to remain firm in the duty they had sworn to Christian II. when that prince was in Norway. The ambassadors promised that in this case they should be powerfully supported by a

fleet, which the elector Palatine would command in person on their coast. Gained by their presents and promises, the treacherous prelate ordered the Danish deputies to be put in irons. He strangled in prison the president Vincent, against whom he bore an ancient grudge. He dispersed troops in the different quarters of the kingdom, to oblige the people to declare in favour of the elector. He went still farther, and had himself crowned king in the name of that prince. Most of the nobility were strongly attached to Christian III. but the dread of incurring the resentment of this powerful prelate, kept them silent and inactive: Eric Gyllenstiern alone had the courage to set the remaining Danish deputies at liberty, with whom he set sail for Denmark.

This sudden change in the affairs of Norway, and the rapid progress the elector Palatine was making to ascend the throne, obliged the regency of Lubeck first to think of peace. Their eyes were now opened; the expences of the war became grievous; and their ideal plan of empire vanished and mouldered in the test of rigid enquiry. They solicited the elector of Saxony, the landgrave of Hesse, and the cities Bremen, Hamburgh, Magdeburg, and Brunswick, to interpose their mediation between them and Christian III. and to regulate the conditions of peace.

*Peace be-
tween
Denmark
and Lubeck.*

Deputies from all these powers meeting at Hamburgh, ordained that hostilities should immediately cease between Denmark and Lubeck, and that their ancient friendship should be renewed; that the island of Bornholm should be ceded in surety to the regency of Lubeck for the space of fifty years, and until the king should have paid them fifteen thousand ducats, on account of their obliging the count of Oldenburg to evacuate Denmark. Christian acceded the more readily to these conditions, as he saw a new enemy rise up against him, the kingdom drained of money, and the people tired out with the long continuance of the war. One circumstance alone embarrassed him; it was his having concluded this peace without consulting Gustavus, and even contrary to the treaty with that prince. In effect Gustavus resented his conduct, and gave orders to his forces to evacuate Denmark. He likewise demanded the money he had lent Christian, or rather the provinces of Wyck and Bahus.

The Danish monarch was not ignorant of what consequence it was to live on terms of amity with Gustavus. He immediately sent an embassy to him, to excuse his conduct, by assuring him, that the time allowed for concluding the treaty was too short to admit of consulting his inclinations;

and

and that he feared, if he did not embrace the occasion, the city of Lubec would have joined the elector Palatine. In fact, it was no less the interest of Gustavus than of Christian, that the two nations should continue in friendship. He therefore prudently admitted the ambassador's apology; demanded a renewal of the league between the two kingdoms; and countermanded the return of his troops. Still, however, he refused to sign the peace with Lubec; and his perseverance in this refusal drove the regency to such despair, that they even conspired against his life, and hired ruffians, who undertook to poison, or blow him up with gunpowder.

It was in consequence of this peace that George Munter, seeing no hopes of succours from the Low Countries, from Lubec, or from the elector Palatine, and that his fellow-subjects were tired out with the war, determined to throw himself upon the king's clemency, and do all in his power to forward his cause, and promote the tranquillity and repose of the country; Malmoe, of which he was governor, he surrendered before the operations of the besieged had compelled him, and he set out for Copenhagen to endeavour to persuade the garrison and inhabitants to submit. In this manner these important places came into the king's hands, though, indeed, at Copenhagen, the garrison was reduced to such straits, that dogs, cats, rats, and the most loathsome animals, were used as food. The people became so feeble with hunger, that they dropt down dead in the street, and yet did they still persevere in their refusal to surrender.

After inexpressible miseries sustained, at last Copenhagen surrendered; and duke Albert, and the count of Oldenburg, were forced to throw themselves at the king's feet to obtain pardon. While the count was in this supplicating posture, the king reproached him with having entered Holstein without any subject of complaint, without any declaration of war, to plunder and lay waste like a robber. He accused him of having taken arms to support the unjust quarrel of Lubec, and of being the occasion of all the bloodshed in Denmark; adding, that now was the time to gratify his vengeance, but that he pardoned him, in consideration of their affinity by blood.

As soon as the new king found himself in possession of the capital, he laboured to execute a plan communicated to him by Gustavus, for reducing the temporal power of the bishops and clergy, who had been the great sticklers against his election. He saw himself supported by the senate and nobility,

*Copenhagen
surrenders
to Christian
III.*

A.D. 1537.

*Christian
establishes
the reformed
religion.*

nobility, who had placed the crown on his head ; without fear therefore he attacked the clergy of highest dignity and influence. With this view he assembled a diet at Odensee, and took the first steps towards deposing the bishops, and favouring the reformed religion. An order was issued for apprehending them all ; and Bilde, bishop of Arhus, alone found means to escape. A few of them became martyrs to their religion, particularly the bishop of Roschild, who suffered his family to be persecuted, himself to be deprived of his dignity and see, to be confined in prison, and even in irons, in which he died, without making the least recantation, or, like the other bishops, accommodating himself to the king's humour.

The diet passed a decree, whereby all the church-lands, towns, fortresses, and villages, were annexed to the crown, and the temporal power of the clergy for ever abolished. They even went so far as to incur the displeasure of Luther himself, who wrote the king a letter from Germany, exhorting him to use the clergy with more lenity ; and though he disapproved the doctrine, yet to pay the due respect to the ministers of the ancient religion of the kingdom. He told him, that entirely abolishing the temporal power of the church was robbing the crown of one of the strongest pillars of its prerogative ; and, indeed, Christian did not enough attend to the consequences of the exorbitant power now lodged in the hands of the nobility. The equipoise of government was destroyed with the power of the bishops ; the four different orders of the people were all absorbed in the grandeur of the nobility, and even the royal prerogative dwindled to a dependence on their will.

In this situation stood the affairs of Denmark, when the king began seriously to prepare for the reduction of Norway, in consequence of a treaty concluded with the government of the Low Countries. The archbishop Olaus having notice of his intention, and of the revolution in the church of Denmark, sent deputies to solicit his majesty's pardon, promising to place the crown of Norway upon his head, and get him acknowledged by the states of the kingdom. But instead of receiving his deputation, Christian ordered his fleet to invade Norway, a circumstance which obliged the archbishop to embark with all his jewels and effects for Holland. Immediately on his departure, the whole kingdom returned to the obedience of Christian, who was solemnly crowned.

It could not be imagined, that a prince who had persecuted the bishops with so much severity, would leave the inferior

inferior clergy of the Romish religion unmolested. A confession of faith was drawn up, and presented to them, with the alternative either of signing it or quitting the kingdom. The latter was preferred by great numbers, who retired into Germany and the Netherlands; thus the reformed religion was completely established in Denmark; the power of the nobility raised to excess, on the ruins of the episcopal grandeur; the burghers and peasants reduced to a more servile state under their haughty lords than they had ever known under the most despotic exertions of papistical tyranny; and the royal prerogative rendered merely titular, and a shadow which vanished at the will of the nobles. It is true, that Christian supported his crown with its ancient lustre; but the nobility were not yet become sufficiently acquainted with their own power, which increased daily, until their pride at last effected a revolution, that turned the scale wholly in favour of the crown, and rendered Denmark as absolute a monarchy as any in Europe.

For the space of two years Denmark enjoyed a profound peace at home and abroad; an interval which Christian assiduously improved to the good of his people, establishing such regulations as he thought would best promote their felicity. He was likewise endeavouring to confirm this repose by foreign alliances, and to terminate all his differences with neighbouring states, when, of a sudden, he saw his crown threatened with a storm equally violent and unexpected. The elector Palatine, having levied forces in Lower Saxony, marched in a hostile manner into the duchy of Holstein, destroying all before him with fire and sword: but this expedition was but of short duration; the Ham-burghers interposed, and obliged the elector to return with precipitation.

Gustavus had this year presented Christian with a long bill of complaints, containing a variety of articles, to each of which he demanded an explicit answer. Among other articles, he accused Christian of debauching his soldiers and officers from their allegiance to him, and incorporating them with the troops of Denmark; a bad requital of the many services he had done to him. In particular he alleged, that when the Swedish fleet arrived in the Sound, Melchior Rantzaw had encouraged the desertion of his sailors, and manned the Danish fleet with those deserters; that Christian had refused to accommodate his fleet with provisions, agreeable to the treaty between the two crowns; that the Danes had seized upon Meyer, burgomaster of Lubec, though he in fact was the prisoner of the Swedish general; together with a variety of other articles of less consequence,

A.D. 1539.

*Dispute
between
Denmark
and Swe-
den.*

sequence, which only shewed Gustavus's desire of coming to a rupture with Denmark.

To answer these complaints Christian sent ambassadors to Calmar, where the Swedish monarch at that time resided. They apologized for their master's conduct, but referred the final regulation to plenipotentiaries, which were to meet the following year on the frontiers.

Negotiations between Christian and the German powers.

While the king was busied in preparing their instructions for the plenipotentiaries, the prefect of Saltholm was murdered, together with several of his domestics, at the instigation of bishop Augmund. On the first notice of this horrid act, the king issued orders to Christopher Wilfeldt, governor of Drontheim, to pass with two ships of war to the island, to take a fresh oath of allegiance from the inhabitants, seize upon the bishop, and place in his room a protestant minister. About the same time a letter came to his majesty from the landgrave of Hesse, seriously advising him to treat with the elector Palatine concerning the dowry of Dorothea his wife, as the best means of paving the way to an accommodation with the emperor. He offered likewise his mediation on this occasion; but Christian answered, that as he had ambassadors in Ghent, he would square his conduct by the accounts he should receive from them. A negotiation in the end was set on foot; but after much altercation, the breach seemed rather wider than before; and both the emperor and governante declared to the German princes, that they had made overtures the most reasonable, which Christian rejected; while the Danish monarch on the other side made similar complaints and protestations.

Nor were the differences between Denmark and Sweden more easily terminated. Their mutual interests kept them united; yet did they live in a state of perpetual enmity and defiance. Gustavus, unsatisfied with the acquisition of a kingdom dismembered, thought of nothing but re-uniting it; while Christian, on his side, could not altogether forget his claim to the crown of Sweden. Frequent congresses were held; but they all concluded in nothing more than fixing the sum due to Gustavus by the Danish monarch, and the time of payment. As the Swedish monarch thought himself hardly used in the reduction of this sum far below his expectation, he made new claims, which frustrated the effects of all former agreements, prolonged the negotiations, and at last occasioned their breaking up without establishing a coalition, or even tolerably reconciling the parties to each other. At last the two princes had an interview, which terminated happily in a peace for five years, during which time they were to decide all their disputes, except

Peace concluded between Denmark and Norway.

except what regarded the island of Gothland. It was believed that this affair required more time, as the case was intricate, and many documents were to be examined on both sides, in support of their several claims. It would indeed have been extremely impolitic in the northern princes to quarrel, at a time when the emperor was lying in wait for such an advantage, in order to seize upon the crowns of the three kingdoms, as it evidently appeared was his design. Christian II. had made it an article in the marriage-contract with the emperor's sister, that his crown should devolve upon Charles, should he die without issue male; and his supporting the elector Palatine was nothing more than a previous step to farther declarations. The ambition of Charles V. grew up with his power: he schemed universal monarchy, and Gustavus and Christian had every thing to fear from his abilities. This consideration kept them united, and obliged them to look round for other alliances, the more securely to fortify themselves against all attacks on the side of Germany. Accordingly a treaty was concluded with Francis I. king of France, whom they looked upon as the most convenient ally, on account of his courage, his animosity to Charles, and the powerful diversions which his situation enabled him to make in their favour. In this treaty of alliance, Christian promised to deny the passage of the Sound to all the enemies of France.

Treaty between Denmark and France.

Notwithstanding Christian found himself strengthened by these alliances, he continued his negotiations for a peace with the princess-governante of the Netherlands, and the Hamburgers used their utmost endeavours to mediate an accommodation; but the princess demanding the free passage of the Sound for the Hollanders, the conference was broke off, and all the ships and merchandize of the Hamburgers seized in the ports of the Netherlands, under pretence of that city's being subject to Holstein, and consequently to Denmark. This action was, therefore, looked upon as a just retaliation for the ravages committed by general Menard round Groningen. Immediately after an edict was published, whereby all the subjects of the Netherlands were permitted to cruise upon the Danes. The sea was covered with privateers, who exercised the utmost cruelty on the prisoners they made. Christian repelled these attacks by giving the same licence to his subjects; and thus a sort of piratical war was carried on, without any open declaration of a rupture between the princess-governante and his Danish majesty.

A.D. 1542.

The governante of the Low Countries declares war on Denmark.

In the mean time an insurrection appeared in the province of Smalandia, which obliged Gustavus to have recourse to

Rebellion in Sweden.

Denmark

Denmark for assistance against the rebels. Christian readily sent him a sum of money, and a body of infantry, commanded by Eric Banner and Holger Rosencrantz, by means of whose valour Gustavus quashed the rebellion more easily than he expected. It was discovered, by intercepted letters, that the elector Palatine, the bishop of Scara, and the other exiles, had fomented this rebellion. Many strangers, charged with letters, were seized in Norway, on their way to Sweden, and all of them sent by the king's order to Gustavus. Christian did more: he ordered his governors to keep strict watch at all the ports, and sent squadrons to cruize along the coasts, to prevent being surpris'd. Nor was all this care merely on account of Gustavus: many of the intercepted letters intimated designs on Denmark, which gave the first intimation of the league between the northern crowns and the protestant princes of Germany.

War between the emperor and northern crowns.

As the war, which now happened between the emperor and the northern crowns, relates chiefly to Sweden, we shall not here enter upon the particulars of it. Almost all the attempts of the elector Palatine were made on that side: the emperor's edicts were published against Gustavus in particular, and Denmark had little share in these transactions, otherwise than as the ally of the Swedish monarch, interested also to preserve the ballance of power, and prevent the house of Austria from growing too potent. Towards the close of the year 1543, Christian indeed published a manifesto, declaring, that he had repeatedly sought to terminate his differences with the emperor amicably, but without being able to obtain equitable terms; that he had been for several years kept in a state of irksome suspense, not knowing whether he was to expect peace or war, whether he was to enjoy the friendship of the house of Austria, or to prepare for the defence of his crown and kingdom against their ambitious designs; that his intention in seizing on the Flemish ships in the Sound, was to draw the court of Brussels to an open declaration either of peace or war; but as this measure had not produced the desired effect, he would now exert the means given him by Providence to secure his people, and obtain his own just demands. Immediately after the publication of this manifesto, he sent a squadron of forty ships to sea, on board which he embarked ten thousand land forces. This formidable armament was destined against the Netherlands; but it was dispersed in a storm, that frustrated the whole project.

A.D. 1544.

Peace with the Netherlands.

After this transaction we read of no preparations against the Flemings, nor any hostilities committed between them and Denmark. On the contrary, a general peace was restored

stored this year to Denmark by a treaty entered into with the court of Brussels, whereby the Flemings were permitted the passage of the Sound, and freely to navigate the Baltic. Soon after this, another treaty of peace was signed at Spiers, between the emperor on the one hand, and Christian on the other, whereby each renounced all alliance contrary to the interest of the other.

Christian, finding himself now in the quiet possession of his crown, in peace with all foreign powers, in alliance with his neighbours, and sovereign of the hearts of his subjects, all in consequence of his own courage, perseverance, and prudence, turned his attention to domestic affairs. He began with dismembering his dominions, in order to provide for his brothers. With the princes John and Adolphus he shared Holstein, leaving it to some future occasion to make provision for Frederic. It was contrary to an act, passed on Frederic's accession, ever to separate Sleswick or Holstein from the crown. The many inconveniences, the wars, and bloodshed, consequent to the investiture of Sleswick by Olaus, had determined the diet to this act. All the world was astonished at this dismemberment: the states exclaimed against a measure so contrary to law, and so pernicious in effect; but Christian's tender regard for his brothers overbalanced every motive of policy. He persuaded himself, that he had sufficiently adhered to the above act by explaining away its meaning, and substituting a perpetual union of government between the duchies and the crown; that they should be separate in particular rights and privileges, but combined by the strongest and most indissoluble ties of amity, interest, and friendship. We shall have occasion to speak more particularly of this union, confirmed and explained in a treaty between Christian IV. and Frederic, duke of Holstein-Gottorp, in the year 1623; sufficient it is to observe in this place, that though the measure was in itself inconsistent with sound policy, yet was it attended with no bad consequence for a long time, as the union remained inviolate for the space of one hundred and fifty years.

Nothing material occurs in the history of this country before the year 1546, when Christian II. renounced, in the most solemn manner, all right and claim to the crowns of Denmark and Norway, excluding likewise his heirs and successors from all pretensions to the succession. He acknowledged the elections of Frederic and Christian III. to be legal: he ceded all claim to the duchies of Sleswick, Holstein, and Stormar, together with the privilege obtained from the emperor of rendering it unnecessary to receive

Christian disunites Holstein and Sleswick from the crown.

A. D. 1546.

Christian II. renounces all claim to the crown of Denmark.

ceive the investiture of Holstein at the hands of the archbishop of Lubeck. Finally, he solemnly promised never to act secretly or openly to the prejudice of Christian or the dukes of Holstein; never to go out of the fortrefs of Callemburg, but with the king's consent; or hold conversation with any stranger but in presence of the governor of the citadel. He was allowed the privilege of hunting and fishing within the jurisdiction of Callemburg; and a handsome appointment was settled upon him, and certain other privileges, in consequence of the treaty concluded with the emperor at Spire.

Every thing succeeded to Christian's wish; and he was now one of the happiest and most prosperous princes in Europe, without any thing of consequence to disturb him either at home or abroad, unless we except an act passed in Sweden, out of the great regard the people had for Gustavus. By this the crown was made hereditary in favour not only of the lineal, but of the collateral descendants of Gustavus; an act that wholly destroyed the very being of the union of Calmar, and for ever excluded Christian and the family of Oldenburg. The Danish monarch, finding there was no remedy, determined however to make some public declaration of his right. Accordingly he ordered money to be coined bearing three crowns, which are the arms of Sweden, thereby intimating his right to the throne of that kingdom. Gustavus immediately complained of this affront; but he could obtain no redress from a prince who could not forget his pretensions, and whose heart was elated with the success that had ever attended all his enterprizes: he therefore chose rather to stifle his resentment than enter upon a war, the event of which was at best uncertain, and might be destructive to himself and his posterity.

A.D. 1547.

At this period duke Frederic, eldest son of Christian, was crowned king of Denmark and Norway, the succession being settled by a decree of the diet in his person. At the same diet warm disputes arose, whether their ancient privileges of trading to Denmark should be continued to the Vandal cities. Many persons were for excluding these cities, on account of the part they had taken in the late war against Denmark; while others as strenuously insisted, that this was punishing themselves in order to be revenged on their enemies, as the subjects of Denmark must grow poorer in proportion to the diminution and decrease of their commerce. At last the question was carried in the affirmative, and these cities were confirmed in all the privileges they ever enjoyed.

The

The remainder of Christian's reign affords no transactions that can make any figure in history. Denmark enjoyed the most profound repose, the happy fruits of that love of peace and justice which constituted the shining part of Christian's character. It is true he was intrepid, valiant, and fond of glory; yet his regard for the good of his subjects made him suppress every dictate of ambition, and even refuse any addition to his dominions, which he said were extensive enough for any prince who would reign conscientiously. We shall close the reign of this most exemplary prince with observing, that he was equally the father of all his subjects and of his own family; a glorious eulogy acquired, after a reign of twenty-four years. He died on the 1st of January, 1558, and was bewailed by his people as their common father, friend, and benefactor °.

*Conclusion
of Christi-
an's reign.*

*His cha-
racter.*

S E C T. XV.

*The History of Denmark continued, during the Reigns of
Frederic II. and Christian IV.*

F R E D E R I C II.

FREDERIC II. the son and successor of Christian III. was of a disposition very similar to that of his father, whom he imitated also in his conduct. The first years of both reigns passed amidst the din of war. Both fought with great courage and military ability; but, laying down their arms, they greatly exalted the character of the warrior by adding that of able statesmen, who knew how to render their people powerful and happy.

Soon after his accession Frederic took up arms against the Dithmarsians, who had grown insolent after the defeat of king John, and refused all obedience to the kings of Denmark or the dukes of Holstein. But the chief occasion of the war was the following incident. Duke Adolphus, who resided for some years at the court of Charles V. was one day rallied at table about the defeat one of his ancestors had received from a handful of peasants. The reproach touched him so sensibly, that he resolved, on his return, to make war on the Dithmarsians, and to revenge at any price the indignity put on his predecessors. This design he was just ready to execute, when the late king, from his natural love of peace, put a stop to his operations.

*He con-
quers the
Dithmar-
sians*

° Vide Auct. citat. ibid.

No sooner was Christian removed by death, than Adolphus resumed his design. He communicated his plan to count Daniel Rantzaw, and bestowed commissions on the principal officers he thought of employing. But his proceedings could not be kept so secret as not to be soon known at the court of Copenhagen, where they gave umbrage. Immediately Adolphus proposed an interview with the young king at Nottorp, to confer on matters of the highest importance; and the king came to the place appointed at the head of five hundred horse, accompanied by his uncle prince John. Here Adolphus laid before them his whole project, which they approved. It was determined among the three princes, that each should bear his proportion of the expence, and furnish a certain number of troops; and that the king should, besides, order a fleet to block the enemy up on the side of the river Elbe.

Having concerted the plan of operations, they separated, in order to prepare for the execution; and all things being got in readiness, the whole army was reviewed at Habenwestede, and marched from thence directly into the enemy's country. Crantzius, in his account of this war, takes notice of a declaration which the princes drew up and published three days before they entered Dithmarsh. It set forth, that as the Dithmarshians were not only obstinate in refusing obedience to their lawful sovereigns, but wantonly cruel in punishing their subjects, the king and dukes, no longer able to tolerate such excesses, had at length resolved to take arms, and reduce the rebels to their duty. With this view, therefore, they declared war, according to the military laws; and desired they would either prepare to defend themselves, or submit to what should be demanded of them ^p.

The herald pitched on to carry this declaration to the enemy, for a long time refused to take charge of the commission, as he knew the violence and fury of that people, but he happened to be a criminal, already condemned to death, who chose running the hazard rather than undergoing the punishment of the law, which they threatened to inflict if he disobeyed. Fixing the declaration, with the royal and ducal seals, on a white staff, he entered the town of Heida, where the forty-eight magistrates happened to be that day engaged in business. He presented the declaration to one of them, whose face was known to him. As soon as it was perceived to be a declaration of war, the people were inflamed with the utmost rage: they insisted

on the immediate death of the herald; but the magistrates, who had some remains of the feelings of humanity, saved his life by concealing him, until the first ebullitions of passion were subsided. They returned a letter to the king, couched indeed in terms full of respect, but denying his sovereignty. They affirmed, that they had been subject to the archbishop of Bremen for upwards of four hundred years: they expressed their astonishment at the warlike preparations, and the declaration of war against them, without having first formally remonstrated, and demanded satisfaction, in a manner contrary to equity and their right signed and sealed by a great number of his majesty's ancestors and predecessors, even in direct violation of the Golden Bull itself. They concluded their letter with blaming his majesty for not citing them before a tribunal of justice, at which they should ever be ready to appear; and with a very pathetic prayer, that God would turn his majesty's heart from the bloody resolution he had taken of exterminating them, their wives, children, and widows, to the more godlike virtue of being a peace-maker; a virtue which gained his royal sire the noblest of appellations, that of father of his country.

Notwithstanding these remonstrances, the army continued its march, attacked the city Meldorp, and carried it by assault, after a vigorous resistance. Next the confederates proceeded to Heida, where a bloody and decisive battle was fought. Duke Adolphus, who was wounded, returned three times to the charge: the last dispute was particularly sharp and obstinate; but fortune at length declared against the brave Dithmarsians, who were broke and cut in pieces. Such however of them as escaped out of the field, rallied in the fens and marshes, but could never again make head against the conquerors: they had therefore recourse to supplications, and sent deputies to the Danish camp, who obtained a truce; during which all the magistrates of the country were to repair to the head-quarters, to receive such conditions of peace as the king should think fit to impose. These imported, that the Dithmarsians should do homage to the kings of Denmark and dukes of Holstein, and henceforward acknowledge them their sovereigns; that they should restore all the standards and trophies taken from king John, and his brother Frédéric, duke of Holstein; that they should reimburse the king and duke the expences of the war, which amounted to six hundred thousand ducats; that the princes should have liberty to build three forts in certain parts of the country; that all the forts lately erected by the Dithmarsians should be

A.D. 1559.

crazed ; with a number of other conditions, hard indeed upon the vanquished, but moderate with respect to the conquerors. These terms were delivered in writing to the magistrates, his majesty thinking it unnecessary to wait for their answer, as the day appointed for his coronation was approaching. The care of concluding the peace he left to John Rantzaw, in whose prudence and fidelity he was sensible he might confide.

It may be worth while to dwell a little upon the ceremonies of servitude through which this brave people were obliged to pass. Rantzaw gave them no longer than three days to put in their answer to the conditions proposed by the king ; and they returned within the time, promising an entire submission, provided a few particular articles were softened, and rendered more tolerable to a free people who had never before stooped their necks to submission. Rantzaw complied with their request ; then the deputies, in the name of their whole nation, signed the peace and acknowledged the king of Denmark and duke of Holstein, their heirs and successors, the true and lawful sovereigns of Dithmarsh ; the princes on their side promising to govern them with equity, and defend them, as their subjects, against all their enemies.

The 20th of June was the day appointed for performing the ceremony of homage. On this occasion the whole nation, without distinction of age, assembled in the morning in the neighbourhood of Heida. They surrendered their cannon and small arms, which were carried to Meldorp ; they asked pardon for their rebellion in presence of the duke of Holstein and the Danish lords, who were charged with powers from his majesty ; and they took an oath of obedience to the three princes. The order of that ceremony was as follows : the princes, Rantzaw, and the counsellors of the king and dukes, were placed in the middle of the assembly ; around them were the brave Dithmarshians on their knees, their heads uncovered, and the whole surrounded by a circle of armed men, which threw them into great consternation (A). Next they presented

† Crantz, *ibid.*

(A) One of their priests, Rantzaw, who overheard him looking on the ground, said, in Latin, to his neighbour, “ I see we are to be made the sacrifice of our own simplicity and Danish perfidy.” “ No,” says Rantzaw, who overheard him “ you are to be instances of the king’s clemency, who never breaks the word he has given (†).”

(†) Crantz, *lib. ii.*

the hostages required in security of their good behaviour ; upon which they were dismissed, and the Danish army evacuated the country. Thus the warlike Dithmarsians, who for so many ages had intrepidly defended their liberties against all the attacks of their neighbours, were at last reduced under the obedience of the dukes of Holstein in less than a month ^r.

In the course of this year ambassadors arrived at Copenhagen from the Swedish king, demanding a passport for their master through the Danish dominions to England, where he proposed to marry queen Elizabeth^s. This demand was granted ; but Frederic refused to hear their complaints with respect to his bearing the Swedish arms, and several other particulars, which, at the interview between Christian III. and Gustavus, were put off for the space of fifty years. They did not insist upon their demands, which were only the prelude to more open declarations, lest they should give Frederic a suspicion of the designs of the Swedish cabinet. The more effectually to deceive him, a perpetual peace was signed between the two crowns in the following year, though the fresh remonstrances made about Frederic's quartering the Swedish arm's gave room for suspicion that this treaty would be but of short duration. Scarce were the Swedish ambassadors gone before an embassy arrived from Russia and Poland, requiring his majesty to enter into a league with them against Eric, king of Sweden.

A.D. 1561.

Coldness between the kings of Denmark and Sweden.

Eric was at this time proclaiming the peace between him and Denmark. On advice, however, of the embassies, which had arrived at Copenhagen, he dispatched a faithful envoy to the czar of Muscovy, offering to form an alliance with him against Poland ; but the project miscarried. He wanted to break the confederacy which he saw forming against him ; and was greatly surprised to find that Frederic had declined giving any answer to the propositions made by the courts of Moscow and Cracow, until he had first sounded his intentions by one of his council. Frederic had indeed sent Caustitz Ulefeld to Stockholm with this view, and likewise to remove any suspicions which Eric might entertain respecting the embassies. Ulefeld conducted himself like a true politician : he assured Eric of his master's inviolable regard to the late treaty between them ; and insinuated himself so artfully into the confidence of the Swedish monarch, that all his doubts vanished ; and he reposed so much in Frederic's promises, that he demanded a

^r Vide *ibid.* p. 16.

^s Des Roches, tom. v. p. 37.

*Frederic
arrests the
Swedish
ambassa-
dors.*

safe convoy through his dominions for ambassadors he proposed sending into Germany.

The intention of this embassy excited the jealousy of Frederic; and he accordingly ordered the Swedish ministers to be seized, and all their papers examined; a step which might be looked upon as the first direct signal of war, amidst all the friendly professions of the two kings. Both sides immediately prepared for war; and the first hostilities commenced about the beginning of the year 1563. The provinces of Halland and Bleking, but especially the isle of Gothland, Frederic's pretensions to the Swedish crown, and the money lent by Gustavus to Christian III. were the real causes of this war; though various other pretexts were used by both sides. A rivalry in commerce and power, and some advantages which Frederic had gained in Finland, during the late invasion of that province by the Muscovites, all contributed in producing a rupture^u.

*He forms
an alliance
with Lu-
bec.*

The city of Lubec did not fail to embrace this occasion of revenging themselves on Sweden, for the many restrictions laid on their trade. They sent ambassadors to Copenhagen, concluded a treaty with the king, and joined his fleet with a squadron. Soon after the fleets of the two kingdoms met, and an engagement ensued; in which the Danes were worsted, and their admiral, John Brockenhusen, made prisoner.

*The Danish
fleet de-
feated.*

Notwithstanding the first designs were broached in the Swedish cabinet, and the advantage gained lately by Eric's fleet; yet was he deterred from the war by the vast preparations he saw in Denmark, and the formidable alliance concluded between Frederick, the czar, and king of Poland, not to mention the city of Lubec, and several of the Hanse Towns. No sooner had the prince of Hesse and elector of Saxony offered their mediation than he dispatched John Gyllensliern, and his secretary, Knulsen, to Copenhagen, to complain of the attack made on his fleet in time of full peace, to protest against this infraction of the late treaty, to offer an exchange of prisoners, and endeavour to terminate all the differences between the two nations in an amicable manner. But little satisfaction was to be expected from Frederic; who had now in pay an army of thirty-eight thousand infantry, a considerable body of horse, and a strong fleet, besides the Lubec squadron. The ambassadors returned without having obtained any redress, or even any answer to their remonstrances; and they

^u Puffend. tom. v. p. 123. Chytræi Chron. p. 104.

were soon followed by a herald, whom Frederic sent to declare war at Stockholm against Eric. It would be difficult to decide who was the aggressor. Eric's ambitious designs first excited Frederic's jealousy, and made him arrest his ambassadors, contrary to the faith of the safe-conduct granted them. The Danish admiral next attacked the Swedish fleet, and was defeated, before any declaration of war. Eric then desired to terminate their disputes amicably; but the Danish monarch was now too deeply engaged to admit of any decision, but that made by the sword. Such was the beginning of a war that continued for the space of nine years.

Eric desires peace, which Frederick refuses.

Frederic took the field, and encamped before Elfsburg, the garrison of which he endeavoured to gain over by presents and promises; but meeting with no success, he left troops to besiege it, and entered with the main body into West Gothland, where he committed terrible ravages; while his fleet subjected the poor inhabitants of Oeland to all the horrors of war. He did every thing in his power to draw Eric on to a battle; but that prince contented himself with encamping advantageously, and harrassing the Danish army with his detachments. As soon as the town of Elfsburg surrendered, Frederic placed a strong garrison in it, and finished his operations for the campaign, the severity of the approaching winter obliging him to put his troops in quarters.

A.D. 1563.

Frederick takes Elfsburg.

The winter was employed in negotiations for a peace, set on foot by the prince of Hesse and elector of Saxony. A congress was appointed, at which ambassadors from almost all the German princes and northern powers attended; but it came to nothing, as no commissioners on the part of Sweden appeared. Eric, in his turn, had no inclination to peace. His army was now equal, if not superior to Frederic's; his fleet was formidable, and he resolved to try the issue of another campaign. He soon had reason to repent of this resolution: his admiral was defeated, and above half his fleet destroyed by the Danes and Lubeckers. Eric endeavoured to revenge this disgrace by a descent which he made on Norway, where he took Drontheim, and the citadel of Steenwyckholm. The Swedish writers say it was only a detachment from Eric's army that entered Norway; and this is the more probable from the facility with which the viceroy drove them out, on receiving a small reinforcement from Denmark.

A.D. 1564.

Congress appointed; but Eric now declines peace.

His fleet defeated.

Frederic sent deputies to the Hanse Towns, requiring of them not to supply Sweden with military stores; but he

received no other answer than that, as he had begun a war without any apparent necessity, the Hanse Towns were certainly at liberty to profit by it. The king was irritated at this reply: he knew that Sweden, deprived of this commerce, would soon sink under the weight of a war that required such fleets and armies. He resolved therefore to compel Stralsund in particular, from whence Eric drew the greater part of all his stores, to submit to his purposes. With this view he gave orders for a squadron to cruise, for the whole year, within sight of that city. The project succeeded, until Eric ordered a squadron of forty-eight ships of war to fall upon the Danes. The action was hot and bloody; and the Danish admiral behaved so well, that, though greatly inferior in number and strength of ships, he brought off his whole squadron with inconsiderable loss, maintaining a running fight, and bearing the brunt of the battle with his own ship, until all the others were out of danger. He took shelter in Gripswald, whither the Swedish admiral would have pursued him; but the duke of Pomerania, who was perfectly neutral, prevented him, disarmed the Danish ships, and kept possession of them until the end of the war.

*The
Swedes
masters at
sea.*

*A bloody
engage-
ment.*

For a little time the Swedish admiral scoured the sea with impunity, and took several prizes in sight of Copenhagen, before the Danish grand fleet was ready to put to sea. At last the Lubec admiral having joined it, both set sail in quest of the enemy, with whom they fell in, between Wismar and Rostock. Here an engagement began, which continued with the utmost fury for three days, both sides seeming determined to perish or conquer. Incredible acts of valour are related of the Lubec and Danish admirals by their historians; and Swedish writers are no less liberal in their praises of their own countrymen. On one side they assert, that the Danish admiral was taken on the third day of the battle, after having lost about five hundred men of the crew of his own ship; and on the other, it is not denied but he withdrew from the engagement. Certain indeed it is, that the Swedes remained masters at sea for the remainder of the year, and made a descent on the island Mona, from whence they carried off great booty.

While the fleets were thus employed on the ocean, the two kings, at the head of their armies, overflowed the land with blood, and waged a most cruel war. Towns were sacked, burnt, and the inhabitants put to the sword; whole provinces were laid desolate, and every sentiment of humanity seemed lost amidst the horrid tumult of ambition
and

and war. Eric invaded Schonen and Bleking, where he committed dreadful ravages; and these were retaliated by Frederic, who carried all before him, like a whirlwind, in Smalandia. The Swedes laid siege to Elfsburg, and the Danes obliged them to raise it; upon which Eric vented his rage against Waldeburg. After having given the first assault, he retired to West Gothland to wait the event of the siege, which he left to be carried on by his generals; a resolution that greatly hurt his reputation, and gave his subjects room to call his courage in question. Duke Charles then conducted the siege with such vigour, that, after an obstinate assault for five hours, the town and citadel surrendered; upon which the army marched off to join the king.

On their retreat the Danes laid siege to the place, with intention to recover it before the fortifications should be repaired. This motion drew on a battle between the two armies, at which Eric commanded in person. He had marched to the relief of Wardeburg, and Daniel Rantzaw, having advice of his approach, quitted his lines to give him battle. His majesty confiding in numbers, left an advantageous post which he possessed, charged the Danes in a narrow pass, where he could not extend his flanks, and was defeated with the loss of seven thousand men, together with all his artillery; a victory that cost the Danes exceedingly dear, and left them little to boast, except the glory of having kept the field. Besides a great number of private men and officers, no less than fifty noblemen of distinction were slain, and scarce a great family in Denmark but mourned for the loss of a son, husband, brother, or near relation.

A. D. 1565.
Eric's army defeated.

The war became so bloody, that most of the neighbouring powers offered their good offices to accommodate matters, and even the emperor wrote to the kings, exhorting them to put an end to their quarrel, which would soon bring ruin on both kingdoms, if pursued with such animosity. All remonstrances on this head were vain; neither prince had yet satiated his ambition or resentment, and it was determined by both to prosecute the war for another campaign, which might possibly produce something decisive. They did so; but the success was doubtful. Denmark was

A. D. 1566.

rudely handled by sea, and Sweden defeated by land; but the loss of the former was owing to a furious tempest, and of the latter to an epidemical disorder in the army. The two fleets engaged on the coast of Oeland; but were separated by a storm that drove the Danish admiral and seven of the largest ships on the rocks, with the loss of nine thousand

The Danish fleet suffers in a storm.

sand men (A); whereas the enemy escaped and got safe into port, all except one ship which foundered at sea.

Notwithstanding the contagious distemper that reigned in the Swedish army, Eric laid siege to Helmstadt, and effected a breach in the wall; upon which the garrison demanded a parley, and obtained a suspension of arms for three days, to deliberate on the conditions of surrender. The garrison made use of this delay to acquaint the Danish general of their situation, who immediately marched to give battle to Eric, and obliged him to raise the siege rather than hazard an engagement with superior forces.

*Eric in-
wades Nor-
way, and
is defeated,*

Eric's credulity was the occasion of another considerable advantage to Denmark. One Ennon Brurock arrived at his camp, and passed for a person of the first distinction in Norway. He persuaded the king that the Norwegians, tired of the Danish yoke, had determined to revolt, and sent him to treat with his majesty about the crown of that kingdom. Eric lent an attentive ear to the Norwegian's soothing discourse, and determined to support the people by a powerful diversion in favour of their insurrection. Accordingly he ordered a large body of troops to file off and march for Norway, through unfrequented paths, in order to avoid giving the alarm, or falling in with the Danish forces. This march was perhaps one of the most arduous that had ever been attempted, through thick forests and craggy mountains. At length however the detachment arrived in the country of Hedemarch, took the fortrefs of Hammerhusz, continued their route, and laid siege to Aggerhus; but were forced to remain idle before the walls for want of artillery. When their cannon arrived they began to batter in breach; but it was then too late; the Danish forces were assembled, and on their march so secretly and expeditiously, that they attacked the besiegers who were quite unprepared, drove them from their works, slew a great number, and obliged the rest to save themselves in the forest. In this manner ended the expedition into Norway, and the military operations of the year, which upon the whole seemed to terminate rather to the advantage of king Frederic, as he experienced no other losses than those which his admiral sustained in combating the elements.

(A) From this and a number of other circumstances, we may conclude, that the Danes either built their ships very large, or crowded them with men. In one place we read of a ship that mounted two hundred pieces of cannon.

This

This year a dispute arose between the king and the dukes of Holstein, about the duchy of Sleswick, that eternal bone of contention when dismembered from the crown. His majesty insisted that the dukes were in all respects his vassals; and they on the contrary affirmed, that Sleswick was given them as a free and hereditary duchy. Many conferences were held on the subject; but nothing was decided before the year 1580, when it was agreed that his majesty should, within the space of a year and day, invest Adolphus, the surviving brother, with the duchy of Sleswick as an hereditary fief, and that he should in return take an oath of allegiance, and do homage as a true vassal.

A.D. 1567.

*Dispute
about Sles-
wick.*

While Sweden was torn with domestic factions, a Danish army, commanded by Daniel Rantzaw, entered the province of Smalandia, and ravaged it with fire and sword. Then he passed by Helweden to West Gothland, where he reduced the town of Wadstena to ashes. Lindkoping, Sunderkoping, and many other cities suffered the same fate before the Swedish army could be drawn together in one body. At length however Eric committed the charge of his army to Peter Brahé and Hogenschild Bielke, with orders to oppose the farther progress of the enemy. They marched accordingly to Norby, and encamped in a post covered on three sides by the river, and on the fourth by marshes and woody ground. The strength of this situation lulled them into a fatal security; they were surprised at day-break by the vigilant Rantzaw, who attacked them with incredible fury, and obtained a complete victory, with very little loss on his own side. The Danes got prodigious booty, a great number of prisoners, and all the cannon and stores of the enemy; after which success Rantzaw proposed returning to Denmark: but king Eric in person determined to oppose him with a considerable army under his command, marching with that view to Ebefio, through which the Danes were to pass. By a forced march however Rantzaw got before him, defeated Bielke a second time, who lay in ambush in Filshult, to revenge his defeat at Norby, and took him prisoner, together with Steen Banner, another officer of distinction. Rantzaw then marched along the coasts over the ice, and at last arrived in Denmark, loaded with spoils and covered with glory.

A.D. 1568.

*Swedes
defeated.*

The civil wars breaking out again in Sweden, prevented the return of the Danish army in the spring. Duke John, and the king's other brothers, who were at the head of the rebellion, dispatched an envoy to Copenhagen, to demand a truce for six months, on terms so advantageous to Frederic, that he consented. So strenuously had the malcon-

tents

*Peace with
Sweden.*

tents exerted themselves during this respite, that they deposed Eric, placed his brother John on the throne, and sent ambassadors to Denmark to procure a prolongation of the truce, or if possible to conclude a solid peace. Accordingly terms were signed at Roschild, as advantageous to Frederic as they were burthensome and oppressive to Sweden. Among other articles it was stipulated, that John should pay the Danish troops for the whole time of the truce; that he should restore all the Danish ships which had been taken during the course of the war; that he should surrender Jemptland, Oesel, Sonneberg, Lealla, Hapsal, Lode, and Warberg, and cede all claim to Norway, the isle of Gothland, Schonen, Halland, and Bleking. It was likewise agreed, that Frederick should be suffered to quarter the arms of Sweden; and that John should pay to the city of Lubec the old debt due from Gustavus, and indemnify the regency for their losses in the course of the war.

A.D. 1569.

*The war
renewed.*

It was not possible that a peace so injurious to Sweden could be of long duration. It was immediately pretended there, that the ambassadors had exceeded their instructions; for that reason they were ill received at their return, and the whole nation determined rather to prosecute the war than ratify so oppressive a treaty. John made fresh overtures, and Frederic refused all new propositions. Accordingly the war was renewed, with more animosity than ever. Wardeberg was besieged by the Danes, and stoutly defended by the garrison, but at length forced to surrender, after the brave Rantzaw had lost his life before it. The Swedes invaded Schonen, and the Danes carried desolation and all the horrors of war into West Gothland. However, as these expeditions produced nothing decisive, and were equally ruinous to both nations, Frederick consented to the negotiations proposed, and the means of establishing peace on a solid and lasting foundation.

A.D. 1570.

*Duke of
Holstein
chosen king
of Livonia.*

While the treaty of peace was in agitation, Livonia determined to throw off its allegiance to the Muscovites, Poles, and Swedes, all of whom had claims upon this province. The design of the inhabitants was to put themselves under the protection of the duke of Holstein, who should take the title of king of Livonia. They had always expressed great affection for the Germans, and now promised themselves a golden age, under a sovereign of that country. The notion was perfectly agreeable to the duke's ambition; his nephew the king of Denmark not only confirmed him in these sentiments, but sent an ambassador to the czar to treat seriously of the affair. The embassy succeeded;

Magnus

Magnus duke of Holstein visited the court of Moscow, was received there with all the honours due to majesty, acknowledged king of Livonia, on condition that he paid a certain tribute to the czar; and it was farther agreed, that it should remain hereditary in the male line of his family, or in failure of issue, devolve on the duke of Holstein or king of Denmark for the time being, and never revert to the czar. Immediately the Muscovites and Danes joined to drive the Swedes out of the country; and the former immediately laid siege to Revel. This circumstance it was that induced John to hasten the peace with Denmark. He saw himself pressed on the one side by the czar, and on the other by Frederic. He sent instructions therefore to his ambassadors immediately to sign a treaty with Denmark, on the best conditions they could obtain. The chief articles agreed on by both sides were, that John should resign all pretensions to Norway, Schonen, Halland, Bleking, Jemtland, and Hermdallen; that the Danes should restore Elfsburg on one hand, and the Swedes make restitution of eight ships which they had taken, on the other; that his Swedish majesty should pay to Frederic the sum of one hundred and fifty thousand crowns, to indemnify him in the expences of a standing army kept during the truce concluded with him, while he was only duke; and that the affairs of Livonia, and his Danish majesty's bearing the arms of Sweden, should be deferred to a future occasion. Their majesties, to render this peace the more durable, subjected the party who should infringe it, to a penalty of a million of gold.

*Peace with
Sweden.*

Frederic did not content himself with having procured an advantageous and solid peace to his subjects; he laboured to insure their happiness by establishing the succession. With this view he married the princess Sophia, daughter of Ulric duke of Mecklenburg. The ceremony of his nuptials were performed at Copenhagen; besides which nothing considerable occurred for this or the preceding year, except the death of Dorothea, widow of Christian III. and the great dispute between the duke of Holstein and town of Hamburg, which does not immediately fall in with this part of our history, though the Danish monarch bore a considerable share in that business. We cannot however avoid taking notice of a quarrel between the duke of Mecklenburg and city of Hamburg, which obliged Frederic to equip a fleet, that blocked up Rostock by sea, while the duke's forces besieged it by land; and likewise to seize upon all the merchantmen. But this affair was soon terminated,

A. D. 1572.

nated, and Livonia remained alone the cause why Frederic did not enjoy profound peace.

A.D. 1575.

Frederic kept a lieutenant in Livonia, and the czar maintained an army, who committed horrible cruelties. Differences arose between the generals; the king remonstrated, and the czar excused himself, without redressing the complaints. Matters were at last carried pretty high; but his Danish majesty chose rather to terminate the dispute by negotiations than enter upon a war with this rude and potent nation.

A.D. 1583.

Quarrel between Frederic and the commercial states.

From this time to the year 1582, nothing memorable occurred, unless we reckon a solemn embassy from England, with the order of the Garter sent by queen Elizabeth to his Danish majesty, a transaction worth recording. It was the year following that several commercial powers began to complain of the duties exacted in the Sound. The English, Dutch, Lubeckers, and all the Hanse Towns, remonstrated against this exaction, as arbitrary and a discouragement to trade. The Hanse Towns carried their grievances before the emperor; and the king, to shew that he did not acknowledge the imperial authority, ordered the duties on all their ships to be doubled; a punishment which, however, was but of short duration. On their submission he revoked those last instructions, and put the Lubec traders on the same footing as other nations. Policy led him to this condescension; for he had formed a design of reducing Rostock; and his apprehension lest the Lubeckers might interpose, determined him upon keeping measures with them.

In the course of this year the duchy of Courland reverted to the crown of Denmark, by the death of Magnus, duke of Holstein, without issue. It occasioned disputes between the king of Poland and his Danish majesty, which both consented to leave to the arbitration of George Frederic, duke of Prussia. This politic prince turned the negotiation to his own advantage. He proposed, that the duchy in dispute should remain in his hands; that his Danish majesty would rest satisfied with the sum of thirty thousand Joachims, paid to him as an equivalent; and that his Polish majesty should acquiesce in the duchy's being left in trust with the duke of Prussia. He succeeded in all, and in this manner became possessed of a province which fairly belonged to the crown of Denmark; the only instance perhaps where Frederic was over-reached in politics. This year it was that a treaty of marriage was set on foot between the young king of Scotland, James VI. and a princess of Denmark, which had been traversed a long time

A.D. 1588.

time by the intrigues of queen Elizabeth. Several other embassies on various occasions arrived at Copenhagen, which shew nothing more than that his Danish majesty began to interest himself more in the politics of Europe than his predecessors had done. Frederic had, indeed, for several years, preserved his kingdom in peace, rendered his commerce flourishing, and his counsels respectable. In the year 1558 he was attacked by a distemper, which daily increased, and at last carried him off, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and-twenty-ninth of his reign.

*His death
and cha-
racter.*

Frederic was a prince respected at least as much as any of his predecessors. To an undaunted courage, deep penetration, and great stability of sentiment, he joined a magnificence that cast a lustre on all his actions; nor was he less remarkably distinguished for the qualities of the heart. His great tenderness and affection for his subjects gained their love, and his abilities secured their esteem. He always expressed the utmost regard to justice, and even directed his conduct by the dictates of equity. He avoided war merely to free his country from the consequent troubles, and because his ability in the cabinet procured all the advantages he could expect from the sword. In a word, his public and private character equally merit admiration, and to be transmitted as an example to posterity, how much the conduct of an individual can influence the counsels, not only of one nation, but of all the neighbouring powers, secure the felicity of kingdoms, and bestow the blessings of peace and tranquillity upon millions, whose well-being depends upon the wisdom of their governors *.

C H R I S T I A N IV.

IMMEDIATELY after the interment of Frederic, his son Christian IV. then but eleven years of age, was proclaimed king of Denmark and Norway, and four regents were appointed to hold the reins of government during his minority. As the kingdom had for several years enjoyed profound peace, the regency was in no danger of being now disturbed with the noise and tumults of war; and it greatly increased their security, that the domestic factions in Sweden prevented that nation from resuming the affair of Livonia, and other subjects which had long been the occasion of differences between the two crowns.

* Vide Chytræi Chron. passim. Puffend. Hist. lib. i. p. 2. Des Roch. tom. v. sub. Vit. Fred. Loc. Hist. sub. hoc Reg. cum multis aliis.

For several years the chief care of the regency was to attend to the education of the young monarch, whose promising qualities every day unfolded themselves to the great joy of his subjects. Masters were procured in all the different accomplishments of mind and body, from Germany, France, England, and the politest courts in Europe. Christian more than answered expectation; he not only was able to answer all the ambassadors in their several languages, but to write out instructions with his own hand to his ministers, at an age when other princes receive praise for writing a common letter of compliment. He was perfectly skilled in all the manly exercises, and took great delight in exhibiting his adroitness to the people. In a word, when he arrived at a proper age to take upon him the weight of government, he perfectly understood the true interest of his subjects, and directed all his views to promote this end. Nor did he confine his politics wholly to the good of Denmark; he extended them to distant countries, and laboured assiduously to establish the peace of Europe, in order to stop the rapid progress of the Turks. In the year 1596 he married Anna Catharina, daughter to the elector of Brandenburg, which is the only occurrence in the Danish annals that merits notice, until about the year 1608, when a coldness began to discover itself between the monarchs of Denmark and Sweden.

A.D. 1609. Christian could not forget that his ancestors had formerly worn the crown of Sweden; and Charles IV. beheld with uneasiness so many fair provinces, which he looked upon as fiefs of his crown, in the hands of the king of Denmark. This mutual jealousy occasioned reciprocal complaints and upbraidings, which at last terminated in a war; for which both parties were prepared with specious pretexts. Charles had assumed the title of king of Lapland, which gave great offence to Frederic, who looked upon that country as a dependence on Norway. In all his declarations against Sweden this was mentioned as a principal grievance, and used as one of the strongest reasons for the war that ensued in the year 1611, and begun by the siege of Calmar. His Danish majesty sat down with a powerful army before this city in the month of May, attacked it with great vigour, and was received with equal courage. Batteries of heavy cannon were erected and played with so much success, that a breach was effected on the 27th, upon which the town was stormed, taken, and the inhabitants, without distinction of age or sex, were put to the sword.

*War between
Denmark
and Swe-
den.*

The city was no sooner taken than Christian invested the citadel, which he besieged for two months, during which time a variety of transactions passed between the two nations. His Danish majesty had left the command of the army to Lucas Crabbe, and was gone to Copenhagen but a few days, when Charles, with an army of sixteen thousand men, encamped at a little distance from Calmar, offered battle, fought and defeated the Danish general, and raised the siege. His success here was soon followed by the surprisal of Christianstadt, the loss of which town gave a sensible uneasiness to the Danish monarch.

The Danes defeated.

Christian soon retrieved his losses by several little advantages by sea and land gained over the enemy, which so inspired his army, that the siege of the citadel of Calmar was resumed, and the garrison forced to surrender. It was supposed indeed, that the Swedish governor was corrupted, as he wanted neither men, ammunition, nor provision, when the capitulation was signed. Borkholm, and the isle of Oeland, yielded soon after to the Danish arms; and so many other advantages followed, that Charles, incensed at the reiterated disgraces he had sustained, sent a challenge to Christian, in terms the most opprobrious he could devise. This the Danish monarch declined with an air of contempt, which is supposed to have shortened the days of his Swedish majesty, by increasing a malady with which he had for some time been afflicted^z.

The king of Sweden challenges Christian to single combat.

On the accession of the great Gustavus Adolphus to the throne of Sweden, fortune would seem to have forsaken Christian. There appeared an immediate change in the face of affairs; the Danes were chased out of Oeland and Berkholm, and their army was reduced to such straits, that the soldiers disbanded of themselves, and left their officers to oppose the enemy.

Happily for Christian the Swedish king was greatly embarrassed with the Muscovites, a circumstance which prevented his giving his whole attention to the war with Denmark. He made use of this favourable opportunity, retrieved in some measure the honour of his arms, and, after several little advantages, was enabled to conclude a peace upon equal terms, through the mediation of the king of England, about the year 1613. By this peace he restored the city of Calmar, the isle of Oeland, and fortress of Risby, but retained Elfsburg, until his Swedish majesty should redeem it, by paying a million of crowns stipulated in the treaty.

A.D. 1613.

Peace with Sweden.

^z Puffend. lib. i.

During the late war the duties of the Sound had been greatly augmented, and the Dutch and Hanse Towns waited with impatience for a peace, which they were in hopes would reduce them to the old standard. Finding, however, their expectations disappointed, they remonstrated earnestly to the court of Denmark; and the Lubeckers in particular carried their complaints before the emperor. Finding that his imperial majesty declined interfering, they entered into a league with the Hollanders in defence of the freedom of navigation, which produced a treaty of alliance between the courts of Copenhagen and Madrid. Upon this occasion remonstrances grew warmer, and every thing was tending to an open rupture, when Frederic, to avoid the consequences of a war with a republic now grown formidable, consented to lessen the duties, out of the great friendship and respect which he bore to the states of Holland.

A.D. 1614.

For some time Denmark enjoyed perfect tranquillity, and Christian gave such attention and encouragement to trade, that the commerce carried on by his subjects began to excite the jealousy of the neighbouring powers. Gustavus grew apprehensive that prosperity and wealth would excite Christian to fresh enterprizes against Sweden, while he was encumbered by a war with Russia. To prevent a rupture, which could not fail of proving inconvenient at this time, he assiduously cultivated the friendship of the Danish monarch, and even proceeded so far in his advances as to demand an interview, which was granted, on the frontiers ^b.

At this meeting the two monarchs expressed the utmost esteem for each other; Gustavus paid the money stipulated by the last treaty, and Christian restored Elfsburg.

A.D. 1621.

No ambitious sentiments, no jealousy or resentment against any neighbouring power, destroyed the peace of Denmark for a series of years. Under a wise monarch, who knew how to make the most of every advantage, she enjoyed all the felicity that peace and good government could give. At length; however, the affairs of the empire began to mix with the counsels of his Danish majesty, and he soon found himself plunged into an alliance that was productive of great misery to his dominions. At the town of Sigeberg, in the year 1621, a treaty of alliance was concluded between their Britannic, Danish, and Swedish majesties; the electors Palatine and Brandenburg; the dukes of Holstein, Lunenburg, Brunswick, Mecklenburg, and Pomerania; the states general of Holland, and

^b Puffend. lib. i. p. 2.

all the Protestant princes in Lower Saxony. The object of this league was the relief of the elector-Palatine, whom they agreed to furnish with twenty thousand foot and six thousand horse, to drive Spinola out of his dominions. His Danish majesty was charged by the league with sending a magnificent embassy to Vienna, to beseech the emperor to revoke the imperial ban, fulminated against the elector Palatine, and to restore that prince to all his honours and dignities, as the only means of re-establishing the peace of the empire. To the same purpose he wrote a letter to Spinola, requiring him to withdraw his forces out of the Palatinate.

Near two years were consumed in negotiations in favour of this unhappy prince, when Christian, perceiving that nothing was to be expected from embassies, determined to use force, and restore the elector by dint of arms (A). He was chosen head of the league, and captain-general of the forces of Lower Saxony, where troops were levied with all possible expedition. Count Tilly, the imperial general, wrote to the princes and states of the Lower Circle, exhorting them to remain firm in their obedience to the emperor; and his Danish majesty answered this letter, and other remonstrances of the imperial court, by a writing addressed to the emperor, declaring his reasons for taking arms. The banks of the Weser became the theatre of war, and the rendezvous of four great armies. The operations of the campaign have been already recorded in our History of the Empire. Sufficient it is to observe, that the king received a wound in the head by a fall from his horse; that he distinguished his military abilities in covering Neenbourg, which was then besieged by Tilly, greatly distressed the besiegers, and plentifully supplied his own army and the garrison with all manner of provisions. Tilly was forced to raise the siege; the king sent detachments to harass his rear; but the count being joined by Wallenstein, turned the scales, cut off all the out-parties of the army of the league, and particularly that commanded by the brave colonel Obertrand, who was killed:

A.D. 1623:

He is chosen head of the Protestant league.

A. D. 1625:

His military operations in Germany.

(A) This year it was that the new city of Frederickstadt upon the Eyder, was peopled by the fugitive Arminians from the Netherlands, at the invitation of the duke of Holstein. The kings of Denmark and Sweden, seeing the happy consequence of drawing a number of industrious foreigners into their dominions, granted the same privileges at Gluckstadt in Denmark, and Godstadt in Sweden, both which places soon became rich and flourishing:

A.D. 1626.

*Christian
defeated by
Tilly.*

During the last campaign no general engagement happened between the two armies, and the winter was spent in fruitless negotiations of peace. Early in the spring his majesty assembled his army at Rottenburg: it was numerous, and made a fine appearance; but unhappily was composed of new-raised recruits, with whom he was to oppose two veteran armies, commanded by four of the best and most experienced officers in the world. It was therefore wisely determined not to hazard a battle, but to divide the enemy's forces, and carry the war into the heart of their country. A variety of manœuvres was practised by both sides. Mansfeld was defeated by the imperial general Wallestein, and the king at length drawn into an engagement with count Tilly, in which he was equally unfortunate. His infantry was cut in pieces, above half his officers were killed and wounded, two thousand men taken prisoners in Lutter, and the king forced to make a retreat, the most arduous that is recorded in history, with his cavalry.

A.D. 1627.

*The king's
affairs fall
in disorder.*

Notwithstanding the great loss he sustained in this retreat, it afflicted him less than the news he received of count Mansfeld's death, whom he regarded as the right-hand of the Protestant cause. From this time his affairs began to fall into disorder; nor could his utmost diligence, and the exertion of his great abilities, retrieve them. Driven out of all the places he possessed in Lower Saxony, he was pursued into the duchy of Holstein, now become the theatre of war. Tilly was no less successful here than he had been in Saxony; and his conquests were more rapid, as he was now joined by Wallestein, to whom every thing yielded. The Danes were driven from all their posts and fortresses; and of the whole duchy there remained only in the king's hands the towns of Rendsburg and Gluckstadt; to the latter of which he was forced to set fire, after having thrown all the cannon into the sea. Rendsburg met with the same fate; and the imperialists had now nothing to oppose their passage into Jutland.

*He is de-
feated a
second time.*

Christian, incensed at such manifold disgraces, collected his whole force, with a resolution to dispute the farther progress of the enemy; but he was deserted by his men, who were terrified by the very name of Tilly. In this situation the senate began to apprehend a revolution in the kingdom, from the general murmurings of the people. Assembling at Copenhagen, they wrote to the emperor, exhorting him to put an end to the war, and using all the arguments in their power to prevail on him to withdraw

Tilly from Denmark, where he was making terrible ravages. They demanded, as the least favour they could expect from his imperial majesty, from the ancient regard and friendship between the house of Austria and the states of Denmark, that he would grant a suspension of arms in Jutland, in order to negociate a general peace. Finally, they engaged to prevail on his Danish majesty to accept of reasonable terms, and requested that the emperor would send commissioners to any place he would please to appoint, to treat with the king's plenipotentiaries about the means of establishing the public repose, and terminating those differences which occasioned the spilling of so much human blood.

In the situation in which matters then stood, no great success was expected from this advance made by the senate. His majesty therefore made vigorous preparations for war, and renewed the treaties of alliance with England, Sweden, and the states general of the United Provinces. Having received considerable reinforcements from his allies, he fitted out a fleet, put to sea, reduced the isle of Femenen, and made the imperial garrison prisoners; part of whom were cruelly murdered by the peasants of Stormar: he obliged Eckelenfort to surrender, and gained some other advantages, which were counterbalanced by an equal number of towns reduced by the enemy. Colonel Morgan, and the English garrison in Stadt were taken prisoners by the imperialists, who next laid siege to Gluckstadt and Krempe; the former having been repaired after the late fire. Here the garrisons defended themselves with such unparalleled bravery, that the imperialists were forced by the frequent sallies of the besieged to abandon their posts, and raise the siege. Both armies were now divided into a variety of corps, and the king himself carried on the war in Pomerania, where he possessed himself of the isle of Usedom, and city of Wolgast; he raised works round the latter, in which he was attacked by the imperialists, and defeated, after a bloody engagement that lasted seven hours. In consequence of this action, Wolgast and Usedom fell into the enemy's hands; the siege of Gluckstadt was resumed by Papenheim; Stralsund was blocked up by another body of the enemy's troops, and the imperialists were superior in every country where the war was carried on.

Tired out with a tedious and consuming war, both sides at length became eager for peace; and the first propositions were made by the four Catholic electors. They sent deputies to the imperial court, requesting his majesty to send commissioners to Lubec, to meet those of his Danish ma-

A.D. 1628.

*Christian
gains some
advan-
tages.*

*Proposals
for peace.*

*Peace con-
cluded.*

jeſty, and the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg. The emperor complied with their requeſt; but the terms he granted ſeemed ſo exorbitant and unreaſonable to the Daniſh miniſters, that they threatened to break off the negotiation, if conditions more equitable could not be obtained. This ſpirit in the Daniſh envoys had the deſired effect; freſh inſtructions were ſent to the imperial commiſſioners, and a peace was concluded on theſe conditions: that his majeſty ſhould never interfere, otherwiſe than as ſuperior of Holſtein; that he himſelf and ſucceſſors ſhould renounce all claim on the archbiſhopricks and biſhopricks of the empire; that all cities, towns, and forts, taken from his Daniſh majeſty during the courſe of the war, together with the cannon, &c. ſhould be reſtored; that the priſoners ſhould be mutually releaſed without ranſom; and finally, that his Daniſh majeſty ſhould cede to the houſes of Slefwick and Holſtein Gottorp the iſle of Femeren, and thoſe parts of the iſlands of Warde and Sulde which fell to them by hereditary right, reſerving to himſelf the right of ſuperior, as inherent in the crown of Denmark^c.

A.D. 1629.

— These conditions the king reſuſed to ratify; they were returned for amendment; and after having received ſome ſlight alteration, were ſigned on the 7th of May, 1629. Peace was in this manner concluded; but the public tranquillity was by no means reſtored. Chriſtian interceded with the emperor in behalf of the dukes of Mecklenburg; he remonſtrated ſtrongly in their favour, and publiſhed a ſpirited manifeſto, juſtifying the conduct of thoſe princes with reſpect to the affairs of Lower Saxony; but he could obtain no conditions for them, unleſs he ſtipulated not to moleſt the duke of Holſtein, againſt whom he bore a mortal grudge, on account of his taking part with the imperialiſts in the late war. His reſentment went ſo far as to engage him to commence hoſtilities in Holſtein, inſtead of withdrawing his army from that country, as the emperor had done. The flames of war were ready again to break out, when his majeſty perceiving the diſcontent that prevailed among his ſubjects, dropt the quarrel, and applied his attention to repairing the diſorders occaſioned by the war in his dominions. He began with re-eſtabliſhing the city Gluckſtadt, which had greatly ſuffered by the variety of fortune ſuſtained in the courſe of the war, and was in a manner depopulated by the length of the laſt ſiege. With this view he beſtowed upon it a great number of important

^c Thuan. Hiſt. lib. viii. Puffend. Rer. Suec. Hiſt. lib. i. Lettres de Seckend. p. 29.

privileges, and imposed duties on all the ships that passed the Elbe, to establish a fund for its aggrandisement.

This measure occasioned a difference with the city of *A.D. 1630.*
Hamburg, which apprehended a prejudice to her commerce from these duties, however moderate. The magistrates sent ambassadors to Denmark, complaining that their ships were arrested at Gluckstadt, for not paying a new duty, which could not be imposed without the emperor's consent. Their remonstrances were answered; both sides grew warm, and hostilities insensibly commenced. The cities of Lubec and Bremen interposed their mediation, but could not effect an accommodation; his majesty was determined not to remit the duty; and the city of Hamburg was no less resolute in the refusal to pay it. At length war was formally declared, and all the shipping belonging to Hamburg seized in the ports of Denmark and Norway. The Hamburgers retaliated by taking some Danish ships at sea; each refused to make restitution, and thus the repeated endeavours of the regency of Lubec to accommodate matters were baffled.

Difference with the city of Hamburg.

In the mean time his Danish majesty gave orders to his fleet, consisting of thirty-six ships of war, to enter the Elbe. The Hamburgers opposed the entrance of the Danish admiral with twenty-two men of war, six fireships, and twenty smaller vessels; on board of which were two thousand land-forces. For some days the fleets anchored in sight of each other, then they drew nearer, and began a furious cannonading. Christian at last joined his fleet, and resolving to push up to the city of Hamburg, he proceeded to erect a fort on the banks of the river, with intention to facilitate his operations, and distress the city. This attempt produced an engagement, which terminated to the king's advantage, the enemy being forced to retire higher up the river.

Hostilities commenced at Hamburg.

Christian was prevented from prosecuting his resentment against Hamburg, on account of a jealousy between him and the court of Sweden, which ended in a war. The Hamburg war was entirely dropt, from the time that the princes of Lower Saxony met in that city to deliberate on the means of throwing off the imperial yoke, and taking part with king Gustavus, whose rapid conquests pointed him out as the surest protector. Christian could not behold, without envy, the aggrandizement of this prince; and was particularly jealous at seeing him raised to the honour of being set at the head of the Protestant league, over which he himself presided in the last war. However, an exterior of friendship was preserved; the two kings ex-

Jealousies renewed between Sweden and Denmark.

pressed the utmost esteem for each other, but in terms of cold civility, that denoted but little sincerity in their professions. The sparks of mutual jealousy were artfully blown up by the courts of Vienna and Brussels, which desired nothing more eagerly than a rupture between the northern crowns. Denmark they knew was capable of making a powerful diversion, and drawing off the attention of Gustavus from the war in the empire. Pappenheim was employed to kindle the fire of sedition; and he very artfully managed the temper of his Danish majesty. Finding that he could not long keep his ground in the diocese of Bremen, he offered to put it into Christian's hands. The states of Denmark met to deliberate on these propositions; all the nobility were for rejecting Pappenheim's offers; they saw through his meaning, and sent an embassy to Sweden to renew the friendship between the two crowns.

A.D. 1632.

In this manner was the rupture between the northern crowns postponed, only to light up the subsequent war with more fury. The astonishing success of Gustavus's conquests in Germany, induced Christian to offer his mediation to terminate the differences between his imperial majesty and the king of Sweden; his proposal was embraced with pleasure by the court of Vienna, who were at that very time apprised by Wallenstein, that the Swedish camp was inaccessible, the king's forces formidable, his conduct admirable, and no probability of forcing him. However, Christian's mediation ended in nothing. The court of Vienna was not yet sufficiently humbled, to grant such terms as the great soul of Gustavus could receive. His Danish majesty, it was thought, shewed a sort of bias to the court of Vienna, that gave umbrage to the Swedish monarch; but it was the death of the archbishop of Bremen that first produced any thing like an open rupture between the two crowns. Frederic, son to the king of Denmark, and co-adjutor of the late archbishop, intended to seize this opportunity of gaining possession of Stade, Buckstade, and other places held by the Swedes. It was not the business of Sweden to embroil herself at that time with a neighbouring power; still, however, the regency held out a good countenance, and kept their ground until the defeat of the elector of Saxony, the duke of Lunenburg, and the imperial army, ruined the project of driving the Swedes out of Germany, and obliged Frederic to drop his design.]

Christian offers his mediation to restore peace to Germany.

A.D. 1637.

Another scheme still more difficult of execution was formed by Christian, which was the more immediate occasion of a rupture with Sweden. He had, conjointly with Spain and the duke of Holstein, planned a scheme for ruin-

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ing the Dutch commerce, and at the same time conquering Sweden; a scheme so vast and romantic, that it is astonishing it should ever have entered the brain of a prince so solid and judicious as Christian. He was to begin with Sweden, which, once subdued, it would be no difficult matter to destroy the Dutch traffic in the Baltic. One Brokman, a German, who had resided long in Spain, had likewise given in a project for ruining the trade of the United Provinces to the Levant, by opening an immediate intercourse with Persia, by means of the rivers falling into the Baltic, and avoiding the circuit of the Sound, by cutting a canal through that neck of land belonging to Holstein, which separates the Baltic from the ocean. The duke of Holstein was full of the notion, and actually sent an embassy to the court of Persia. The czar was applied to for liberty to pass through his country, and ten tons of gold were offered him, as an inducement; the canal was actually set about; the Germans laughed at the extravagance of the notion, and the chancellor Oxenstiern, in Sweden, said no more than that the duke, who was a prudent prince, must certainly have some designs extremely mysterious.

A vast and chimerical project formed by Christian.

Christian, under various pretences, assembled an army in order to perform his part of the contract. He likewise got a fleet ready to put to sea on the first notice, but took the utmost care not to excite suspicions in the neighbouring powers. Spain embarked a great number of troops, who were to pass the Sound, and join the Danes before Stockholm; but unhappily the whole scheme was frustrated by the defeat of his Catholic majesty's fleet in the British channel, by Tromp, the Dutch admiral^d.

Christian's project defeated.

In this manner things remained until the year 1641, when deputies from Vienna, Madrid, Sweden, and Denmark, met at Osnaburg to establish a general peace, which was all at once broke off, by the sudden irruption of the Swedish forces into Denmark. General Torstensson had passed from Lower Saxony to Holstein, where he took Kiel, Ransburg, and the fortress of Rantzaw, three places of great importance. Several other towns shared the same fate; and he even obliged the duke to join him, and deliver into his hands his young son, to be sent as a hostage to the queen, his mistress. All the world was astonished at this procedure, which some thought rash, and all believed highly unjust, as the designs of Christian were not then universally known.

Irruption of the Swedish forces into Denmark, and their rapid conquests.

^d Chytræi Chron. ibid. Puffend. ubi supra.

A.D. 1644.

The grand-mareschal of Jutland opposed the Swedish arms by remonstrances; but finding them ineffectual, he began to make levies, and to secure the frontier by forts, which he threw up in a hurry. These were but weak barriers against Torstenson, who demolished the forts, entered Jutland, levied heavy contributions, and made himself master of the whole country, except Gluckstadt and Krempe. In this manner were hostilities committed, and a bloody war carried on, though neither side attempted to vindicate their conduct by open declarations. At last, however, the court of Sweden thought proper to publish a manifesto, and gave as a reason for her conduct, the clandestine treaty concluded some years before between Spain, Denmark, and the house of Holstein; the duties laid on their shipping in the Sound, contrary to the ancient treaties subsisting between the kingdoms; with a variety of other reasons, which princes never are at a loss for, to justify any act of violence.

The Danish historians allege that, far from effacing, this manifesto rather increased the public opinion of the Swedish queen Christina's injustice, especially when her sophisms were compared with the solid and fair arguments of his Danish majesty. Even the Swedish historians give up this last irruption as unjustifiable, though there were not wanting reasons to vindicate the measure. It was plain from the whole of Christian's conduct before and after the death of the great Gustavus, that he entertained prejudices against the court of Sweden; that he offered his mediation to terminate the differences in Germany; but shewed a partiality for the house of Austria; and that he made preparations to invade Sweden during the confusion consequent on the death of Adolphus, and the first years of the minority of Christina. It is certain, that Christian beheld with a jealous eye the footing the Swedes had got in Pomerania, which proved of the utmost service in extending their commerce; and it was no less certain, that he offered his mediation with a view of obliging them to relinquish all they possessed in Germany, for a sum of money. Upon the whole, instead of reproaching with acrimony this proceeding of the Swedish ministry, as all former historians have done, we cannot help esteeming it a masterly stroke of just reprisal, planned with astonishing secrecy, and executed with admirable rapidity.

On the other hand, we cannot but do justice to the vigilance, activity, and address of Christian, in putting a stop to the farther progress of the enemy. Already in possession of Jutland and Holstein, count Horn was preparing to invade Fionia and Zealand; but was prevented by the condition
into

into which the king put all his fortresses. The viceroy of Sweden had orders to march with six thousand men into Westrogoth; but he was prevented from making this diversion, which would probably have obliged Horn to evacuate Schonen, into which province he had lately made an irruption. His majesty sent detachments to harrafs the Swedish army in Jutland, and equipped a fleet, which took some of the richest Swedish merchantmen; he complained by ambassadors sent to the states of the United Provinces, of the violence committed by Sweden, and demanded succours, but could obtain none.

To complete the measure of his grief, his natural son, count Valdemar, for whom he entertained a very particular affection, was arrested in Russia, whither he had been sent to espouse the czar's daughter. No reason was given for this outrage, besides his refusal to conform to the religion established in that country: but however affected Christian might be with the ruin of his dominions, and imprisonment of his son, he was not disconcerted. On the contrary, he summoned up all his resolution on this occasion, and determined to combat ill fortune by perseverance; diligence, and courage. In spite of his grey hairs, he determined to command in person an expedition against Sweden, which he knew would oblige the Swedes to evacuate his dominions for the defence of their own. Setting sail he arrived before Gottenburg, with a view to besiege it by sea, while a body of forces he had ordered to meet him invested it by land.

Horn no sooner had intelligence of this expedition than he marched with the utmost diligence for the protection of Gottenburg, frustrated the king's design of reducing the city, but did not defeat the rest of his project, that of drawing a part of the Swedish army out of his dominions. The count's army would indeed have been insufficient to save Gottenburg, had not a fleet of thirty Dutch ships appeared off the harbour to assist him. This squadron the Swedes obtained from private persons in Holland, the states refusing to declare against Denmark, though it is probable they connived at these succours. Christian was by this interposition baffled in his attempt on Gottenburg; but he had the good fortune to frustrate the enemy's designs on Fionia. Leaving the greater part of his fleet before Gottenburg, he set sail for Copenhagen, in order to solicit assistance from the emperor, with which he doubted not he should be able to drive the enemy out of Jutland. He sent an envoy to Vienna, and engaged to come to no agreement with Sweden, provided

Count Valdemar arrested in Russia.

Count Horn relieves and raises the siege of Gottenburg.

provided his imperial majesty would send him the promised succours. He added, that he could not avoid entertaining some suspicions of his imperial majesty's sincerity, as these succours had been so long withheld. The embassy had all the effect desired; the emperor ordered count Galas to hasten his march, and took effectual measures for assisting Denmark.

*France
offers her
mediation.*

It was now that the court of France sent the sieur de la Thuillerie to Copenhagen, with instructions to reconcile the two northern crowns. The states general likewise offered their mediation. Both ambassadors had an audience; but the king deferred giving an answer, until he had first engaged the Swedish fleet. Nicholas Fleming, the enemy's admiral, had sailed for Christianpess to consult with Torstenson on their future operations. Thither the king followed him with a squadron of forty-four ships of war, and came in sight at the time when Fleming was busy in landing the troops. It was certainly an omission that he did not attack him in this situation, while the fleet was in confusion; but Christian resolved to take no advantage, suffered him quietly to reembark the forces, and did not give the signal to engage before Fleming had formed the line, and stood out to sea in order of battle. His majesty in the Trinity bore up along-side the Swedish admiral, and began the fight, by a continual fire. The other divisions followed, and a general engagement ensued. Nothing could equal the king's eagerness and presence of mind; he gave orders with coolness in the midst of danger, and exposed his person, without regard to the consequence of his life. A musket bullet wounded him in the right eye, and the ball of a cannon drew blood from his left ear, yet did he remain unconcerned upon deck, and could not be prevailed on to draw out of the line until his ship was disabled by the loss of her top-mast and bowsprit. This accident and his wound gradually cooled the impetuosity of his officers, and furnished the Swedish admiral with an opportunity of retiring under cover of the night to Christianpess, after the engagement had lasted four hours.

*The king
gains an
advantage
over the
Swedish
fleet.*

Christian repaired his ships in the best manner possible, appeared next day before the harbour, and endeavoured to draw the Swedish admiral to a second engagement; but perceiving he was determined to keep close, he landed four hundred men, who took possession of an eminence that commanded the harbour, erected batteries, and from thence played furiously on the enemy's shipping. Fleming was wounded in the knee by a cannon ball, and died in two days,

days. Gustavus Wrangel succeeded to his command, and gaining some advantage over the Danes on shore, was encouraged to offer battle to the king's fleet. This, however, the Danish admiral declined, as his majesty was returned to Copenhagen, and had carried with him a considerable part of the squadron. It was this circumstance that made both nations claim the victory, and so incensed Christian, that he ordered admiral Ghed to be tried by a court-martial, by which he was condemned, and lost his head.

His majesty made fresh remonstrances to the court of Vienna. The emperor had given instructions to general Galas to begin his march, and seemed eager to assist Denmark, yet some obstructions had always interposed. At last, however, the imperial forces arrived on the frontiers of Holstein and Sleswick; but before they entered upon their operations, all parties began to listen to the proposition of the French ambassador, and the preliminaries of the peace of Munster were negotiating. With respect to the particular quarrel between the two northern crowns, the sieur Thuillierie managed the negociation with so much address, that both consented to send commissaries to Bosembroo, to terminate their differences. Both sides, however, raised their pretensions high, and he in vain solicited a suspension of arms, during the sitting of the congress. Happy would it have been for Denmark had he succeeded; for soon after the two fleets met off the island Femeren, and engaged with the utmost acrimony. After a bloody and obstinate action, the Danish admiral, vice-admiral, and twelve ships of war were taken, sunk, and destroyed, and four thousand men killed. Several more were run ashore, or taken, and of the whole Danish fleet, only two ships got safe into port. The victory was not gained without loss on the side of the Swedes; it however raised their courage, and furnished Thuillierie with fresh arguments to urge the king to peace. It was remarkable however that all Christian's proposals and replies tended rather to establish the general peace of Europe, as a mediator, than to terminate his own particular differences with Sweden. In the course of the war he had contracted an irreconcilable enmity to that kingdom, which was increased by his losses, that served only to sour his temper, and whet his courage. Christian was at this time the oldest monarch in Europe, yet his councils were governed by that impetuous ardour which usually accompanies youth. It required all the masterly eloquence and ingenious address of the sieur Thuillierie, to prevail on him to act according to the dictates of prudence and necessity, rather than inclination, which would only have

Danes defeated at sea with prodigious loss.

have made him prolong the war, to the extinction of both monarchies. At last, however, he gave way to the remonstrances of the French minister. He saw his own dominions the theatre of war, and the horrid scene of bloodshed, rapine, and disorder; he saw the tardiness of the imperial court, and that little stress was to be laid on their promises; he saw all the commercial part of Europe ready to combine against him, should he keep up the high customs of the Sound, and yet this was one great resource that enabled him to carry on the war. These considerations at length overcame his resentment, and he gave orders to his ministers at Brosebro to put the last hand to the treaty of peace in agitation.

A.D. 1645.

Peace concluded.

By this treaty Sweden restored all the cities, towns, castles, fortresses, and lands, which had been conquered during the war, in Jutland, Schonen, Halland, Bleking, Borkholm, Holstein, Stormar, Dithmarsh, Fionia, and other parts of the Danish dominions. Christian, on his side, restored to the queen the provinces of Jemptland and Harndalen; the isle of Gothland, with the city and citadel of Wisby, which had for so many ages been a bone of contention between the two kingdoms; the islands and dependent branches of the Baltic, of Oesel and Arnsburg; together with some other places of less consideration. It was farther stipulated, that Sweden should possess the province of Halland, with all its cities, castles, and lands, for the space of thirty years, as a full security of the right of navigation and commerce in the Sound and Great Belt, and of the complete performance of the present treaty.

Such were the hard terms which the necessity of the times obliged Christian to receive. Just before the treaty was signed, a Dutch squadron of forty-eight sail had appeared in the Sound, with intention to join the Swedes; and this it was that obliged his majesty to consent to the last article of the treaty.

A.D. 1647.

Tuillierie was not contented with establishing peace between the two northern crowns: he formed an alliance between the courts of Versailles and Copenhagen, by which the latter was prohibited from affording assistance, directly or indirectly, to the emperor. He next endeavoured to prevail on Christina, queen of Sweden, to relinquish her claim to Bremen, and restore Frederic, the king of Denmark's brother, to that archbishoprick; but her majesty was not in a humour to make any concessions to a prince who, she knew, bore a mortal aversion to Sweden. In the midst of this negociation, and before the public tranquillity was established upon a solid basis, Christian was taken ill of a dis-

a distemper, which acquired great strength in a few days, and carried him off on the 28th of February, 1648, at the age of seventy-one; and in the sixtieth year of his reign. A.D. 1648.

Christian was possessed of admirable qualities of mind and body; but had a vindictive obstinacy of temper, which made him pursue his animosities beyond the dictates of prudence. To his last day he retained all the fire and vehemence of youth, commanded his fleets and armies in person, after he had wore the crown near sixty years; threw himself in the midst of dangers, at an age when the faculties of the mind and body are usually enervated; was to the last jealous and tenacious of the dignity of his crown, and the happiness of his people; though too strict a regard for the former proved all his life an obstruction to the latter. On the whole, however, he was a monarch of an able head, strong arm, extensive capacity, and great magnanimity; qualities unhappily tinged with violent passions, which frequently obscured every ray of understanding, and locked up the exertion of that solid reason with which nature had endowed him ^a (B). *Christian's death and character.*

S E C T. XVI.

Containing the Affairs of Denmark to the Accession of Christian V.

F R E D E R I C III.

DURING the late reign the nobility had greatly extended their privileges, and were now for raising Valdemar to the throne, in prejudice to his brother Frederic, the only legitimate child of the late king Christian. Almost all the king's daughters by his concubines were married to Danish noblemen, who, from this alliance, found means to break through the boundaries of the constitution, to exalt themselves on the ruin of the commons, and gratify their own lust of power at the expence of the royal prerogative. They intended to bestow the crown on Valdemar, because *The Danish nobility extend their privileges.*

^a Vid. Puffend. Hist. passim. Chytræi Chron. p. 206, & seq. lib. citat. in not.

(B) We must not close this prince's character without observing, that he was greatly addicted to venery, and actually divorced his queen to gratify an ambitious mistress: at least the affair was debated in the senate.

they

they expected to make their own terms with him ; and, indeed, before they acknowledged Frederic, they reduced his prerogative within such narrow limits, and the rights of the people into so small a compass, that the one enjoyed no more than the shadow of sovereignty, and the other only the mere skeleton of departed liberty. The nobility alone enjoyed all posts of honour and profit ; while the commons were excluded even from military preferments above the rank of captain. Those haughty lords now refused to pay the usual contributions towards the support of government, and threw the whole weight of taxes on the shoulders of their vassals and inferiors.

The late wars in Germany had destroyed the forces of Denmark ; that with Sweden had ruined the marine of the kingdom ; Norway seemed disposed to assume a republican form of government ; the treasury was exhausted, private fortunes at this period were consumed ; the nobility insolent ; the people humble, but discontented ; all grasped at something, and introduced the utmost confusion.

Such was the state of Denmark when Frederic ascended the throne. He began his reign with concluding a treaty of alliance and redemption with the states general of the United Provinces. By the first, the parties were bound to assist each other with four thousand men, in case either should be attacked ; and by the latter, the Dutch agreed to pay one hundred and fifty thousand florins yearly for the free passage of the Sound, and two hundred thousand rix-dollars in advance at the conclusion of the treaty. Both the ministers and merchants of Denmark complained. The ministry demonstrated, that the revenue lost five hundred thousand livres yearly by this redemption-treaty ; and the merchants dreaded that this loss would fall upon them, as the court would find it necessary to make up the deficiency by other duties. Even the Dutch merchants were not satisfied, with respect to the benefit that would arise from it ; yet did the states and his Danish majesty come to a solemn ratification towards the close of the year 1649, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the court of Sweden, and several commercial cities.

To the disordered state of the kingdom may be added the mutual suspicions entertained by the courts of Copenhagen and Stockholm of designs upon each other. The Swedes had equipped a small squadron upon some secret design, and king Frederic had received embassies from Vienna and Madrid. Both were alarmed : a thousand conjectures were formed, and all of them remote from the truth.

truth. A coldness likewise arose between the king and the grand marshal Ulfeld, whose influence in the kingdom was too great for a subject. A report that this minister had poisoned the late king, seemed to be countenanced by Frederic; and Ulfeld omitted nothing that could render himself more popular, in order to screen him from the king's resentment, and erect a barrier against the royal wrath, which he perceived gathering into a storm that might overwhelm him. Yet, after all, this minister was forced to escape in disguise from Copenhagen, and take shelter under the wing of queen Christina, who protected him, notwithstanding the countenance of friendship she assumed towards Frederic, until some years after he was acknowledged the plenipotentiary of Sweden in the reign of Charles X.

*The grand
marshal
Ulfeld
disgraced.*

At this period, the elector of Brandenburg sent an envoy to Copenhagen, to negotiate a society of commerce and navigation to the East Indies, and particularly the island of Ceylon, between the subjects of Denmark and the electorate. It was proposed that a joint-stock should be raised, two thirds by the king, and the remainder by the elector; and that four large ships should sail in the spring with an ambassador on board, who should remain governor of the settlements they might establish. Sweden beheld with jealousy these negotiations: the remonstrances of the Danish envoy on the affair of Ulfeld increased the uneasiness of that court: Frederic's endeavours to break the late treaty she had made with England, added fresh fuel to the sparks of distrust; and his treaty with Holland almost put the last hand to the breach between the two kingdoms (A).

A.D. 1651.

*Danish
company
established
in the East
Indies.*

A.D. 1652.

We mentioned a treaty of alliance and redemption concluded between Denmark and Holland at the accession of Frederic, in which it was stipulated, that the contracting powers should assist each other with four thousand men, in case of an attack. It was now the business of Holland, who was on the eve of a war with England, to

(A) It was immediately before the treaty with Holland, that the king was informed, from the sieur Chanute, the French resident at Stockholm, of a conspiracy formed to dethrone him (1). Ulfeld was the prime contriver of this plot, which was truly chimerical and romantic, on account of the instruments appointed to conduct it. As it was attended with no consequences, we do not think it worthy of being twice related in a general history. We have mentioned it in Sweden.

(1) Memoires de Chanute, p. 109, & seq.

shew that the latter were the aggressors. This Keiser, the Dutch envoy, did not neglect: he, besides, used all his address in demonstrating the particular interest Denmark had in preventing the ruin of the Dutch marine, and England from growing too formidable by sea; and he concluded with shewing the necessity of his Danish majesty's equipping twenty ships of war, for the security of his coasts and commerce.

Whatever inclination Frederic might have to unite himself closely to the states general, yet he entertained scruples with respect to Keiser's proposals, because he apprehended that Sweden might join with England, and thus a new war be lighted up in the North. He knew that Christina was constantly solicited by Ulfeld to declare war upon his master, and that he had even offered to support part of the expence that would attend a rupture. In a word, he dreaded the effects of that powerful, discontented, violent fugitive, who breathed nothing but vengeance, and had got possession of the queen's ear. Another motive concurred to render him more undetermined on this point: he was desirous of profiting by the emergency in which the United Provinces found themselves at this juncture, and to dispense with the payment of the subsidy due to them, after the declaration of war, according to the former treaty.

He seizes a large fleet of English merchantmen.

By this delay, he gained a still greater advantage, though accidental, and repugnant to the law of nations. An English fleet of twenty-two merchantmen, laden with all kinds of materials for ship-building, were persuaded, by Frederic's insinuations, to put into Copenhagen, in order to avoid the Dutch fleet in the Sound. They had no sooner entered the harbour than the crews were seized, and ships and effects confiscated by the king's order: so violent and unwarrantable a proceeding left Denmark no alternative. The king had incurred the resentment of the English parliament, who made spirited remonstrances on this head by their envoy Bradshaw. He was necessarily obliged to throw himself into the scale of Holland against Cromwell and the parliament. Still, however, he disssembled, and seemed to listen favourably to Bradshaw, in order to excite the jealousy of the Dutch envoy, and obtain the better terms. At length, however, the alliance so much wished for by Holland was finally concluded in the month of February, 1653, by which the king obliged himself to equip a squadron of twenty sail; and the Dutch engaged to pay him a subsidy of one hundred and forty thousand rix dollars. Thus, by sending twenty ships to

sea,

Another treaty with the Dutch.

sea, he not only avoided payment of a yearly subsidy, but received a considerable annual sum from his ally.

Holland drew one very peculiar advantage from this armament, as it prevented the English from importing naval stores from the North; and this, indeed, was the only service the United Provinces drew from the alliance of Denmark. Upon the whole, it must be owned, that Frederic managed this negotiation like a true politician. He deduced several important advantages from it with respect to the Asiatic trade, and obtained considerable sums of money from the states, upon very frivolous grounds^k.

About the year 1654, it was that his majesty and the states of Holland changed their sentiments with respect to the redemption-treaty. Frederic had charged his envoy at the Hague, to offer the abolition of the subsidy; and the merchants of Amsterdam, who by this time were become sensible of the conveniency of a free traffic, refused it. On more mature reflexion, however, they consented. They perceived, that in time of war the commerce with the northern powers was so considerable, that it would be more to their advantage to pay the duties of the Sound than the yearly subsidy. No sooner had they assented to Frederic's proposal, than he retracted, and insisted upon adhering to the treaty of redemption; but the states general represented, that, relying on his royal word given in the person of his ambassador, they had neglected to exact the usual tax from the traders, and consequently the load of the subsidy must fall upon them. This remonstrance had the effect, and the treaty of redemption was annulled.

A.D. 1654.

In the mean time Frederic laboured to engage the queen of Sweden to declare against the English parliament; Christina, however, not only resisted all his solicitations, but exerted her utmost ability to make the king renounce his alliance with Holland. Neither took effect, and the endeavours of both were interrupted by the renewal of their disputes about the grand-mareschal Ulfeld. Her majesty solicited his pardon; and Frederic not only denied her request, but insisted upon his being surrendered, or at least his retracting a bitter libel he had published against him, and asking pardon in a public manner: to neither of which articles Christina would, for a long time, consent. At length, the king drew up a charge against Ulfeld, containing a variety of articles, and among others the embezzlement of a sum of money, which he had ordered to be remitted to Charles II. of England, at that time a fugitive

The object of Frederic's politics.

Disputes with Sweden concerning Ulfeld.

^k Mem. de Chan. p. 126.

in Holland. The queen, for a long time, refused to give credit to this charge; but on Charles's letter to the king of Denmark, affirming, that neither himself, nor any of his court, had received such a remittance, she seemed convinced of Ulfeld's treachery, and promised to abandon him to his fate. Nothing, however, came of this affair. Ulfeld had gained the ascendant over the queen; he either persuaded her that he really was innocent, or she chose to believe him so. Certain it is, that, instead of withdrawing her protection, she grossly affronted the Danish ambassador, who supported with great spirit the dignity of his royal master¹.

A.D. 1655.

*Politics of
Sweden
and Den-
mark.*

Soon after this event, the states of Denmark assembled and publicly acknowledged Christian, the eldest son of Frederic, as his immediate successor on the throne, and performed homage to him in that quality. About this time likewise, Frederic was observed to behold with a jealous eye, the rapid conquests of the young monarch of Sweden in Poland. His jealousy was greatly augmented by an embassy from the United Provinces, representing the danger it would be to the Danish commerce, if Charles X. should possess himself of the coasts of the Baltic, as infallibly he must, should he reduce Livonia, Pomerania, and Prussia. In consequence of the remonstrances of the states general, a fresh alliance was concluded, a fleet of forty sail of Dutch men of war sent to the Baltic, under the command of admiral Opdam, and a resolution taken to frustrate the king of Sweden's design of laying siege to Dantzic, before which city Opdam appeared with his fleet.

Charles knew of what importance it was to avoid a rupture with Denmark, while he was deeply engaged in a war with other powers; he sought, therefore, to cultivate the friendship of his Danish majesty, and sent an ambassador to Copenhagen with that view, as well as to prevent the junction of the Danish and Dutch fleets. But Frederic could not be brought to renounce his engagements to Holland, though he positively denied his entertaining any designs against Sweden. In a word, the embassy ended in nothing; as it was evident, that Frederic only watched the opportunity of attacking his Swedish majesty, when he should be weakened by the war on his hands, in order to recover Halland, and other places ceded by the last treaty.

*A Dutch
fleet ar-
rives in
the Baltic.*

The arrival of the Dutch fleet in the Baltic gave great offence to Charles; his ambassador remonstrated on that

¹ Hist. de Reine Christine, tom. i. p. 197.

lead, but to little purpose : and now a rupture between the two crowns was apparently at no great distance, notwithstanding Frederic sent an ambassador to the Swedish king, at that time in Prussia. The intention of this embassy was indeed no more than to keep up certain appearances with Charles, until the success of his arms should be known ; and the same reason prevented the Danish monarch from joining his fleet immediately with the Dutch squadron.

A. D. 1656.

Upon intelligence of some considerable losses which the Swedish army sustained, Frederic was going to declare openly against Sweden, had he not been embarrassed by the sudden departure of the Dutch fleet from Dantzic, and still more disconcerted by advices, that a treaty was concluded at Elbing, between the king of Sweden and the states general, without the knowledge of M. Van Buiningen, who was envoy from the latter at Copenhagen. Buiningen exclaimed against this method of proceeding ; he sent remonstrances to the states general, couched in the strongest terms, exhorting them to keep firm to their engagements with Denmark, but in vain, for Opdam received positive orders to return to Holland ^m.

*Policy of
Holland.*

Frederic now hesitated whether he should venture to declare war, or wait the effects of Buiningen's remonstrances to the pensioner De Wit. That honest minister still continued to exert his endeavours to maintain the alliance between Holland and the king ; but he gave a different turn to his representations. He now affirmed, that it was the interest of the states general to animate Frederic against the king of Sweden, not only to stop the progress of the latter, but to engross the whole trade of the Baltic, while these two powers were at war. Buiningen was pensioner of Amsterdam, understood the true interest of his country, and was strenuously the friend of commerce. His influence, likewise, among the merchants was so great, that most of them falling in with his opinion, fitted out private ships of war against the Swedes, and excused themselves, by saying they would do the very same for hire against Denmark.

A. D. 1657.

Frederic, now assured that he would be countenanced by Holland, in spite of the treaties the republic had so lately concluded with the king of Sweden, did not hesitate long about declaring war ; but was obliged to go back to the year 1644 for motives to justify his conduct. This resolution was indeed opposed by all grave persons ; but M. de Gersdorf, a Saxon gentleman of an ancient family, who

*Frederic
declares
war a-
gainst
Sweden.*

^m Mem. de Tarlen, *ibid*.

had acquired great credit at court, from the superiority of his genius, and his many important services, at length determined the king. He was farther confirmed by the information of the Dutch ambassador; and all the endeavour of the French minister could not now prevent a rupture. M. Durelle, the Swedish minister, remonstrated against this unprovoked design; but his arguments having no effect he was recalled, and had scarce left Copenhagen before three Swedish prizes were brought into that harbour.

*His army
enters Bre-
men.*

The army took the field under general Bilde, and traversing Holstein, crossed the Elbe, and covered the diocese of Bremen, to which Frederic formed pretensions. The whole diocese was laid under contribution; some towns were taken, and the siege of Stadt was formed. The king, with his fleet, joined by the Dutch private ships of war, set sail at the same for Dantzic; but hearing that Charles Gustavus was in Pomerania, he retired to Copenhagen. Wrangel, the Swedish admiral, defeated a body of Danes in Bremen, and obliged them to retreat to Holstein, with the loss of three thousand men. Most of the officers in the Danish army were natives of Holstein, and consequently desirous of protecting their native country. With that intention this retreat was made against the advice of general Bilde.

*The Danes
driven out
of Bremen.*

*A new
treaty be-
tween
Denmark
and Hol-
land.*

This first disgrace which his arms suffered, convinced Frederic that he must link himself strongly with Holland, if he would either conquer or resist his enemy. In consequence of this conviction, a new treaty of alliance was signed, whereby the parties agreed to assist each other with six thousand men, or, in default of men and ships, with an equivalent sum of money. This measure soon became necessary; for Gustavus was at the head of a numerous army, at the very time that all the world believed his forces were entirely broken in Poland. Immediately he appeared in Holstein, and took four regiments of Danes prisoners of war, after a brave resistance. Itzehoe was laid in ashes, and the Swedish king was preparing to march his army into Jutland; but to this there was an obstruction which he feared was unsurmountable. It was the fortress of Frederics-Odde, defended by six strong bastions, and a numerous garrison. This he attacked; but after having spent some days before the place, he set out for Wismar, and left Wrangel to block up Frederics-Odde with his troops. Wrangel, tired with a tedious blockade, determined to give the assault before he had battered in breach. The attack was made an hour before day in four different quarters, while petards were applied to the gate,

in order to make way for the cavalry. His disposition was excellent, and it was crowned with success. While the garrison was wrapt in sleep, the Swedes scaled the walls, and became, in a few hours, masters of a place that might have withstood the efforts of their whole army for a greater number of months.

*Frederics-
Odde taken
by the
Swedes.*

Had Frederic's prerogative been less restrained, and the army more in his power, intrepid and generous as he was, he would undoubtedly have stopped the progress of the Swedes, and saved Frederics-Odde. Neither Bilde nor the other officers wanted courage or ability, but their experience was not great, and their influence in the army very inconsiderable. On the frontiers, indeed, the Swedes sustained a repulse, and were entirely defeated at Knaro in Halland. At the same time, the Swedish fleet, consisting of twenty-six men of war, and as many merchantmen converted into armed ships, met with the Danish squadron, and offered battle. The Danish admiral, depending on the assistance of Witte Witson, the Dutch admiral, did not decline the engagement. A furious battle was fought, in which the Danes behaved with extraordinary courage. Unsupported by their good allies, they maintained the action against an enemy double in number. The admiral's ship, pierced with five hundred cannon shot, was so shattered, as to quit the line; but the rest of the squadron continued the fight, and obliged the Swedes to put into the port of Wismar. Both sides, indeed, claimed the victory, and neither, perhaps, with sufficient reason, as it was in fact a drawn battle; though the circumstance last mentioned seems to declare the advantage on the side of the Danes.

*Battle be-
tween the
fleets of
Denmark
and Swe-
den.*

Whatever success Frederic's arms had elsewhere, still the loss of Frederics-Odde was a severe blow, which he determined to revenge. M. Roswing was dispatched to the Hague, to prevent the ratification of the treaty of Elbing, and to borrow a million. The commission was delicate; for, on one hand, the Dutch apprehended that the progress of Charles would render him master of the Baltic, to the great prejudice of their commerce; and on the other, they dreaded the imputation of levity and perfidy, if they refused to ratify the treaty. In the mean time they ventured to lend his Danish majesty six hundred thousand livres; but refused to meddle in the affair of the treaty, till they had deliberated more maturely on a point that affected the reputation of the United Provinces.

It was the interest of a great many powers to oppose the aggrandizement of Charles Gustavus. He understood their policy, and resolved by celerity and address to baffle the de-

*Charles
Gustavus
invades
Denmark,
and passes
over the
ice to Ze-
land.*

signs formed to support Denmark. He projected the invasion of Fionia in the winter, before Frederic could draw together a sufficient force to oppose him; and his scheme was greatly forwarded by a hard frost, that rendered transports unnecessary. He set out from Kiel on the 3d of February; and marching over the Little Belt on the ice, was opposed by a strong body of Danes, whom he defeated, after a sharp engagement, and the loss of three regiments, who were drowned by the breaking of the ice. He took Odensee, the capital of the island, reduced Newborg, made an attack on four Danish men of war locked up by the ice, but was repulsed and baffled by the intrepidity of the admiral, and at length formed the perilous and intrepid design of passing over the ice to Zealand; a scheme so novel, so excellently planned and boldly executed, as raised the admiration of all men, and will ever be recorded as one of the most daring attempts ever made in such circumstances. We shall have occasion to dwell upon particulars in the history of Sweden; sufficient it is for our present occasion to observe, that he first arrived in Laaland, and next in Zealand, after having escaped a thousand imminent dangers, and exhibited as many proofs of invincible courage, enterprising genius, a ready execution, and every quality of a great king and commander.

A.D. 1658.

*Proposals
of peace.*

When Charles Gustavus arrived in Zealand, he was met at Warnenburg by Meadows, Cromwell's envoy, and by Gersdorf, Shel, and Mons Hoeuck, with proposals of peace. He appointed the fugitive Ulfeld to treat with them; and it was easy to see, from this circumstance, what terms he expected. Honour required, that Frederic should refuse admitting Ulfeld unto the congress; but his unhappy circumstances obliged him to overlook punctilios, and acknowledge for the plenipotentiary of Sweden, a rebel, who was at this very time intriguing to dethrone his natural sovereign, and seducing the nobility of Copenhagen from their allegiance, by large promises from Charles Gustavus.

While preliminaries respecting this congress were adjusting, the Swedish monarch was marching towards Copenhagen, and arrived within four leagues of that capital, where he halted, to refresh his troops, and deliberate whether he should attempt it by assault. The city was thrown into the utmost consternation; but the king's presence, and exhortations, kept them from desponding. General Krempeu was at the head of a small body of gentlemen, peasants, and sailors. To these he joined about two thousand horse and eight hundred regular infantry, making in the whole a corps of four thousand men, with which he offered to

*Gustavus
resolves to
lay siege to
Copenha-
gen.*

set

set fire to the suburbs, attack the king of Sweden at Keuck, and reduce that place to ashes. Frederic approved of the scheme, and would have commanded the expedition in person, had not the senate resolutely opposed his intention; alleging, that the loss of one battle, and the smallest accident which should happen to his majesty's person, would endanger the whole kingdom. The king's ardour and courage seemed to rise with his misfortunes, and required all the endeavours of the senate to moderate their impetuosity. Certain it is, that vigorous measures, and hazardous strokes, were necessary in the present emergency; and that the king wanted neither conduct to plan, nor courage to execute, any project for the good of his kingdom. He is therefore unjustly blamed for not accepting Krempen's proposal, which was rejected merely by the senate, and highly applauded by the king.

*Frederic's
prepara-
tions to re-
sist him.*

Mean while the negociations went on but slowly. Sweden insisted upon conditions which would have been thought moderate, had he been in possession of Copenhagen, and all the fortresses of the kingdom; and these hard terms were aggravated by the haughty conduct and satirical expressions of Ulfeld. In a word, the Danish ministers refused to accept the conditions proposed, thinking it better to perish after a vigorous resistance, than to stoop to a shameful and ignominious submission. They were besides in hopes, that the rigor of the season would soon ruin the Swedish army, could they have the resolution to resist them but for a short time.

Thus all hopes of accommodation vanished, and Frederic had nothing to rely upon but his own courage and conduct, together with the fidelity and valour of his subjects. The walls of the city were ruinous; it was destitute of provision, ammunition, and every necessary of defence; it was crowded with peasants, who answered no purpose besides that of consuming the scanty stores which remained. The nobility were discontented; they exclaimed against the administration, instead of defending their country, and thought they sufficiently shewed their patriotism by crying out, that the kingdom was sold. Amidst all these disorders, Frederic displayed a spirit of fortitude that was astonishing. He remained intrepid, undaunted, and full of courage. His queen likewise gave proofs of resolution and constancy far beyond her sex. However, on the approach of the Swedish army within sight of the city, and their taking possession of certain posts, which in a manner blocked up the garrison, the nobility became so clamorous, that Frederic was compelled to send M. Gersdorf to Torstrup, where

*The de-
fenceless
state of
Copen-
hagen, and
courage of
Frederic.*

the

the mediators still remained, in order to conclude a peace upon any terms.

Peace concluded.

Gerfsdorf was astonished to find on his arrival, that the Swedes had relinquished some of the most rigid conditions; and the more, when he was made acquainted, that this complaisance was owing to the mediation of Ulfeld. He doubted not, but this nobleman's love for his country returned in full tide, upon observing the low ebb to which it was reduced. At last, after much altercation, peace was actually signed between the two kings, on the 28th day of February; Frederic consenting to cede Halland, Schonen, Bleking, the island of Borkholm, the citadel and fief of Bahus, the feigniory and fief of Drontheim, with all its towns, castles, fortresses, and dependencies.

M. Van Buiningen fired at this treaty; he reproached Meadows, the English envoy, with double dealing; and he complained of M. Gerfsdorf, because, instead of maintaining the treaty between Holland and Denmark, he had, on the contrary, opened an inlet to all foreigners into the Baltic, by consenting that all treaties, contrary to the interest of either king, should be annulled. Gerfsdorf vindicated himself by the plea of necessity, which would not admit of leisure to consult the allies of Denmark; and indeed matters were then at such a crisis, that Frederic's conduct can need no excuse, with respect to the Dutch, if we consider the behaviour of their admiral in the last sea engagement. Van Buiningen perceiving that all his endeavours to break the peace were baffled, thought of an expedient, which he hoped would at least retard, if not wholly prevent its execution. He advised Frederic not to put the king of Sweden in possession of Schonen, till that monarch should have first evacuated Zealand. Frederic approved of the scheme; but it was traversed by the suspicion of the Swedish king, who immediately sent a part of his army to invest Copenhagen.

The war would have again been renewed, and the Dutch ambassador's end fully answered, had not the mediators interposed, and given the strongest assurances of Frederic's intention to perform his contract. Upon these Charles Gustavus wholly changed his sentiments, and from the extreme of distrust, passed suddenly to the other extreme of too much confidence in his enemy. King Frederic had prepared an entertainment for the foreign ministers, at his royal seat of Fredericshurg, whither Gustavus, attended by a small retinue, went, uninvited and unexpected. Such interviews are ever of a delicate nature, and more particularly when the conqueror puts himself in the power of the conquered. Had Frederic arrested him, and obliged him

A. D. 1658.

An interview between the two kings.

to restore all the provinces ceded to Sweden, policy would have approved the perfidy, as a necessary measure, and posterity would regard it as one of those masterly strokes of the cabinet about which few princes would entertain any scruples. But the great soul of Frederic resisted the temptation, and despised the treachery. He disdained any advantages deduced from a breach of honour and hospitality. It is true, indeed, he had formerly given way to a smaller temptation, when he seized the English fleet of merchantmen at Copenhagen; but there are not wanting arguments to palliate his conduct on that occasion. Interviews of this nature seldom occur; and when they do, it never happens but one of the parties is a loser. What, however, was singular in this, was, that all the advantage happened to be on the side of Gustavus, who received new hints by this visit, which laid the foundation of a second war with Denmark. Be this as it will, the princes lived for two days together in the utmost harmony, and parted with all the appearances of a solid esteem and friendship. It was on this occasion that the queen artfully dropt some insinuations to the prejudice of Ulfeld, that made a deep impression upon the mind of Gustavus, and cooled his friendship for that favourite.

Peace was thus concluded, but the Swedish monarch's ambition to injure Denmark rather increased. He had seen the weakness of that kingdom, amidst all the extremes of that hearty welcome and friendship with which Frederic received his visit at Fredericksburg; he observed sentiments of chagrin and a desire of revenge. Certain we are, that the attempt of annexing another crown to that of Sweden, was perfectly agreeable to the lofty notions of Gustavus's capacious mind. It was not difficult to find pretexts for breaking the peace. The treaty of Roschild was replete with errors, and a new congress was appointed at Copenhagen to correct them. He began his design by raising difficulties about the duchy of Holstein, by complaining that Frederic was dilatory in the execution of his contract; although, in fact, he had reason to hasten it, as upon that depended the evacuation of Zealand by the Swedish forces: he insinuated his suspicions, that the king of Denmark was intriguing against him in Holland. In a word, he entered Holstein with intention to prepare the necessary steps to the expedition he meditated; and he made such a variety of marches and countermarches, as puzzled the wit of the most penetrating politicians.

*Cause of
renewing
the war.*

The

The chevalier Terlon, envoy from the king of France, was the first who discovered the design of Gustavus, and acquainted Mons. de Gersdorf with his suspicion. Frederic was astonished at the intelligence, and could scarce be convinced of the truth of it. Great armaments were preparing in Sweden, and just as the troops were embarked, it was given out that the expedition was intended against Prussia. To render his success more secure, and cut off all succours by land from Denmark, Gustavus found it necessary to gain possession of the fortrefs of Rendsburg; but as almost all his army was destined for the siege of Copenhagen, he could contrive no other method than by prevailing on the duke of Holstein to use his influence with the inhabitants and governor to put it into his hands. Charles knew that the garrison was strong, and the governor brave and honest; besieging it therefore with part of his army would be in vain. The duke of Holstein sent a deputation to the governor and inhabitants, and among them was the governor's father. They used all possible arguments, but found the inhabitants, to a man, remained firm in their attachment to Denmark. The governor's answer in particular was, that he would maintain his trust while one stone of the town stood upon another; then fixing his eyes upon his father, who was speaker of the deputation, he said, "I can scarcely persuade myself that you, my dear father, are capable of making me proposals, which I should not have patience to hear from any other. Permit me to tell you, that were you not my parent, I should punish, as it deserves, the insolence of making an attempt upon my honour." The father, struck with his son's generosity, endeavoured to cover his shame by the following answer: "My son, hitherto I have spoke as the faithful subject of the duke my master; but as your father, I declare, that were you weak enough to surrender the trust committed to you at my instance, I should be the first to treat you as a rebel, to renounce and declare you an alien of my blood."

*The brave
conduct of
the gover-
nor of
Rendsburg.*

*Copenhagen
besieged.*

Foiled as Gustavus was in this attempt, he landed his forces on the 17th of August at Korfoor. Immediately he sent count Toot with a detachment to block up the avenues to Copenhagen, and prevent the garrison's receiving succours from the other parts of the island. Toot executed his commission with success, and the king followed him closely, ordering his fleet to block up the city by sea.

Frederic no sooner found himself invested by sea and land, than he sent an embassy to the king of Sweden, complaining

plaining in the bitterest terms of so notorious an infraction of so recent a treaty, almost entirely executed on his part, and offering to give any satisfaction and security with respect to the articles not yet performed; but the embassy was very indifferently received. It is even asserted that Charles would have violated the right of nations, had not Terlon, the French envoy on board his fleet, restrained his impetuosity. His intention was probably no more than to have arrested them, in revenge for the affront Frederic had put on the Swedish ambassador, in ordering him to be confined, and his papers seized; more indeed is insinuated. Terlon even prevailed so far, that he gave them audience, but nothing resulted from this conference besides bitter re- criminations.

Wrangel had now blocked up the harbour of Copenhagen, and taken some ships. On board of one of these was the duke of Lunenburg, who was making a visit to his sister the queen of Denmark, believing that the two crowns were in perfect peace. He was civilly treated by Gustavus, and sent back, escorted by a man of war, to Germany. On the 10th of September the Swedish cavalry and infantry advanced, and took post on the rising-grounds round Copenhagen, while the king still continued at Ringstad.

The Danish nobility resolve to stand by the king.]

By this time Frederic's embassy was returned. He ordered them to report the success of their commission to full council, and then resolved to defend himself to the last extremity. He could muster no more than twelve hundred regulars, and a great number of nobility, who seeing themselves reduced to the same necessity as the rest of the kingdom, determined, as their last resource, to stand and fall by their king. They now cared those they had so lately despised and oppressed; they promised the burghers of Copenhagen a voice in all public deliberations, and liberty to buy lands and lordships, to enjoy them with the same privileges as the gentlemen, and to pay no taxes unless what the nobility shared in their proportion of their burthen. Several other immunities were promised, with a view to encourage them; and it effectually roused the courage and zeal of those brave burghers. They dreaded nothing so much as the change of their sovereign, and being loaded with the taxes they saw imposed on the inhabitants of Schonen, and the provinces which were surrendered to Sweden. Animated by the presence of their sovereign, who rejected the opinion of his council, that he ought to retire to Holland, they determined rather to die in the breach

breach than fly or surrender. It is even said, that the king requested of Gustavus to be made acquainted when he intended to give the assault, that he might find him in person in the breach. The queen, whose noble soul sympathised with the generous resolutions of her king and husband, determined to die with him rather than fall into the hands of a prince who had so perfidiously broke the most solemn treaties (A).

Gustavus believed the reduction of Copenhagen an easy matter, and relied so firmly on the conquest of Denmark, that he had already disposed the government of the kingdom to Wrangel, after he should have razed the capital, in order to bridle the ambition of that general. In imagination he had anticipated a thousand alterations in the government, and proposed removing the capital of his dominions to Schonen, where he intended to fix his royal residence: but the conquest of Denmark formed but a small part of his vast project. He proposed renewing the empire of Alaric; all the northern, and many of the southern and western kingdoms were swallowed up in idea in this comprehensive system.

*Vigilance
of Frederic.*

While Gustavus was indulging himself with these visionary prospects, Frederic was reaping solid advantages from his delay. It was, indeed, a great oversight in the Swedish monarch not to push the attack while the first consternation prevailed among the besieged. They had now reasoned themselves into a cool determined resolution to conquer or die, and beheld with composure those enemies whom but lately they thought of with horror. His majesty had harangued the burghers, and made such an impression on their minds, that all, to a man, desired to be led on, and declared they would live and die with their sovereign; a declaration sufficiently fulfilled by their loyal and generous conduct.

All the time that Gustavus lay inactive, Frederic made dispositions that contributed to the vigorous defence of the city. Among others, he ordered the suburbs to be burnt;

(A) Mons. Terlon relates, that Frederic challenged the Swedish monarch to single combat; to which Gustavus made no other reply than that he always fought at the head of his troops, where, if Frederic was fond of fighting, he would find him in the thickest of the fire, and wherever glory was to be won. But the celebrated Puffendorf, who was present at the siege, questions the truth of this anecdote (1).

(1) Des Roches, Hist. tom. vi. p. 109.

and the back of the citadel, and towards the harbour, to be fortified by a kind of broad vessels called praems. He ordered the ramparts to be strengthened with palisadoes and terraces, and saw all his directions executed. He divided the defence of the city between the soldiers and the burghers, allotting to each their respective provinces; and he mounted all the ramparts with cannon.

Gustavus, on his approach, was astonished to find such alterations in the appearance of the place. When the trenches were opened, and the Swedes began to erect three grand batteries, Frederic disturbed the workmen, by a continual fire from a praem, of forty pieces of heavy cannon. He had erected other praemes in the isle of Amak, which played incessantly on the enemy's trenches, and made it extremely dangerous to enter them. Among many others, the count de la Gardie was slain by a bullet from this battery.

On the 13th of August the besieged made their first sally, drove the Swedes from their posts, and killed great numbers. For several ensuing days both sides made a variety of brisk attacks and sallies. The besiegers attacked and took two Danish frigates which had entered the harbour; while the besieged played so vigorously the cannon on their ramparts, that they dismounted several of the enemy's batteries; a number of other advantages were gained; but the circumstance which retarded the siege, and probably saved Copenhagen, was unexpected, and truly providential. This was the resolution taken in the Swedish camp, to lay siege to the strong fortrefs of Cronenburg at the same time, to prevent the retreat of the army from being cut off, or rather to gain possession of all the treasure of Denmark, which it was supposed was lodged in that citadel, as a place of the greatest security. It is even supposed that the Swedish ministry threw this obstacle in the way, lest, if Gustavus became master of Copenhagen, he would remove the court thither, and render Sweden little more than a province, as it had been during the union of Calmar.

*Cronenburg
taken by
the Swedes.*

Be this as it will, Wrangel was sent with a part of the fleet and army to besiege Cronenburg, and the siege of Copenhagen immediately languished (B). It was three weeks before he made himself master of that fortrefs, during which time Gustavus was too weak to venture upon giving the assault

(B) Wrangel pushed the attack on Cronenburg with the utmost vigour. He threw a multitude of bombs into the fortrefs, that put the garrison into the utmost confusion. He used

assault to the capital. He had now but nine thousand men, and doubted not but the besieged, able to bear arms, exceeded that number. As soon, however, as he was joined by the troops from Cronenburg, he ordered a furious attack to be made towards the west gate, between the pond of St. George and the sea, which covered the besiegers on the right and left; but the Danes behaved with such intrepidity that the attempt was baffled, and great slaughter made among the Swedes. Famine, however, began to weaken the besieged; but this likewise was remedied by Frederic's vigilance, who found means to get a convoy safe into the harbour, while part of the Swedish fleet was cruising for the Dutch squadron.

But the most vigorous action of the whole happened in the isle of Amack, both kings commanding in person. The Swedes had made a sudden descent, plundered, and got possession of the island, and Frederic resolved to drive them out. Gustavus owed his success, in a great measure, to a Danish officer, called Wanderver, whom he obliged to be his guide in his attack on Amack. This officer having afterwards made his escape in the night, arrived in Copenhagen, gave the king an exact account of the Swedish forces in Amack, their disposition, design, and of the arrival of the Dutch fleet at Elsinore, where they only waited for a favourable wind to proceed to Copenhagen, and relieve the city. Lastly, he said that Gustavus intended quitting the island, but would first set the whole on fire. Finally, he advised his majesty to attack the Swedes in their posts on the island, offered to be his conductor, and gave strong assurances of the possibility of taking the king and that part of the Swedish army prisoners.

Frederic immediately called a council, to deliberate whether it was adviseable to follow Wanderver's proposal, and if they might sufficiently confide in his intelligence. At length the sally was resolved on, and Frederic determined to command it in person. He immediately drew out his horse and foot, and having given the proper directions, marched directly towards the enemy. Supported

used a variety of stratagems to make them surrender. Among others, he ordered a general discharge of the cannon and musquetry, as if he had just received the news that Copenhagen had surrendered. Next, he published by a trumpet, that

Denmark had submitted to Gustavus. The garrison began to mutiny, and all the endeavours of the brave governor and officers could not keep them from surrendering on the 26th of September.

by general Gueldenlow and major-general Alfeldt, he attacked the division commanded by Gustavus, and was received with equal vigour and intrepidity. A furious fire was made by both sides, and prodigious slaughter; but the Danes, animated by the presence and example of their monarch, and knowing that honour, property, and life, were all at stake, despised death, pushed on with such firmness as disconcerted the Swedes, broke their lines, put them in confusion, and forced Gustavus, in spite of all his endeavours, to throw himself into his boats, and regain the fleet.

This retreat was not effected without great loss and confusion. The Swedish king would have certainly been taken prisoner, had not the brave officer who attended his person, and commanded the guard, thrown himself and his men in the midst of the Danes, fought till all his people were killed, and then surrendered as soon as he found the king had escaped.

The advantage which resulted from this fall was very considerable, and the whole glory of it was due to the king, who had executed Wanderver's plan with so much intrepidity and conduct. It however afforded a remarkable instance of the little confidence which generals ought to repose in prisoners and deserters; for Wanderver had only served the king of Sweden with a view to seduce him into some capital blunder, which might prove useful to his country.

Next day major Bonkwall arrived with the joyful news, that the Dutch fleet were entering the Sound in their way to Copenhagen. The states had, in spite of all the endeavours of the Swedish resident, given orders to admiral Wasse-naar Opdam, not only to protect the Dutch trade in the Baltic, but to conduct the forces, stipulated by the treaty with the king of Denmark, to fight the Swedish fleet if they offered to oppose him, and to assist Denmark by every method he could contrive. This it was that brought on the famous battle between the two fleets in the Sound, in which both displayed great skill, intrepidity, and undaunted resolution, though it terminated to the disadvantage of the Swedes. Victory, indeed, is to this day disputed; but certain it is, that the Swedish fleet first drew off under the cannon of Landskroon; that Opdam landed a strong reinforcement of men, ammunition, and provision, to which Copenhagen owed its safety, and formed a plan for burning the Swedish squadron, that could not have entered his imagination had he not been victorious in the former engagement. But we shall defer particulars until we can give a minute detail in

The Dutch fleet enter the Sound to relieve Copenhagen.

the History of Sweden, to which it more properly belongs, on account of the share Gustavus had in warding off the last blow meditated by the Dutch admiral.

*Frederic's
allies
march to
his relief.*

Before the battle Gustavus had greatly relaxed in the operations of the siege, having withdrawn his cannon from several batteries and advanced posts. Still, however, he kept the besieged closely blocked up by land. But after the action, he fortified his camp at Crosoon, retired to a greater distance, drew lines to prevent surprizes from the city, took possession of the eminences round Copenhagen, and converted the siege into a blockade, which continued until a peace was signed. In effect, he now thought less of taking Copenhagen than of frustrating the attempts of the allies of Denmark. The elector of Brandenburg had already entered Holstein, and was preparing to pass over to Zealand. First, he went to Asen, where he laid siege to Sanderburgh, the strongest fortress in the island, and took it. Here he likewise made prisoners the Swedish general Klauft, and a corps of six hundred horse and some infantry. He was, however, prevented from pursuing his success by the severity of the weather.

*Several
advantages
gained
over Swe-
den.*

At Borkolm, the inhabitants rose in arms, attacked, and cut in pieces the Swedish garrison. Frederic was so pleased with their loyalty that he conferred some new privileges on the people, and obstinately refused to cede this island when a peace was negotiating. The militia of Norway, under general Wirhwien, had made themselves masters of Drontheim and all that bailliage, after a siege of eleven weeks. Several other advantages were gained by Denmark; but yet the capital was not delivered from the attacks of Gustavus. His Swedish majesty being rid of a powerful enemy,

A.D. 1659.

*The king of
Sweden re-
solves upon
storming
Copen-
hagen.*

by a treaty concluded with the czar of Muscovy in the beginning of the year 1659, and the allies of Denmark uniting against him, determined upon making one general effort to gain Copenhagen, before the frost should enable the elector of Brandenburg to pass over on the ice. Before he came to this resolution of storming the city, he made several feints, and gave a variety of false alarms, in order to put Frederic off his guard, and weary out the garrison with continual watching. He likewise engaged Meadows, Cromwell's envoy, to go to Copenhagen, and by exaggerating the strength of the Swedish army, and the great preparations making to storm the city, to intimidate Frederic: but Ulfeld, who strove to recover the favour of his king, sent intelligence of all that was done in the Swedish camp, and of the intention of Meadows. Certain proposals of peace were made by the English envoy, and re-
jected,

jected, as dishonourable, by Frederic, who demanded fiercely of Meadows, "What sort of prince that must be, who could transmit to posterity his own dishonour under his own hand? The devil himself (added he), shall never force me to that."

In effect, Frederic resolved to stand the assault, and Gustavus prepared every thing for storming the city on the 6th of January. Between six and seven in the evening, the Swedes made a feint for a general attack; but the besieged, apprised of their intention by a signal from some secret friends, kept to their guard without being much alarmed. In the course of that month Gustavus made several other manœuvres of the same nature; but the inhabitants of Copenhagen having every thing in readiness to stand a general assault, paid but little regard to all these menaces.

At last the king finding much time lost, without making any progress in the siege, resolved upon storming the city in good earnest, on the 10th of February. He ordered the soldiers to put shirts over their cloaths, which he imagined would conceal their march, as there was snow on the ground. By this stratagem, they came so near the besieged, as to touch them with their arms before they were perceived, and then began three attacks, all of them equally unsuccessful and intrepid. Steenboek, general of the artillery, commanded the attack on the side of the citadel; and the colonels Dalwig and Ferfer, having forced the first intrenchment, cut down the pallisadoes, leaped into the ditch, and applied their ladders to the walls. Several of the soldiers mounted, notwithstanding a furious fire was made from the besieged; but almost all the officers being slain or wounded, the men lost courage, and all the endeavours of Steenboek could not prevail on them to continue the attack.

*Disposition
of the as-
saults.*

The second attack was conducted with no less vigour, at Christian's-Haven, near the isle of Amack. Here the besieged had broke the ice, and placed barges filled with cannon and mortars, from which they played as from batteries. The Swedes made themselves masters of some of these, and pushed the attack so briskly, that it was apprehended they would succeed on this side; when, happily for the garrison, colonel Smidt was slain, and immediately the ardour of the besiegers abated.

*The
Swedes
repulsed.*

Bannier commanded the third attack; his valour was conspicuous, and more distinguished than that of any other officer; yet such was the obstinate intrepidity of the besieged, that he was taken prisoner, and his corps totally defeated. Day now began to appear, all the attacks failed,

and there was no prospect of forcing the city; Gustavus, therefore, returned to his camp, extremely chagrined with his disappointment. His loss was great and irretrievable, as some of his best officers were killed and taken prisoners.

*Frederic's
intrepid
and vigi-
lant con-
duct.*

As to king Frederic, he was the whole night on horse-back, animating his troops by his presence and example, distributing his orders, and performing every duty of a great king, and vigilant, able commander. Danger seemed to have given nerves to his body, and additional vigour to his mind. He was present every where, and exhibited such proofs of undaunted prowess, as redoubled the courage and loyalty of his subjects, and equally attracted their love and admiration.

This repulse, however mortifying, did not oblige Gustavus to relinquish his design of conquering Denmark. He sent count Waldec to reduce the island of Langland, where that general lost an arm, and was foiled in the attempt. It was, however, subdued soon after by Wrangel and count Horn. At Laaland the Swedes met with the same success^b.

*An English
fleet ar-
rives in the
Baltic.*

In the mean time a fleet, under lord Montague, arrived in the Sound, to watch the motions of the Dutch squadron, which he did so closely, that he prevented Opdam from giving any assistance to Frederic or his allies. The elector of Brandenburg besieged Frederics-Odde, reduced the garrison to great straits, and at last got possession of the fortress, from whence he proposed passing into Fionia, had he not been prevented by contrary winds. This design was afterwards resumed, and the island attacked in three different places at the same time; but the assailants were repulsed by the vigorous measures taken by Pen, the English commodore, who burnt all the boats belonging to the allies, and made four hundred imperialists and six hundred Brandenburgers prisoners.

*France and
England
offer their
mediation.*

Copenhagen was still blocked up, but not so closely as greatly to incommode the inhabitants. A treaty was agreed upon between England and France, by which they mutually engaged in labouring to establish the peace of the North. Holland was solicited to accede to this treaty; and it was at length agreed among the three powers, that they should declare against either of the parties who should reject equitable terms. It was no easy matter, however, to fix the standard of justice where prejudices reigned strongly, and interest on one side or other took deep root. A cautionary clause was therefore inserted, specifying, that should the mediators chance to differ among themselves, all acts

^b Vide Mem. du Cheval. de Terlon, p. 114, et seq.

performed in favour of either of their allies should be deemed acts of hostility to each other. France and England annulled the third article of the treaty of Roschild, whereby the free navigation of the Baltic was refused to foreign powers, and particularly foreign ships of war were prohibited from passing the Sound. A D. 1659.

In consequence of the cautionary clause in the treaty between England, France, and Holland, lord Montague permitted admiral Opdam to enter the harbour of Copenhagen, whereby the siege was raised, and that capital freed from all danger; but he denied Ruyter, the other Dutch admiral, the liberty of joining him. This junction, however, he effected soon after, and wanted to land four thousand men on account of a distemper and scarcity of provision that reigned in the fleet; but Frederic would not permit them to land. Times were now changed, and his capital no longer stood in need of that assistance which they afforded him out of necessity, and solely from a regard to their own interest. In a word, he greatly resented the artful conduct of the states general, and during the negotiation broke out into severe invectives against Holland. Whether it was that the king's bold freedom made some impression on the minds of the Hollanders, or that they found their own interest strongly connected with his, their conduct seemed to take a different turn; and, instead of resenting his acrimony, they more strongly espoused his cause.

The mediators seemed now to incline to the side of Frederic, by insisting upon terms for his interest, of which the victorious monarch of Sweden loudly complained. He exclaimed in particular against England, calling the republic ungrateful to him, and blind to their own interest, for refusing to share with him in the spoils of ruined Denmark. At last the English fleet, on which Gustavus founded his chief hopes, departed, allowing the Dutch the free liberty of acting in favour of Denmark. *Negotiations for a peace.*

Opdam commanded in chief, and De Ruyter conducted a separate squadron under him. The latter, resolving to profit by the departure of the English admiral, sought means to attack the Swedish fleet at Landskroon. He made several attempts to burn four ships moored in the harbour, but failed in each. He then endeavoured to bombard Elsinore and Helsingburgh, but was prevented by contrary winds, on which he returned to Copenhagen, saying, that the elements conspired to compensate to Gustavus the loss of his English allies. By order of the Dutch ambassadors, he undertook several other enterprizes, all of which proved

abortive, although they were contrived with prudence, and executed with the necessary caution and courage. At last it was determined to make a descent upon Fionia. De Ruyter set sail with the Dutch forces on board, after having concerted measures for joining the imperialists and Danes. All arrived off the island on the 8th of November, effected a landing, and pushed their operations with such vigour, that the towns of Odensee and Cartemonde surrendered, and the whole island was in a fair way of being reduced, before Gustavus, at that time in the isle of Falstre, was apprised of the motions of the fleet. The king of Sweden now determined to redeem by celerity and courage, what he had lost by the inactivity of his generals. He sent immediate orders to the prince of Saltzbach to fight the enemy, and dispatched general Steenboek to reinforce him. Steenboek arrived just in time to witness, and bear a part in the defeat and ruin of the Swedes. Both armies engaged, and the imperialists, who led the attack in the center, were repulsed with prodigious loss. The Danish cavalry on the right were not more successful; victory seemed ready to declare every where for the Swedes, when general Schack gave orders to the Hollanders to advance, which they did with so much firmness and intrepidity, that first the right wing of the Swedes was put in confusion and driven off the field; and next the left wing, which had entrenched itself in certain narrow defiles, was attacked. Supported by the Danish cavalry, which had rallied and returned to the charge, the Dutch carried all before them, retook the artillery and baggage that had fallen into the enemy's hands, drove the Swedes into Newburgh, and entirely defeated them with prodigious slaughter. As for the two Swedish generals, they made their escape through woods almost impervious, reached the shore of the other side of the island, and by great rewards engaged a fisherman to carry them to Zealand, whither they went with the dismal tidings of their misfortune.

The Swedes defeated, and forced to evacuate Fionia.

The loss on the side of the Swedes.

The city of Newburgh was immediately besieged and taken, after a vigorous resistance. In this place were found one hundred pieces of cannon, together with a great quantity of ammunition. Eleven regiments of cavalry, the best troops of Sweden, were made prisoners, and incorporated in the confederate army; and of seven thousand Swedes, who began the engagement, there escaped only the two generals, Saltzbach and Steenboek, with a slender retinue of domestics; all the rest being taken or killed in the field, in the pursuit, or in Newburgh. The prisoners amounted to four thousand; and on the side of the allies the loss was

com-

computed at about five hundred slain, including several officers of distinction. After all, this victory was rather glorious to the confederate arms than important to Denmark; the policy of Holland depriving Frederic of all the advantages which naturally resulted from it. It was not the interest of that republic to oppress Sweden, or destroy the ballance of power between the northern crowns. For this reason De Ruyter had orders not to pursue his conquests into Zealand, nor turn the fortune of war too much in favour of Denmark. Frederic was pressing with him to advance towards Copenhagen, and drive the Swedes out of the island; but he positively declared, that the approaching winter rendered it necessary to withdraw the fleet out of the northern seas, to prevent its being locked up by the frost, and exposed to the attempts of the enemy, who would not fail to attack him upon the ice.

*The views
of Holland.*

All this while the negociation went on; and now the Danish commissioners made the restitution of Dröntheim a necessary condition of peace. This was what Gustavus had no mind to grant, as it would in a manner declare him the aggressor, and consequently subject him to other oppressive conditions. He therefore laboured for the means of continuing the war, and retrieving the honour of his arms; for which purpose he assembled the states of Sweden. Hence it was that the Dutch once more found it necessary to alter their politics, and declare openly in favour of Denmark. De Ruyter, of consequence, failed to Copenhagen, and to his vigilance and excellent conduct the Danes owed the safety of that capital, on a third attack of the Swedes, who were repulsed with loss. In a word, every thing tended to the renewal of the war, when, happily for Denmark, the magnanimous Charles Gustavus died.

A.D. 1660.

*Gustavus
dies.*

The mediators thought to profit by this event. They urged king Frederic openly to declare his pacific intentions, and were astonished to hear that generous prince loud in the praises of his greatest enemy, and even lamenting the death of Gustavus with unfeigned marks of sorrow. He seemed averse to taking the advantage which policy required, of the loss of that monarch; and at last told the mediators, that he would let Sweden make the first declaration of her designs. The Swedish commissaries were indeed so forward in terminating a war, which could not but be attended with great inconveniences during a new reign, that peace would soon have been concluded, had not the French and English ambassadors too strenuously espoused the interest of the young king of Sweden. It would be

*Peace
concluded.*

unnecessarily tedious to recite the progress of this negotiation, in which each of the powers endeavoured to gain some particular advantage, at the expence of the others. Sufficient it is to observe, that, after being retarded by a variety of circumstances, a peace was at length concluded; the ambassadors of the different nations waited on the king and queen to felicitate them on this joyful event, which was proclaimed by a general discharge of the small arms and artillery in the Swedish camp, and of the cannon on the ramparts of Copenhagen.

By this peace the strong fortrefs of Cronenburgh, all the Danish islands in the Baltic, and the bailliage of Drontheim, were restored to Frederic; while the island of Rugen, the provinces of Bleking, Halland, and Schonon, were adjudged to Sweden.

*The demands of
the duke of
Holstein.*

Notwithstanding the treaty of peace was now signed and ratified by the parties concerned, its effects were almost destroyed by the pretensions of the duke of Holstein, who sent commissaries to Copenhagen, with the following propositions. 1. That the king should cede his claim to the duke's dominions, as fiefs of his crown; and no more look upon his highness as a vassal of Denmark. 2. That his majesty should cede the bailliage of Swabstide, and other territories specified. 3. That he should surrender the fortrefs of Rendburgh to his highness. 4. That he should abolish the administration of the regency, in the duchies of Holstein and Sleswick. 5. That his majesty should reimburse the duke in the expences of the war, and give sufficient security for the performance of the above articles. These, with a number of other propositions, were rejected, as insolent and exorbitant, by the court of Denmark; but the king of Sweden, who was desirous of binding the duke to his interest, refused to withdraw his forces, before his highness received full satisfaction. Orders were even sent to the Swedish generals to recommence hostilities, in case Frederic should persist in his refusal. Thus the Danes found themselves constrained to yield to the duke's remonstrances, or recommence a war, that had wholly drained the treasury, and exhausted the kingdom. The sovereignty, therefore, which the duke demanded, was granted; but without prejudice to the ancient union, between the crown of Denmark and the duchies, to the rights of the crown over the bailliage of Swabstide, and to the revenues of the chapter of Sleswic.

*Frederic
applies
himself to
domestic
concerns.*

Immediately after this peace it was that king Frederic applied himself diligently to repair the disorders introduced into his dominions by the late ruinous war, and to form the plan

plan which brought about that great revolution in the constitution of the Danish government, which from a kind of aristocracy, reduced it to the most absolute monarchy in Europe. There are various conjectures with respect to the share his majesty bore in this great event. Some writers wholly ascribe it to the insolence of the nobility, and the united resentment of the people, arising from unavoidable circumstances. Others, on the contrary, affirm, that his majesty fomented their divisions by the most artful policy, in order to establish the royal prerogative on the ruins of public liberty. A diet of the states were assembled to consider of means to re-establish the public affairs, and relieve the people who were almost undone by the war. The king is said to have insinuated to the clergy and the president of Copenhagen, who was speaker of the commons, that peace and plenty might be restored, if all the members of the state would bear their just proportion of the expence. The commons accordingly demonstrated to the nobility, the deplorable situation of the people, and the absolute impossibility of raising supplies for the current service, unless they, the nobles, would consent to pay their share of the impositions. The nobility, who were numerous, powerful, and insolent, treated this proposal as the highest presumption, declaring the people were vassals, and such they should remain. The speaker of the commons, incensed at this usage, told them they were unworthy of the privileges they enjoyed; and that though the commons could not make themselves noble, they would at least make the weight of subjection fall as heavy upon the nobility as it had hitherto been upon the plebeians. The speaker having declared himself to this effect, retired, and was accompanied by the clergy and commons to a hall prepared for the purpose. There they suddenly formed the fatal resolution of rendering the king absolute. Several private messages passed betwixt the court and them in the evening, and next morning attending the king in a body, were immediately admitted to audience. Here they declared, that as the present constitution did not answer the end of government, they were resolved to put the administration wholly in his majesty's hands, convinced as they were of his prudence, virtue, and public spirit. The king at first affected some scruples; until they persisting in their request, he thanked them for the confidence they had in his virtue and affection; but observed, that the consent of the nobility was absolutely necessary to render any public act of that nature valid and effectual. At the same time, he ordered the city gates to be shut, on pretence of securing

The crown rendered hereditary.

securing it from any danger that might be produced by such a ferment in the diet. As he had the army entirely in his power, it was impossible for any individual of the nobility to retire to his estate in the country; and this circumstance brought the affair to a speedy issue. The nobility by this time perceived their error, when it was too late; they, therefore, determined to resign some part of their privileges, in order to secure the rest. With this view they made an offer to the king, to enlarge his prerogative considerably, and settle the succession upon his male issue; but they were given to understand, that these concessions would neither answer his majesty's purpose, nor satisfy the clergy and commons. At last they were forced to surrender all their rights and privileges to the king, who thus became absolute, and the crown was made hereditary in his issue, whether male or female. In a few days after this transaction, the king, queen, and royal family, appeared on a public theatre erected for the occasion, seated in chairs of state, under canopies of velvet, where they received the homage of the nobility, clergy, and people, in sight of the army. Thus the states of Denmark, in order to be revenged on each other, fatally divested themselves of those invaluable privileges which their ancestors had acquired and maintained by their courage, perseverance, and blood^a. It must be owned, indeed, that if ever prince merited so much confidence from his subjects, Frederic certainly had a claim to all the rights now put into his hands, as his courage, policy, and perseverance, had certainly rescued Denmark from the jaws of perdition, at a time when it was in the most imminent danger of becoming a province to Sweden, and a sacrifice to the contending interests of those powers, who, under the names of allies and mediators, studied nothing besides their own emolument, at the expence both of Sweden and Denmark.

A.D. 1661. We have seen that the fortress of Cronenburgh, and the islands of the Baltic, were restored by the late treaty; but it was with difficulty the Swedes were persuaded to evacuate them. However, the spirited remonstrances of Terlon, the French ambassador, had the effect, and obtained the full execution of the treaty on both sides. Now there only remained, to trouble Denmark, a coldness between the court and the duke of Holstein, occasioned by a late treaty of alliance this last had concluded with Sweden. Frederic beheld with jealousy so strict an union between the courts of

^a Molesworth's Account of Denmark.

Stockholm and Holstein: he repeated the necessity he was under of ceding the undoubted rights of his crown to that prince; but he was forced to stifle his indignation, on account of the unsettled state of his dominions, arising from the late revolution and war. On the contrary, the duke, encouraged by his alliance with Sweden, and by the weak condition of Denmark, proposed by the conjuncture, to establish and advance his own interest and independency. As he found great difficulty in maintaining the body of standing forces that were wanted to complete his designs, he proposed to the king of Denmark, to divide the revenues of the duchies, which usually had been lodged in a common treasury. He desired, that each might be allowed to take money upon his own receipt; although the intention of the common treasury was, to prevent either party's levying troops, without the consent and approbation of the other. Frederic penetrated the duke's intention; but not being in a condition to break with Sweden, he yielded at length to the importunity of that prince; on condition, however, that the money should not be applied to the prejudice of Denmark, and that all taxes levied on the duchies, should continue to be brought, as usual, into the common treasury; a circumstance which the politic duke found means to turn to his own advantage.

England and Holland being on the eve of a rupture, the Dutch sent ambassadors to Copenhagen, to engage Frederic's interest, where they doubted not of success; as the services they had done that prince were so fresh in his mind, and the partiality which England had shewn to Sweden so evident and recent. But the king found it convenient to listen to the proposals of his Britannic majesty, and sign the triple alliance between the courts of London, Stockholm, and Copenhagen. In this treaty it was stipulated, that neither king should harbour such persons as were declared rebels in their own country; by which article, his Britannic majesty had a view to the murderers of his father, and his Danish majesty to the famous count Ulfeld (A).

A.D. 1663.

Triple alliance between England, Denmark, and Sweden.

Besides

(A) We have seen this nobleman, after being forced to fly his own country, rise to the highest pitch of power in Sweden, excite Charles Gustavus to the conquest of Denmark, and afterwards incur his displeasure by the secret correspondence he carried on at Copenhagen, when that city was besieged. He was afterwards arrested by the court of Sweden, but released at the intercession of Terlon, the French ambassador; he afterwards threw himself

A.D. 1666.

*Disputes
between
the king
& the
Dutch a-
bout their
settlements
in Guinea.*

Besides this treaty with England, there were other more powerful obstacles to the alliance with the states general of the United Provinces fought with Denmark. These were, the behaviour of the Dutch factors in Guinea, and that despotism in trade which this republic every where exercised. The particulars of this quarrel Bosman relates minutely, but partially, in his account of the coast of Guinea. Nevertheless the Dutch surmounted all difficulties, and at last concluded a quadruple alliance with Denmark, the elector of Brandenburg, and the duke of Brunswick; from which the Dutch reaped this advantage, that their East India fleet found a safe retreat in the harbour of Bergen,

himself into the power of his natural king, whom he had so grievously offended, by promoting the late war, without the precaution of obtaining his pardon. At Copenhagen he was arrested and sent prisoner to Bornholm; but afterwards enlarged and suffered on his parole, to go to the Spa, and reside for his health, in the Netherlands. From thence he wrote to count Schwerin, or as others think from Amsterdam, acquainting that minister with a secret of the utmost importance, which he could intrust to no one besides the elector of Brandenburg himself. The elector immediately sent general Spon to Ulfeld. They met at Bruges, and the count informed him, that the Danish nobility, incensed against Frederic, had determined to elect another king, and that the clergy joined in the conspiracy. That himself had quitted Denmark to avoid their importunity, and to labour with more security abroad in effecting this revolution; that he would be perfectly well received in France and Sweden; if he carried such propositions to either

of these courts; but that, as his design was to give Denmark a German king, he first applied himself to the elector, and could assure him of success, if he embraced the proposal.

General Spon immediately acquainted his master with Ulfeld's secret, at which the elector was struck with horror. He detested the perfidy of Ulfeld, and admired the fertility of his genius in expedients to disturb the repose of his country. He gave immediate notice to Frederic of Ulfeld's designs. Ulfeld's wife was arrested in England, and sent prisoner to Copenhagen; and he himself, finding that his projects were blasted, retreated to Basil, with his three sons. Here he lived as tutor to three Dutch young gentlemen, and was at length discovered by a quarrel which one of his sons had with a captain of Zurich. On this, thinking himself unsafe, he went up the Rhine, in an open boat, and died of a severe cold he contracted in his passage; thus ridding his king and country of the most artful, dangerous, and projecting enemy they ever encountered (1).

(1) Vide Terlon. *ibid.*

in Norway, and baffled all the attempts of the earl of Sandwich, admiral of the English fleets in those seas.

Now it was that Frederic, disburthened of all foreign wars by his alliances, and eased of domestic troubles by the late revolution, in consequence of which his prerogative was so extravagantly extended, and the crown made hereditary in his family, gave his whole attention to the affairs of commerce, promoting industry, gaining the affection of his subjects, and watching over the education of the hereditary prince, his son. He sent the young prince upon his travels, attended by count Parsburgh; first to Holland, from thence to England; he afterwards visited France, and returned by the way of Italy and Germany to his own dominions. In passing through Germany, the young prince conceived such a passion for the princess Charlotta Emélie, daughter to the landgrave of Hesse, that when he came to Denmark, he used his utmost endeavours with his father for permission to address that lady. Proposals were accordingly made and accepted, and the nuptials consummated in the royal palace of Omalienburgh, on the 16th of May, 1667.

Holland had no sooner concluded peace with England, than the city of Amsterdam and the states general entered into disputes with Frederic, about certain sums of money lent him during the late war with Sweden, and the duties exacted from Dutch shipping in the ports of Norway. These little contentions tended only to cool the friendship between the two powers, without any hazard of their occasioning a rupture. In much the same state were the courts of Denmark and Holstein; they wrangled and disputed about their claims; but so far were they from deciding their differences by arms, that they silenced them for a time by a family alliance, the duke having espoused the princess Frederica Emilia, princess of Denmark: notwithstanding which the duke did not break his engagements with Sweden, nor renounce any of his claims. On the contrary, they were renewed in the year 1670, and the king was preparing to enforce his arguments with arms, when he was carried off by a chronical disorder, first contracted by the fatigue he had undergone during the siege of his capital.

For some years he had been afflicted with a cough, which at last affected his lungs, and was the cause of his death. It is a sufficient eulogium of this great monarch to observe, that absolute power, made hereditary in his family in his reign, so far from alienating the affections of the nobility, jealous to an excess, for so many ages, of their liberty and independency, had rather more strongly engaged their attachment,

Frederic's death and character.

tachment, by destroying the seeds of discontent and faction, which had ever flourished in Denmark, and sprung up as in their native soil and climate. As they knew he merited every thing by his valour, intrepidity, constancy, and prudence, the people voluntarily presented their rights to him, and never repined under their greatest misfortunes at the sacrifice they had made. When Denmark was reduced to the last extremity, his subjects only recollected, that his virtues and magnanimity had once saved the kingdom, and lamented that the power of the nobility should limit talents so formed for the public good. As soon as he was in possession of absolute government, he restrained his passion for glory, and applied himself to restore frugality among his people, to re-establish his finances, to encourage merit, industry, and commerce, to reward those who had served him with fidelity, to redress grievances, protect the oppressed, relieve the indigent, and approve himself the father of his subjects, and the friend of mankind (B).

S E C T. XVII.

The History deduced to the End of the Reign of Frederic IV.

*The state of
Denmark
on Chris-
tian's ac-
cession.*

CHRISTIAN, the eldest son of Frederic III. had been declared successor to his father, at a general diet of the states, the year preceding that great event which made the crown hereditary in the family. He mounted the throne at a time, and with circumstances that forboded him a reign not more pacific than the last. Notwithstanding all the endeavours of Frederic, his son found the kingdom filled with troubles and confusion, the affairs of the state in bad order, the whole specie of the kingdom drained by a tedious war and heavy subsidies; and lastly, a variety of disputes abroad with different states, particularly Sweden, Holland, and the dukes of Holstein, Gottorp, and Ploen.

(B) Frederic III. left a numerous posterity. His eldest son Christian, born 1646, succeeded to his throne. His daughter Anna Sophia married the elector of Saxony in 1666, and died in 1717. Frederica Emelia was married to the duke of Holstein Gothorp in 1667, and died 1704.

A third daughter married the elector Palatine in 1671, dying in 1706. His second son George espoused Anne, queen of Great Britain, and died in 1708; and his youngest daughter Ulrica Elenora was married to Charles XI. of Sweden, dying in 1693.

From

From the time that Sweden had broke the knot of union, which kept her in a kind of dependency on Denmark, she had by large strides elevated herself above her neighbours, and became formidable, through the courage and vigour of her monarchs, to all Europe. She had made conquests on all sides, but the chief were the provinces wrested from Denmark and Norway. From the latter she had taken Jempterland and Herendahlen, and from the latter a tract of land which secured her frontier, by making the Sound the boundary of her dominions on the side of Denmark. These, and a multitude of other reasons, conspired to point out the necessity of Christian's putting himself in condition to restrain the ambition, and make head against this aspiring and powerful monarchy. With this view he directed that the fortifications of all the cities should be repaired, and each put in a state of defence; that new fortresses should be built in all places exposed to the insults of those turbulent neighbours; that military discipline should be established among his troops, the command of which he gave to the most experienced officers, whose attachment to his person, and fidelity to the public, were approved; and lastly, he minutely examined the state of the revenue, and laboured to set it upon the best footing, without oppressing the people.

The duke of Gottorp's close alliance with Sweden, gave Christian umbrage, and his endeavours to break off the treaty between these powers, introduced disputes between him and the duke, which they both consented to terminate amicably, at an interview appointed at Rendsburgh. Thither the duke went, and was received by a general discharge of the artillery mounted on the ramparts. His majesty having immediately after his arrival received advice, that the Swedes were defeated by the elector of Brandenburg, acquainted his highness, that he proposed marching with all his forces against the enemies of the empire; and expected that his highness would not, in consequence of his alliance with Sweden, do any thing to molest his dominions during his absence. The duke hesitating, and desiring time to consider the king's demand, Christian ordered the gates of Rendsburgh to be shut, in order to prevent the duke from giving orders to his governors to oppose his design, or of apprizing Sweden of the measures he had concerted. Intimidated by these vigorous measures, his highness complied not only with the king's demand, but agreed to relieve a Danish garrison in Tonningen, which was done without delay, Christian being equally prompt in executing, and prudent in concerting his projects.

A.D. 1674.

*Differences
between
Christian
and the
duke of
Gottorp.*

This

This action was highly blamed by the enemies of Denmark. The king was accused of a breach of word, and violation of the laws of hospitality. It was reported, and industriously propagated, that the duke was confined to his chamber, a guard set over him, and his person insulted, and even his life threatened if he refused to comply; circumstances sufficiently refuted by the treaty, soon after concluded between Denmark and Holstein, as well as by the most authentic documents of this transaction. Besides, it is certain, that had the king laid any restraint on the duke's person, he might have been fairly justified by the law of nations, as at the very time when the gates were shut, it is well attested that certain letters, and projects which intimated designs against Denmark, were found among the papers of baron Kielman, first minister of Holstein^b. In fact, however, no violence was done to his highness, and the gates of Rendsburgh were shut with no other view than to prevent his disconcerting the king's measures; a circumstance unpremeditated, and arising solely from the intelligence just received from Germany. We are assured from undoubted testimony, that the king and prince George frequently visited the duke, during his residence at Rendsburgh, and that they testified for each other the warmest friendship, and proved the sincerity of their professions, by the treaty which ensued. By this the duke renounced the sovereignty he had assumed by virtue of the treaty of Roschild, restoring the ancient union between the two states, upon the footing established by the ancestors of both princes. Upon his return to his own dominions, he ratified the treaty concluded at Rendsburgh, and sent back the patent whereby Frederic III. had made him independent on the crown of Denmark. He likewise formally ceded all claim to the advantages which he had extorted during the late reign, at the conclusion of the general peace, and obliged his brother, the bishop of Lubec, to do the same. In a word, after his majesty's return to Copenhagen, he received a letter wrote by the duke's own hand, assuring him of the satisfaction he enjoyed in being thus reconciled to his majesty; and protesting, that it would be his utmost care to cultivate his majesty's friendship, and the ancient and natural amity between the two families, from which he had been artfully drawn by the suggestions of his majesty's enemies. These circumstances we think quite sufficient to vindicate Christian's character from the false aspersions thrown out at that time, and weakly transmitted by subsequent

^b Mem. de Danemarck, p. 73.

historians to posterity, in defiance of truth, honour, and justice.

Christian was no sooner at ease with respect to the house of Holstein, than he openly declared war against Sweden, and joined his fleet to the Dutch squadron in the Baltic. The duchy of Bremen was the more immediate cause of this rupture, and it afterwards became the subject of a strange labyrinth of intrigue, negociation, and wrangling. His majesty ordered war to be proclaimed by sea and land, determining to act vigorously against the Swedes, whose effects were seized in his ports; but the queen was averse to the war, and the ministry entered so much into her sentiments, that the fairest occasion of humbling Sweden was lost, by their dilatory preparations.

A. D. 1675.

The king declares war against Sweden.

The first hostilities commenced at sea; two Danish ships attacked a Swedish man of war stationed off the fort of Brunshuysen; the action was sharp, but of short duration, one of the Danish vessels being sunk, and the other forced to bear away. This loss the Danes repaired by taking a fleet of Swedish merchantmen.

Hostilities commence.

While the war went briskly on by sea, his majesty and the elector of Brandenburg had an interview at Gadesbafch, to concert the operations of the campaign. Here it was determined that Christian should attack Damgarten, while the troops of Lunenburgh, Brandenburg, Munster, and the other allies, should employ their whole force against Demmen and Tribes, a town of Pomerania. His Danish majesty arrived at Damgarten on the 2d of October, where count Konigsmarck defended the passage of the river Recknitz to the last extremity. At last the post was forced in the night, and the Swedes were obliged to retreat. However, as they broke down all the bridges behind them, his majesty was compelled to relinquish the pursuit.

The king has an interview with the elector of Brandenburg.

He forces the strong post of Damgarten.

He then marched towards Stralsund; and having met the elector of Brandenburg in the neighbourhood of that city, it was concerted that his majesty's next operations should be against Wismar. The winter was now far advanced, the city of Wismar strong, and easily supplied with all necessaries from Lubec. Such difficulties, however, could not damp the spirit of Christian. He levelled his artillery against two batteries at the mouth of the harbour, built to secure a passage to the town; and at the same time made his approaches before the town from three different quarters. The trenches were opened with extreme diligence on all hands; five batteries played incessantly upon the besieged, with thirty-six pieces of cannon and five mortars. Bombs and ignited bullets were poured into the

town as thick as hail, the houses reduced to ashes, and the garrison and inhabitants to the most deplorable situation. A ship of forty-six guns, stationed before fort Baleine, was taken, and the garrison of the fort so intimidated by the intrepidity of the Danes, that they surrendered at discretion. Still, however, Wismar held out for some days; and though the garrison was alarmed by the enemy's success, and greatly harassed with fatigue and continual watching, yet still their courage was undaunted. Every thing was attempted in their own defence. After having given a false alarm on the left of the king's camp, a strong body of soldiers and burghers sallied out on the right, fought desperately, but were repulsed with loss.

To prevent such sallies for the future, his majesty ordered caltrops to be placed round the camp. He sent three burghers, prisoners, back to the city, with orders to acquaint the inhabitants, that he would instantly hang up all the burghers who should be taken in the sallies; and he also drove back to the city several women who had been sent out, to save provision, many of whom perished with hunger. Besides the vigorous resistance of the besieged, he had to encounter with natural inconveniences of situation, which greatly retarded his approaches. Wismar was surrounded with marshes, which his majesty found it necessary to drain, both for the health and conveniency of the soldiers, and to render his approaches practicable. This work he attempted with engines erected with great expence and labour; but the toil was endless, the continual rains, and neighbouring springs and rivulets filling them as fast as they were emptied. Finding this expedient fruitless, he contrived to dam up the waters, and keep his camp dry by dykes and ditches. However, the snow and cold weather becoming unsufferable, the soldiers began to murmur; and even the officers, fatigued with hard duty, uttered complaints of the king's rashness in undertaking so laborious a siege, when the season was so far advanced. At the same time Wrangel dispatched count Konigsmark with a strong detachment to force a passage into the town, in which attempt he was disappointed by the king's vigilance. In spite of all difficulties, Christian determined to storm the town in breach, and to pass over the marshes upon light wooden bridges, contrived for the purpose. The 21st of December was fixed for the attack. Early in the morning the troops began to file over, three abreast; and though they were miserably galled by the grape-shot and musketry of the besieged, yet, animated by the presence and example of their monarch, they marched on, setting danger at defiance.

The

The attack on fort Sparburt was led by the duke of Holstein-Ploen, where he was repulsed. General Rosencrantz was more successful in the attack on the new works on the side of Mecklenburg-gate, which he carried with little opposition. Two hours after the governor demanded a parley, and offered terms of capitulation, which his majesty accepted. For ten weeks he had defended himself with great resolution and conduct: the garrison had sustained numberless hardships from cold, fatigue, and hunger; they had for several days been restricted to a scanty subsistence, hardly sufficient to keep them from perishing; yet nothing but the clamours of the burghers could oblige them to surrender.

The same day on which the king made himself master of Wismar, general Arensdorff appeared before Rebnitz, with a detachment of Danes and Brandenburgers. The Swedish garrison, not exceeding four hundred men, finding their endeavours to defend the place would be vain, surrendered on the first summons: and the prisoners were equally divided between the troops of the king and elector. Several other enterprizes were projected; and among others an attempt on the island of Rugen, to which Griffenfeldt, who had secretly opposed the Swedish war, put a stop, pretending that he had certain intelligence of an intended descent on Zealand, as soon as the frost should commence; the expedition to be headed by the young king of Sweden. His majesty gave credit to the report of his minister, relinquished the design, returned to Copenhagen, and found he was deceived. In the mean time he had ordered his fleet, commanded by admiral Adelaer, to cover his capital, as he was too weak, though joined by the Dutch, to act offensively (A).

Rebnitz surrenders to the allies.

Several other advantages gained over the Swedes.

Fortune was not more favourable this campaign to the Swedes than it had been in the former. The allied forces continued during the winter to block up Carlostadt, and reduced the garrison to such extremities, that the fortress was surrendered early in the summer. His Danish majesty demanded Carlostadt; and the other allies took the alarm, as he formed the same pretensions to Stade, the possession of

A.D. 1676.

Carlostadt taken by the king.

(A) Here it was that this famous officer died, to the great regret of his majesty, and all well wishers to Denmark, before he had an opportunity of signalizing his valour against the Swedes. He had formerly commanded the Venetian fleet, and gained seventeen battles over the Turks (1).

(1) Vide Mauroseni, lib. x.

which would have made him master both of the Weser and the Elbe; but this last city was still in the hands of the Swedes. However, the contention rose high: the bishop of Munster, the duke of Lunenburg, and the elector, all opposed his demand; and though the conquest was yet remote and precarious, yet it is certain their disputes about the imaginary spoil was of the greatest prejudice to the operations of the campaign.

It gave great uneasiness to the states of Holland to see their allies neglect real conquests for disputes about cities which possibly might never come into their power. They proposed an expedient; and matters went so far, that a treaty was drawn up, and approved by the ambassadors of the several princes; but it came to nothing, as their masters refused to ratify it.

In the mean time the Swedes lost no opportunity of annoying the enemy. The garrison of Stade had formed, during the winter, a scheme of surprising Altena; but the design was defeated by the vigilant measures of the Danish garrison. Several other attempts they made were equally unsuccessful; and one may say that the arms of Sweden were forsaken by fortune, rather than by courage, conduct, or perseverance.

*Christian's
dispute
with the
city of Lu-
bec.*

His Danish majesty wrote to the regency of Lubec, exhorting them to carry on no correspondence with Sweden; and threatening to keep no terms with that republic, if she refused to break off her connections with the enemies of his kingdom. He afterwards relaxed in this demand, and insisted only, that the Lubeckers should carry no contraband goods into Sweden, or such as were specified in the treaty of commerce between Denmark and Lubec. Having finished this affair to his satisfaction, he gave orders for augmenting his troops; and to raise funds for pushing the war on vigorously, he imposed a poll-tax on all his subjects, collecting it in a certain proportion, according to their supposed abilities. This tax was payable at two yearly instalments, and was supposed would produce seven hundred thousand rixdollars. To push his levies with the more success, he also ordained, that no tradesman should keep above one journeyman and a boy; regulations equally injurious to commerce, and oppressive of the spirit of industry in general; but necessary to forward the great projects and ambition of Christian.

*Tonnin-
gen demo-
nished.*

All the world was surprised at the directions which his majesty gave for dismantling Tonnigen, and blowing up the fortifications, after they had cost the government im-
mense

menſe ſums in building and repairing. It was conjectured that his majeſty had given theſe orders on receiving advice, that an Engliſh ambaffador was on his way to ſolicit the reſtitution of this place to the duke of Holſtein; but this was no more than conjecture.

If the public beheld with ſurprize the demolition of Tonningen, they were ſtill more aſtoniſhed at the downfall of the chancellor Griffenfeldt, the king's chief miniſter and favourite, whom he had raiſed from an obſcure rank to the higheſt honours and preferments of the kingdom. Some of his letters having been intercepted, the king gave orders to general Arenſdorff, and three other lords, about three o'clock in the morning, to inveſt the houſe of the burgomaſter Falker, who was privy to all the miniſter's ſecrets. The general executed his orders ſo ſecretly, that he ſeized on Falker's perſon and papers without the leaſt noiſe, or being perceived by any one, and committed him priſoner, with all his domeſtics. Griffenfeldt, who had no ſuſpicion of what had happened, went as uſual to court at ſeven in the morning. He was met in the anti-chamber by general Arenſdorff, who enquired where he was going at ſo early an hour: Griffenfeldt answered, he was going to the king. "You had better ſtep to the library, replied the general, as his majeſty is not to be diſturbed, and follow me without noiſe." The miniſter had an immediate foreboding of his fall; and cried out, as he went after the general, "If theſe are the king's orders, it is proper I obey. Heavens! whence comes this diſgrace?"

The chancellor Griffenfeldt diſgraced.

When Griffenfeldt was committed, his majeſty gave directions that all the chancellor's debtors and creditors ſhould carry their accounts to the treaſurer. Soon after baron Kielman and his three ſons were likewiſe arreſted; and ſo fearful was the duke of Holſtein of his own perſon, that he eſcaped by night to Hamburgh, and rode with ſuch diſpatch, that he killed two horſes by the way. All theſe ſudden imprifonments occaſioned great ſpeculation. The people concluded that ſome dangerous conſpiracy againſt the ſtate, or his majeſty's perſon, had been diſcovered. Men ſpoke differently of this method of proceeding; but the Danes inſiſted, that although Kielman and his children were the ſubjects and miniſters of the duke of Holſtein, it was juſtifiable in his majeſty to ſecure their perſons, as they were always bitter enemies of Denmark, and had by their pernicious counſels introduced great confuſion in their maſter's affairs, and occaſioned all the quarrels between him and the king. They were beſides taxed with

having entered Denmark in a hostile manner during the last war, and committed cruel ravages in different parts of his majesty's dominions. Besides, old Keilman was convicted of having published bitter libels against the king, both at London and Frankfort.

Griffenfeldt was examined, for the first time, on the 25th of April, but he obstinately refused to answer to the charge, and was dismissed from the court as refractory, with a caution from the fiscal, that, if he persisted in his silence, he should be condemned as a voluntary mute, whose guilt rendered it dangerous for him to answer to the questions proposed. The crime for which he was tried was corruption and venality in distributing justice, and the sale of offices; for his majesty did not care to lay open the secrets of state, by proving him guilty of treason. Instances of both were so clearly and circumstantially proved, that he was condemned to lose his head, though that sentence was not executed; his majesty reprieved him on the scaffold, but condemned him to perpetual imprisonment. His arms were, however, first broke; and the executioner was just ready to sever the head from the body when his reprieve was proclaimed, and he was conducted to prison, with books, like a school-boy, under his arm.

Not long after Falker was brought to his trial, and condemned by the same judges to lose two fingers of his right hand, to be exposed for a quarter of an hour on a gibbet, and then to be conducted out of the town by the hangman, and for ever banished the kingdom.

Christian being thus delivered of a faithless minister, who traversed all his designs, by holding a secret correspondence with the enemies of his country, and had undoubtedly betrayed the fleets and army, appointed generals to the command of each, in whom he could confide. Immediately the army was ordered to march to Stade, which city had for some time been blocked up by the troops of Lunenburg. The bishop of Munster, in imitation of his majesty, marched his forces likewise to Stade; but with a view rather to relieve than distress the garrison; for, changing his sentiments of a sudden, he was now desirous of maintaining the Swedes in Bremen, and of declaring war afresh against Holland, with which he had concluded peace only from necessity.

When the allies made their appearance before Stade, the garrison consisted of three thousand men, and the burghers were resolved to take arms; but a dysentery prevailed among both, and swept off great numbers.

The

*Stade be-
sieged.*

The allies resolved to attack fort Swing, which commanded the communication of the town with the water; and began so furious a cannonading, that it was laid in ruins in a very short time. The Swedish commandant hung out a white flag; but the allies refusing him the honours of war, he resolved to defend it to the last extremity, and now hostilities recommenced with redoubled fury: At last, finding the place no longer tenable, he determined upon a sally, and cutting his way through the besiegers to the town. The effort was brave, but unsuccessful; for he was taken prisoner, with all his men.

Fort Gæstorp, another strong out-post, surrendered. Three men of war appeared off Stade, with intention to throw in provisions and stores of all kinds; but the diligence of general Arensdorff rendered their attempts vain, though his vigilance could not prevent their landing some men at Brunsbüttele and Bracktorff, and setting fire to a number of villages, after having pillaged the inhabitants. After this attempt, the Swedish admiral, perceiving he could not relieve Stade, set sail for Gottenburg, and narrowly escaped commodore Bastiaenz, who lay with a squadron to intercept him.

On the departure of the Swedish fleet, the besiegers advanced their works; but having certain advice that the town was in great want of provisions, they altered their intention of storming it to a kind of blockade, as famine would soon oblige the garrison to surrender, without any loss to the confederates. At last, on the 13th of August, the governor signed a capitulation; and the town was put into the hands of the allies, there to become a bone of contention, till their differences were terminated by a new division of their conquests.

Stade taken by the allies.

While the confederate army lay before Stade, Van Tromp arrived at Copenhagen with the ships of Amsterdam and Rotterdam, and was received by the king with all possible respect, being honoured with the order of the Elephant. His majesty deliberated with him about the necessary operations; and the result of their consultation was, that several Danish ships, which had been laid up, should be equipped with all possible expedition; that the Danish admiral Juel, cruising in the Baltic, should be reinforced with eight stout men of war, and Van Tromp to follow, as soon as the rest of the fleet could be got ready: Juel had scarce received this reinforcement when he fell in with two Swedish men of war, one of which he burnt, having taken the other. He then steered for the island of Gothland, and landed his men, in spite of all the resistance

The operations of the Danish fleet.

made by count Oxenstiern the governor, whom, after a vigorous and sharp engagement, he drove into Wisby. Having made himself master of the whole island, except the capital, he laid siege by sea and land to Wisby, and soon obliged the governor to capitulate, the inhabitants of the island in general expressing the most ardent desire to return under the dominion of Denmark. Then exacting an oath of allegiance from the inhabitants in general, ecclesiastics as well as laics, he left a garrison of five hundred men in Wisby, and put to sea, where he was again reinforced with six Danish and Dutch men of war.

On the first of June he descried the Swedish fleet, consisting of forty-four sail, besides tenders and small vessels. On the 4th he came up with the Swedish admiral, and began the engagement at six in the morning, between the coast of Schonen and the isle of Bornholm. The Swedes were superior in force; but they contented themselves with cannonading, without coming to a close engagement, or attempting to board. In this distant manner of fighting Juel had the advantage: he disabled five of the enemy's ships; but was prevented by a calm from pursuing and making prizes of them. Next day the fight was renewed at the same hour; the Swedish admiral, having the wind a-stern, bearing up as if he intended coming to a very close engagement; but this he declined a second time. After a cannonading of four hours, and some attempts to destroy each other by fire-ships, both admirals retired, as if by voluntary consent, without any considerable advantage gained on either side. The Swedes, indeed, lost one galliot of ten guns and thirty men, had five ships disabled, and were even, if we may credit the Danish accounts, forced to retreat each day.

The news of this battle had scarce arrived at Copenhagen, when Van Tromp put to sea with a squadron of four Danish and three Dutch men of war to reinforce Juel. The fleets joined on the 7th of June, and next day every thing was prepared for a third engagement; but it was the 11th before the battle began, contrary winds preventing the confederate fleet from coming up with the enemy. In the very beginning of the fight the Swedish admiral's ship, mounting one hundred and four guns (A), was blown

*A complete
victory
obtained
over the
Swedish
fleet.*

(A) Some writers call this ty-four pieces of brass cannon, the finest ship ever built in the and was manned with eleven North, affirming that she hundred stout seamen (1). mounted one hundred and thir-

up. The rest of the fleet, discouraged by so unfortunate an accident, would have retreated; but they were attacked on every side by the Dutch and Danish admirals. Necessity obliged them to stand in their own defence, and they fought for a long time with great resolution; but were at last forced to give way, and leave an undoubted victory to the superior skill and good fortune of Juel and Van Tromp, after having lost ten of their largest ships, one frigate of sixteen guns, and several other smaller vessels. In the letter which the Dutch admiral wrote to the states, he claims to himself the chief glory of this victory; but with little reason, if we can rely on the Danish and Swedish accounts, who agree, that Juel and his officers performed all that could be expected from the most experienced and resolute commanders.

After this battle, Stade surrendered to the allies; though, to avoid breaking the narrative, we related it previous to this transaction. Indeed the Swedish arms were not more successful by land than by sea. The elector of Brandenburg obliged them to raise the siege of the citadel of Wolgast, and afterwards took Penemunde. Several other disgraces followed, and Sweden was falling as low in military estimation as she had been raised high in the preceding reign, and ever since Gustavus Adolphus ascended that throne.

Christian was intent on drawing some advantage from the victory gained by his fleet. He ordered Van Tromp to make a descent on Schonen on one side, while he entered the province at the head of an army on the other. Tromp immediately obeyed his orders; and appearing with a squadron before Ustadt, summoned the governor to surrender. Verseen, who commanded, sent back an answer by the trumpet, that as he had the honour of being entrusted by his king with the fortress, he would defend it to the last extremity. Tromp immediately ordered in a certain number of frigates to keep a continual fire, and cover the debarkation. Then he landed three thousand men on both sides of the town, and repulsed, after an obstinate engagement, a brisk sally made from the place to impede the landing. The admiral resolved to give the assault the same night; but thought it proper first to summon the governor. A trumpet accordingly was sent, and the admiral was astonished to find that the governor and garrison had evacuated the place, without the least noise, or motion, that could intimate their intention. Tromp left a strong garrison here, and plentifully supplied it with every necessary for

*Christian
makes a
descent on
Schonen.*

for a vigorous defence, in case the enemy should attempt to retake a place of so much consequence.

In the mean time the king embarked with about nine thousand foot, and near as many horse, accompanied by his brother, and set sail with a fleet of fifty ships, of which twelve were men of war. Next day, being the 9th of July, he arrived on the coast of Schonen, and landed, without resistance, between Helfsinburg and Landscroon. When the artillery was unshipped, his majesty detached some regiments to invest Helfsinburg, which the governor immediately abandoned, retiring with his slender garrison into the citadel. Here he defended himself gallantly for four days, killing general Rosencrantz in the attack; but seeing no prospect of relief, and the garrison being sorely galled with the fire of the besiegers, he surrendered just as the Danes were preparing to storm the citadel.

Charles XI. of Sweden, taking the reins of government into his own hands, made some motions as if he intended to oppose the progress of the Danish arms in that country. He put himself at the head of his army, and began his march to Schonen; but finding the Danes were greatly superior, he turned off to Chrittianstadt, and relinquished the design. The king of Denmark would not neglect pursuing the advantages which success and superiority of numbers afforded: leaving a garrison in Helfsinburg, he marched to lay siege to Landscroon. His first approaches were greatly retarded by several vigorous sallies from the town: at length, however, both the city and citadel were forced to surrender, after having sustained a siege and bombardment of three weeks, and been reduced to the last extremity. Landscroon capitulated on the 15th of August, and the garrison were allowed the honours of war, on account of the brave defence they had made, and his majesty's respect for the valour of the governor.

On the surrender of Landscroon, his majesty detached major-general Duncamp with a strong corps to block up Helmstadt, while he marched in person with the rest of the army to Chrittianstadt, and encamped within cannon-shot of the walls, on the very spot where the king of Sweden had pitched his camp a few days before. Chrittianstadt is in a manner inaccessible, on account of deep marshes that every way surround the town. The strength of the place lulled the garrison into a security, that soon became fatal to them; for the Danes surprised and took it, without erecting a single battery, or firing a cannon. Such were the rapid successes of his Danish majesty's arms.

*Christian
takes Hel-
sinburg and
Landscroon.*

In

In the mean time the Swedish army was reinforced by a strong body of Finlanders, and other levies ; upon which Charles began to concert measures for opposing Christian's progress. He began with an attempt to surprize general Duncamp ; for which purpose he detached general Aschenberg with eight thousand men. The motions of this officer were not so secret as to escape the attention of Christian. He sent notice to Duncamp of the enemy's intention, with orders to retreat, if he found himself too weak to give them battle. Duncamp would have declined fighting ; but the manœuvres of the enemy rendered that impracticable. He put on the best countenance he was able to assume, and with a body of three thousand men sustained all the efforts of the Swedish general for an hour and a half ; but was at length forced to give way to numbers, and leave his enemy an undisputed victory, dearly purchased.

*Christian-
stadt taken
by the
Danes.*

*General
Duncamp
defeated by
the Swedes.*

To ballance this loss, Van Tromp made himself master of Christianople, which indeed was a place of no strength, the Swedes having dismantled it the year before. General Gudenlew took Winnerburg in Norway, and laid under contribution the whole country of Daelsland and West Gothland. He drew a considerable booty from Winnersee, defeated a body of five thousand peasants and five hundred soldiers, and laid siege to Gottenburg ; but was forced to relinquish this enterprize, on admiral Royster's return to Copenhagen. Royster was to have blocked up the city by sea ; but the appearance of some English ships before the harbour of Copenhagen obliged him to return for the protection of the capital, as the intention of the English was not known. But the Danish admiral's retreat was attended with other bad consequences, besides Gudenlew's disappointment. The Swedes seized the opportunity of his absence, and made themselves masters of thirty vessels laden with provision for the Danish army. Christian was incensed at this loss ; and immediately ordered Royster to be arrested and superseded, captain Wibe taking upon him the command of the fleet. This officer endeavoured by vigorous measures to regain the time which had been lost. He blocked up Gottenburg, and formed a scheme for burning the Swedish men of war in the harbour of Helsingburg, which was frustrated by an accident, and his own squadron endangered.

*The
Swedes
take thirty
vessels la-
den with
provision.*

General Duncamp's defeat chagrined the king, and he determined to pursue the Swedes with the utmost diligence. Accordingly he marched towards Helmstadt ; but found

*Position of
both ar-
mies.*

found himself greatly retarded by the Swedes, who broke all the bridges behind them. When he came before the city, the governor was summoned to surrender; but he refusing to comply, the place was immediately invested, and all possible endeavours used to bring the Swedish army, to battle. Christian perceived they were determined not to risque an engagement, and that it would be hazardous to force them, encamped as they were to the greatest advantage; he therefore changed his measures, and detached young Arensdorff with a corps of horse and dragoons to the frontiers of Sweden, either to fight the enemy, if occasion offered, or to destroy and ruin all the forage and provision, so as to prevent the Swedes from wintering in Schonen.

Arensdorff began his march, and found on his arrival at Falkenburg that the Swedish army had retreated to Wardberg, by which means the expedition was frustrated. He therefore rejoined the army, which was put into winter-quarters in the month of October, and preparations were made for taking the field early in the spring. Some of the troops were cantoned in such a manner as to block up Malmoe; and the fleet returning to Copenhagen, was disarmed for the season.

*Carelsba-
ven sur-
rendered
to the
Danes.*

Two small squadrons were however left to cruise in the Baltic, under the conduct of the admiral's Bielke and Royster, which last was restored to his command. This officer bearing up to Carelshaven, found the fort besieged by the garrison of Christianstadt, and a body of peasants. His officers requested him to land some troops and cannon to assist the besiegers, which he granted. Batteries were erected, the works carried on with more skill and alacrity than before, and at length this important place was forced to surrender. Here the Danes found upwards of three hundred pieces of cannon, large quantities of stores and ammunition, together with two new ships ready to put to sea, one pierced for forty, and the other for twenty-four guns.

*Malmoe
blocked up.*

Malmoe being a place of the utmost consequence to Sweden, the young monarch determined to relieve it; but his own inexperience, and the ill conduct of his ministers and generals made him commit numberless errors in the execution of his design. Of these the politic Christian did not fail to make his advantage. He no sooner heard of the march of the Swedish army, which amounted to eighteen thousand men, than he marched with all expedition to Landskroon, drew all his troops out of garrison, and en-
camped

camped in a situation near Landskroon, that likewise covered the blockade of Malmoe. The ardour of the Swedish monarch excited him to prosecute his design at all hazards; he marched on and encamped on the opposite side of the river Roa, which separated the two armies. Several light skirmishes happened, which decided nothing; but the Swedish monarch preceiving, that Christian had thrown so many obstacles in his way, as made the relief of Malmoe impracticable, decamped, and marching to Helfsinburg, laid siege to that place. Colonel Muller, who commanded in the place, evacuated the town as untenable, and retired to the citadel, which he refused to surrender upon a threatening summons. The Swedish monarch began to batter in breach, and then gave the assault; but was received so with much courage, that the Swedes retreated with considerable loss. Their batteries were dismounted by the furious fire of the besieged, and matters went on so unsuccessfully, that after having pillaged the town, his majesty drew off, and pitched his camp opposite to the Danish army, on the banks of the Loder.

The king of Sweden resolves to relieve it.

The Swedes besiege Helfsinburg, and are repulsed.

The armies again began to cannonade each other, while, in the mean time, a conference was held across the river between the colonels Sustedt and Ascheberg; the former a Danish, and the latter a Swedish officer. The latter demanding why the king of Denmark would not give battle, the other replied, that his majesty fought nothing more eagerly, provided the Swedes would encamp in an open plain. Upon this declaration, Ascheberg, took his leave, saying, he would acquaint his master. For some days nothing however passed, except certain manœuvres, by which both sides endeavoured to gain some advantage in point of situation. At last both kings determined to come to a battle, and to command their armies in person. Upon advice that the enemy were in motion, Christian advanced his left wing, and general Stanberg, hurried on by his courage and ambition to signalize himself, attacked the right wing of the enemy, without observing the motion of the center and right wing. He was received so warmly, that most of his colonels and field-officers were killed on the spot, and himself so much wounded, that he was obliged to quit the field.

Battle of Lunden.

In the mean time the right wing had more success; the enemy's left was hard pushed and broken, when the young Swedish monarch appearing with a reinforcement from the right, that had defeated Stanberg, renewed the engagement with fresh vigour. In this manner did the battle continue until night separated the combatants, the Danish infantry having

*Both sides
claim the
victory.*

having pushed the Swedes beyond Lunden, and the cavalry of both sides obstinately disputing the field. Both claimed the victory; but in our opinion the Danes, with most reason, as they remained masters of the field until sunset, pushed the enemy's infantry, took their artillery, and about sixty pair of colours and standards. It must be owned, indeed, that the Swedes relieved Malmoe, and Christian soon after returned to Copenhagen, but that he was worsted in the field appears from no authentic testimony. How much depended on his majesty's conduct and valour, appears from the circumstances of the engagement. Both sides agree, that he was present wherever danger and glory called; that his force was but half that of the enemy; that wherever he commanded, the enemy gave way; and that he acquitted himself in all respects like a skilful and valiant commander.

Leaving his army for the protection of his conquests in Schonen, the king returned to Copenhagen, to make fresh levies, and repair the loss he sustained in the bloody battle of Lunden. Twelve new regiments were ordered to be raised with all expedition: and he negotiated a subsidiary treaty with the courts of Hanover and Hesse. He likewise made propositions to cede his pretensions to Bremen to the duke of Lunenburg and bishop of Munster, provided they would furnish a certain number of auxiliaries to act under the command of his generals.

*Negotia-
tions at Ni-
meguen for
a peace.*

It is usual with princes to talk of peace while they are waging the most cruel wars, rather to impress men with an opinion of their moderation than to cede any of their pretensions, however unjustifiable. It so happened at this time; all the contending powers sent their ambassadors to deliberate on a peace at Nimeguen, while each resolved to insist upon the terms he might expect after a successful war. His Danish majesty's intentions were very apparent, from the number of obstacles his minister raised against every proposition, and the difficulties he started about passports, precedency, ceremonials, and the right of ambassadors. The smallest circumstance is used for a pretence to break off treaties to which sovereigns have no inclination. This at Nimeguen run many hazards of coming to nothing, from the cavilling disposition of the parties. The ambassador of Denmark first disputed with the Spanish ambassador about the right hand, and then with the French minister about the language in which they were to express themselves: in a word, every thing was made a handle for prolonging the war. Christian panted after the recovery of the last provinces yielded to Sweden; his success in the two last campaigns had given him a taste for conquest, and whetted

whetted his ambition; and he was in hopes, that prolonging the war might reduce Sweden to a low estate, and proportionably augment the power and grandeur of the Danish monarchy.

Denmark demanded, that France should reimburse her in the expences of the war; and that matters between her and Sweden should be restored upon the same footing they stood on at the peace of Westphalia: that the treaties of Roschild and Copenhagen should be abolished, and all the provinces dismembered from Denmark and Norway, restored: that Sweden should cede all her conquests in Germany; and that Wismar and the isle of Rugen, should be annexed to the crown of Denmark: finally, that for the greater security, his Danish majesty should garrison with his troops all the frontier towns of Sweden. Terms such as these, it was evident, were calculated only to be rejected.

The demands of the several powers.

The propositions of France with respect to Denmark were, that as his most Christian majesty had declared war against the crown, only because in prejudice of the treaty of Copenhagen, which he had guarantied, his Danish majesty had declared war on Sweden, things should be restored on all sides agreeable to the tenour of that treaty.

As for Sweden, her demands were of a similar nature; for by insisting on the performance of the treaty of 1660, restitution was necessarily made of all the places taken from her during the present war. The propositions of the duke of Holstein Gottorp, put into the hands of the mediators by his envoys, received no answer at all, passing wholly unnoticed, because the Danish ambassador refused to acknowledge the minister of that prince, who was allied with Sweden, protected by France, and for those reasons dispossessed of his dominions by the king of Denmark.

Such were the propositions made for establishing peace in the North, while the kings of Denmark and Sweden were making vigorous preparations for continuing the war. Christian reflecting, that his chief advantage would arise from his superiority at sea, sent admiral Tromp to solicit more powerful succours from the states general of the United Provinces. On the other hand, his Swedish majesty having regained possession of Helsingburg, after the battle of Lunden, was taking measures for driving the Danes out of Bleking. He sent a detachment to attack Carelshaven, which was repulsed; but afterwards laying siege in form to the place, it was surrendered after a brave defence. Christianshaven was the next object of his designs; to this he laid siege early in the spring, and Christian

Preparations for prosecuting the war.

A.D. 1677.

marched

marched with an army of twenty thousand men to its relief. Although the Swedes were strongly posted, they not only refused battle, but decamped with precipitation, and were followed by that part of the army which had invested the city.

*The Danes
lay siege to
Malmoe.*

As soon as Christian had reinforced the garrison, and thrown in the necessary supplies, he marched in pursuit of the Swedish army, but could not come up with it. However, he resolved to undertake the siege of Malmoe, because the possession of this strong hold would secure the conquest of Schonen. The army arrived before the town on the 19th of June, and carried the counterscarp by the 1st of July: then playing furiously on the citadel, from the 2d to the 5th, he effected a lodgement on the parapet of the covered way, where a battery, to play on the east gate, was raised. Christian, naturally humane, would have delayed the siege a little longer, rather than sacrifice so many lives in pushing it with all the vigour that was possible; but certain intelligence which he received of the motions of the Swedish army and fleet, rendered all possible dispatch necessary. He therefore resolved to finish the affair by a general assault, which was fixed for the evening of the 6th of July. The troops of Munster were ordered to make a false attack in one quarter, while three other attacks were pushed with the utmost vigour. The Danes mounted the ramparts sword in hand, carried the works before la Greve gate, took post at the bastion called Stockholm, and between Gottenburg and Malmoe bastions. They were preparing to burst open the gate for the cavalry, when the draw-bridge broke down. Upon this accident, the besieged took courage, and the Danes were dispirited, on seeing colonel Bibon, with his corps, drowned. Those who had entered the town were forced to retreat with precipitation; and this unfortunate assault ended with the loss of two thousand men to his Danish majesty. Immediately the siege was raised, and from this time we may date the reverse of fortune of the Danish arms by land.

Siege raised

The advantages which his majesty gained by sea compensated in some measure for the losses on shore. Admiral Juel, having intelligence that a Swedish squadron of eighteen sail lay at Gottenburg, to join the main fleet, resolved to attack it before the junction could be effected, though this fleet consisted only of eleven ships of the line. On his approach the enemy cut their cables, and both fleets began a general cannonading which lasted five hours, without any considerable damage to either, a calm preventing Juel from coming to a close engagement. In the morning

a favour-

a favourable gale springing up, the Danes bore down with all their sail, and began the attack with such fury, that six Swedish ships were disabled. Juel fearing lest the Swedish admiral might escape under favour of the smoke, left the pursuit of the six damaged ships to the rest of his squadron, and with his own ship boarded the admiral. The engagement was warm and obstinate, both ships being nearly of equal force, and both admirals determined to conquer. Juel's fortune however prevailed, and the Swede struck, after a desperate combat of two hours. A complete victory followed; the Admiral, of sixty guns, and three hundred men; the Angel Gabriel, of fifty guns, and two hundred men; the Calmar, Wrangel, and Sirene, each of forty-six guns, being taken, together with one fire-ship, and two transports. In all, about three thousand Swedes were taken and killed, with the loss only of two hundred and fifty men on the side of Juel.

The Danes defeat the Swedish fleet.

Four days after the siege of Malmoe was raised, Juel performed another no less signal advantage to his master. He was attacked by the Swedish fleet near the isle of Mona. The admirals Horn, Clerk, the best officers in the Swedish marine, and Warksmuster, led the enemy's fleet, composed of forty sail, in three divisions. Greatly superior in force, they doubted not of being able to wipe off the late disgrace; but Juel supplied the want of numbers by conduct, vigilance, and courage. Gaining the wind of the enemy by dint of superior skill, he broke their line, put their fleet in confusion, and took the Mars of seventy-two guns, Julius Cæsar of sixty, Sea Wolf of fifty-six, the Lyon of fifty-two, Dragon and Saturn, each of sixty-four, and sunk the Jupiter of sixty guns. Never was the valour of Juel more tried than in this engagement, in which his ship, the Christian, was attacked by six large ships of the enemy, and so much damaged, that the admiral was forced to send her out of the line, and continue the fight in the Frederic, that happily came up to his relief.

Swedish fleet defeated a second time.

Just as the battle was ended the Dutch squadron, so impatiently expected, came in sight, but too late to claim any share in the glory of the day. Tromp, however, intercepted three sixty-gun ships before they got into Malmoe, burnt one, and sunk the other two in presence of his Danish majesty, who was a witness of this action from the shore.

A scene very different was acting where his majesty commanded in person. Weakened by the loss of Malmoe, he was attacked between Helsingburg and Landskroon by the

Battle between the two armies.

king of Sweden, and an army near double the number of his own. Both princes performed prodigies of valour: they seemed rivals in courage and glory. Charles exposed himself to the thickest of the fire, and Christian, with his own hand, slew several Swedish officers, who successively attempted to make him prisoner. Fatigue, joined to the excessive heat of the sun, at last put an end to the battle, the Swedes keeping the field, and the Danes retreating to their camp at Landskroon in good order. His Danish majesty's loss, indeed, was great; but his good conduct prevented the Swedes from deducing any considerable advantage from their victory, for such it must be allowed.

Count Guldenlew, the king's governor of Norway, formed a scheme to reduce Maelshand, a small fortified town in the district of Bahus, situated upon a rock. His measures were so well taken, that he not only made himself master of this place, but of Carelstyn, a strong place, surrounded by high walls; and encompassed by rugged mountains. Encouraged by this success, he detached two thousand horse and foot, under the command of the colonels Haven and Schultzen, to attempt regaining Jempterland, which had been wrested from Denmark at the peace of Copenhagen. The march made with such rapidity over rocks, mountains, and seemingly impervious woods, was altogether astonishing. Schultzen forced a post defended by four hundred men, and a battery, where the natural situation would, by any other officer, have been deemed an insuperable obstruction.

Amidst a variety of operations in Norway, we shall only take notice of one attended with more important consequences than the rest. The Swedish army, ten thousand strong, hearing that the Danes were in motion to give them battle, did not decline the engagement. On the 7th of September both armies came within sight of each other; they soon began a general fire with their artillery; and general Lewenhelm, who led the vanguard, begun the fight on the side of the Danes. He attacked them sword in hand, as the heavy rains had rendered his fire-arms useless. At first he was warmly received; but the resistance made

*The Swedes
defeated.*

by the Swedes was not of long duration. They soon were put in disorder, their infantry totally defeated, and their cavalry obliged to seek safety in their flight. They lost a great number of officers, four hundred soldiers, six hundred were made prisoners, all their artillery was taken, together with standards, colours, and other military trophies.

To this were added several advantages gained by the Danish fleet and army, commanded by the king in person, and by Van Tromp the Dutch admiral; the former having taken the isle of Rugen; and the latter, after having made descents on the islands of Oeland, Smaland, Uno, and Kuno, burnt to ashes the city of Westerwyck, pillaged several villages, and carried off richer booty than had been got in any preceding actions. Stettin was likewise taken by the elector of Brandenburg, assisted with a strong detachment of Danish infantry; and it was believed that the Swedes would be forced to evacuate all their conquests in the empire. But these conjectures were ill founded. The Danes had a dangerous enemy to combat in the person of the experienced count Königsmark. After this general, overpowered by numbers, had abandoned Rugen, he was reduced to great difficulties, from which nothing could have extricated him but the most extraordinary efforts of courage and ability. Pent up in the neighbourhood of Stralsund, where his men daily perished with famine, he resolved to risque all for their relief, and to avoid the necessity of yielding at discretion. He formed a plan, which he communicated to the magistrates of Stralsund; they approved of it, because they confided in his experience, and saw the extremity to which he was reduced. To shew their attachment to the crown of Sweden, they joined him with a body of burghers. With a favourable gale, Königsmark embarked his infantry, and sent some vessels to Gilles, to draw the attention of the Danes on that side, and persuade them that he meditated a descent on Schapperode or Wittaw. But the Danes, who saw themselves masters of the island, with an army of nine thousand men, believed they were so much superior to the enemy, that they paid little regard to their motions. Instead of disputing the landing with Königsmark, they encamped on a large plain at some distance from the shore. The Swede immediately marched up, began a cannonading, and played his artillery so judiciously, that the right wing of the Danes was put in disorder. General Rumor being killed by a cannon-ball, disputes arose among the Danish officers about the command: all subordination ceased, the army was in confusion, and became an easy prey to the Swedes. Some regiments, however, upon the right, performed their duty. The colonels, without waiting for orders from the commander in chief, attacked the Swedish left wing with irresistible fury, and broke it, in spite of all the endeavours of Königsmark, who was continually reinforcing it with fresh troops; but the rest of the

Other advantages gained.

A.D. 1678.

The Swedes re-take the isle of Rugen.

*Danes
defeated.*

army not coming to their support, the Danes were at last forced to retreat, and leave a clear victory to the enemy, who would have made prodigious slaughter, had they not been interrupted in the pursuit by marshes, which cut them off from the Danish camp. However, the consequences of this defeat were fatal; for no less than five thousand men fell into Königsmark's hands a few days after the battle; so well had he taken his measures, and such was the confusion and anarchy that reigned in the Danish army.

*Christian
attempts to
relieve
Christian-
stadt.*

Christian was chagrined at this loss, and employed all his endeavours in scheming revenge. It was greatly his interest to raise the siege of Christianstadt, which place the Swedish army had invested, and he left nothing unattempted to effect this design. His fleet under Juel, on which he had the chief reliance, put to sea, but was greatly damaged by a storm, that obliged the admiral to relinquish the expedition.

The Danish general Arensdorff had better fortune; he took the town and citadel of Helsingburg, and had just signed the capitulation, and received the keys of the gates, when advice arrived, that the Swedish monarch was on his march to relieve the garrison. Several other diversions were made to draw the king of Sweden's attention from the siege of Christianstadt, a place equally important to both monarchs, with respect to the security of Schonen. His Danish majesty placed his greatest hopes in the success of the siege of Bahus, a place invested by general Guldenlew. This however failed; for, as the general was on the point of storming the town, having made himself master of all the outworks, the Swedes arrived with a powerful army to its relief. All these diversions having failed in producing the desired effect, his majesty determined upon one last effort to relieve Christianstadt, which was now reduced to the last extremity for want of provisions. With this view he put himself at the head of his army, composed of twelve thousand men. Arensdorff, and the duke de Croy, commanded the right wing; the generals Wedel and Meerheym conducted the left, composed of the forces of Munster, and the king in person; the count de St. Paul commanding under him, led the main body. At the same time the fleet was ordered to approach the harbour of Christianstadt, and practise every endeavour to throw in supplies. Two faults committed by general Arensdorff frustrated the king's project. Contrary to his orders, he deferred until next day seizing upon an eminence which overlooked and commanded the enemy's camp, who taking
advantage

advantage of this error, fortified the post. In every other part the camp was so well fortified by the nature of the situation, as to render it inaccessible; and sensible of this advantage, the Swedes prudently declined all his majesty's cartels and challenges to fight. In a word, they carried their point without running any hazard; Christianstadt was forced to surrender in sight of the Danish army; and the king, who attributed the whole loss to Arensdorff, was so much incensed, that he ordered that officer to be put under arrest.

His majesty's arms were more successful in another quarter. Juël sailed for the isle of Rugen, and took his measures, conjointly with the elector of Brandenburg, so well, that the island was retaken, Stralsund and Gripswald were reduced, and several lesser advantages gained. Christian had afterwards an interview with the elector, to concert their future operations. Nothing farther, however, was attempted for that season. The public attention was engrossed by the negotiations resumed at Nimeguen, and the unfortunate fate of the garrisons of Stralsund and Gripswald, amounting to four thousand men, all of whom were shipwrecked off the island of Borkholm. When these towns surrendered it was stipulated, that the garrisons should be transported into Sweden, on board the ships of the allies. Christian made some objections to this article, as count Königsmark had broke some parts of his engagement with the Danish troops in Rugen. At last he granted it; and the fleet was cast away.

Rugen retaken by the Danes.

It was now reported, that the states general of the United Provinces had lent an ear to the propositions of the court of France, and agreed on a separate peace. Immediately the plenipotentiaries of Denmark represented to their high mightinesses their treaty with the king, their master, in the strongest manner, urging the performance of terms mutually advantageous, with all the arguments of reason and rhetoric. But all was in vain: the states had taken their resolution, and nothing could divert them from putting an end to a war which had proved so ruinous to them, however successful their fleets in the Baltic had been. All that the other allies could do was to enter a protest against their proceedings, a step that was taken by the ambassadors of Denmark, Brandenburg, and Munster. Their example was followed by all the other parties engaged in this general war, who had now signed a separate peace. Denmark and Brandenburg were now left alone to withstand all the power of France and Sweden by sea and land; however, they determined not to relinquish

Negotiations at Nimeguen.

their conquests, or cede an inch of what they believed their just right. This was the elector's determination, as well as the king's; but some motions made by the army under the marshal Crequi, soon convinced the former; that his only method of avoiding the impending storm, was to renounce his alliance with Denmark, and embrace the propositions made by France and Sweden. Thus Christian remained single of all the allies to fight his own quarrel. His fleet was always superior; but the march of Crequi, after the elector had signed the peace, towards Oldenburg and Delmehorst, convinced his Danish majesty, that France would act with all her force in favour of Sweden; and that, to avoid the consequences of a war carried on against two such formidable powers, it was necessary to follow the example of the other allies: he therefore gave directions to his minister to sign the treaty; a circumstance which alone was wanting to re-establish the tranquillity of the Christian powers, embroiled for such a number of years. Accordingly, peace was concluded between France, Denmark, and Sweden, on the 2d of September, 1679; all the summer having passed without any considerable military operations on either side.

Peace concluded between Sweden and Denmark.

By this treaty Charles was put in possession of all he claimed before the war; and Christian, after prodigious exertions of courage and conduct, was forced, through the fault of his allies, to sit down disappointed in all those views which had first induced him to declare against Sweden. The duke of Holstein Gottorp recovered his dominions and sovereignty in consequence of the peace; and the treaties of Roschild, Copenhagen, and Westphalia, were declared in force between the courts of Denmark and Holstein, the same as if they had been transcribed word for word in the present treaty. It was at Fontainebleau that the peace between the three crowns was signed; besides, a separate treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, was executed at Lunden between the ambassadors of Denmark and Sweden, in presence of the French ministers. Finally, the more firmly to connect the two northern crowns, a treaty of marriage was proposed between the princess Ulrica Eleonora of Denmark and the king of Sweden. The terms were accepted, but the ceremony was deferred until the spring of the following year, on account of the multiplicity of business in which both kings were engaged, in restoring the tranquillity of their kingdoms, and redressing all the disorders and grievances introduced by a long and bloody war.

While

While the treaty of peace was in agitation, king Christian advanced the greater part of his army towards the river Elbe, under the pretext of disputing the passage with Crequi and the French general. This march gave uneasiness to the city of Hamburgh; the magistrates expressed their resentment, particularly on general Wedel's building a fort in their neighbourhood. At last, upon seeing the king's forces daily increase, they took the alarm, and seemed convinced that these preparations had a farther design than was acknowledged. First, they made remonstrances, and then took effectual steps for the security of their city; precautions extremely seasonable, as Christian had certainly formed designs to surprise it. He had reconnoitred the ground in person, and formed a plan for besieging the city, in case his attempts to surprise it should have failed. He published a manifesto, declaring his rights to that city, which was answered by the Hamburghers, and then began to enforce his claim by arms. Batteries were raised, lines drawn, and approaches made in a regular manner, that convinced the inhabitants he was not to be resisted by arguments; they therefore applied to France for her mediation, and Lewis XIV. wrote a letter with his own hand to Christian, exhorting him not to disturb the repose so lately granted to Europe, by entering upon fresh disputes. The house of Brunswick having already sent a body of troops for the defence of the city, laboured so heartily in effecting an accommodation, that a sort of provisional treaty was concluded on the 1st day of November.

*Christian
lays siege to
Hamburgh.*

By this the city of Hamburgh agreed to pay his majesty, at five stated instalments, the sum of two hundred and twenty thousand crowns, on condition that he should sheath the sword, lay aside the resentment he had conceived against this city; renounce his pretensions to those territories possessed conjointly between Lubec and Hamburgh; restore the shipping and merchandize he had taken belonging to the city, together with several other articles, which it would be unnecessary to enumerate. By the third article the city of Hamburgh engaged to send deputies to Christian, to declare the sentiments of the magistrates and burghers with respect to his majesty.

*Peace
with the
Hamburghers.*

Thus peace was happily established; and the Danish army began to retire from the duke of Holstein Gottorp's territories. Several marriages were celebrated among the parties concerned in the war; and among others, that of the princess Eleonora of Denmark with his Swedish ma-

A.D. 1680. *jeſty.* On the 25th of February ſhe was demanded by M. Guldenſtern, the Swediſh ambaffador, at Copenhagen; but her departure was deferred on account of a fever, with which ſhe was ſeized. At length her royal highneſs ſet out for Sweden, where the nuptials were celebrated with all imaginable pomp and magnificence.

*Chriſtian's
policy.*

Chriſtian next applied himſelf to the affairs of the empire, in order finally to terminate the differences between the houſes of Auſtria and Bourbon, which met with numberleſs difficulties. He laboured ſo heartily in this buſineſs, that he received the thanks of the diet at Ratiſbon; but not ſatisfied with general declarations, he entered into an alliance, offensive and deſenſive, with the elector of Brandenburg and biſhop of Munſter, whereby the contracting parties engaged with all their power to preſerve the peace of the empire, and mutually to aſſiſt each other in caſe either ſhould be attacked. Although in fact this alliance was no more than deſenſive, it gave umbrage to the United Provinces, who called it an offensive league, calculated for ſome end not ſpecified in the treaty. They were afraid his majeſty had formed deſigns on their homeward-bound Eaſt-India fleet; and their fears were augmented by the attention which he gave to his marine. There had been ſome differences between the two nations, on account of a Daniſh ſhip taken by the Hollanders on the coaſt of Guinea; but the event ſhewed that Chriſtian had no intention of coming to a rupture by making reſpriſals. Chriſtian uſed all poſſible endeavours to diſpel the clouds of ſuſpicion gathered in Holland; he wrote to the city of Amſterdam, proteſting, that far from giving any diſturbance to the commerce of the United Provinces, it ſhould be his ſtudy aſſiduouſly to cultivate the good intelligence between Denmark and Holland. As France was now included in the late treaty of alliance, he thought it neceſſary to declare, that the ſole object of this confederacy was no other than to preſerve that tranquillity which Europe had begun to taſte.

A.D. 1682.

In the month of July, Chriſtian and the elector of Brandenburg had an interview at Itzoha; but the buſineſs tranſacted at this conference is rather conjectured than known. Common report would have it, that Holſtein was the ſubject of their converſation. Certain it is, that not long after, his majeſty impoſed a tax of eighteen crowns upon each plough in the duchy; and the duke, not in a condition to oppoſe this reſolution, was forced to conſent to ſee the inhabitants oppreſſed.

From

From Itzoha his majesty returned with all expedition to Copenhagen, on advice that a strong Swedish fleet had put to sea. Here he arrested two Lubec ships, under pretence that the regency owed him a sum of money. The duke of Lunenburg first interposed, and afterwards the imperial minister complained loudly at this method of proceeding, both as guarantees of the late treaty at Nimeguen, and protectors of the Hanse Towns: however, they obtained no redress, and the vessels were at length released, in consequence of a deputation from the regency.

A difference likewise happened between the fleets of Sweden and Denmark. The former having put in by stress of weather at Elsinore, refused to pay the usual honours to the flag of Denmark. This refusal the Danish admiral resented, and begun firing upon the Swedes, who at last lowered their flag and struck their colours. The Swedish envoy complained of this violence at Copenhagen; he insisted upon the admiral's being broke, a demand which Christian peremptorily refused, though he found other means to terminate the affair amicably.

*Differences
between
Denmark
and the
neighbour-
ing powers.*

Next year a dispute of more consequence arose between Denmark and the republic of Holland. The Danes complained that their settlement was driven out of Bantam, by the king's son, at the instigation of the Dutch; they demanded not only to be indemnified in the immense losses they had sustained, but that their company should be restored to all the rights and privileges they before enjoyed. The dispute was warmly carried on by both parties, and it was believed that the difference between the two companies would occasion a rupture between both nations. However, the business was too important to be suddenly determined. Both agreed to wait for farther advices from the Indies; and thus the dispute was delayed, but not decided.

It was apprehended, from the preparations made by Sweden, Denmark, Bavaria, and Lunenburg, that the tranquillity of Germany would be again interrupted. Each of the above princes were busied in putting their armies on the best footing; and the forces of Denmark were actually in a flourishing condition, having been lately augmented, in consequence of a subsidy from the French court. Christian reviewed his army at Oldsloe, a circumstance which raised jealousies in the regency of Lubec and duke of Lunenburg. The former put the city in the best state of defence, and the latter augmented his army to twenty thousand men; but nothing was undertaken by either side.

The

*The king
lays siege to
Hamburgh.*

The first actual hostilities happened between his majesty and the city of Hamburgh. Private dissensions had arisen in that city, the people refusing to pay the taxes imposed by the senate. Matters were carried so high, that all government ceased, and the whole was one confused anarchy. A more favourable opportunity could not offer for Christian's renewing his demand on Hamburgh. He immediately embraced the occasion, and presented himself with a powerful army before the gates, demanding that he might be acknowledged protector of the city against the emperor's usurpation, and threatening in case of refusal to treat the inhabitants as enemies. The senate not giving ear to these propositions, he enforced his menaces with actions. He attacked some of the out-forts sword in hand, hoping to reduce the city by bombardment, if he succeeded in securing his approaches: but he was repulsed with loss. A second attack was made with all imaginable fury; but the fort having a communication with the city, it was constantly supplied with fresh troops, so that the assailants were forced to desist, with more loss than in the former attempt.

A. D. 1685.

It was now found impossible to succeed by assault; his majesty therefore resolved to proceed regularly, and besiege the fort in form, after having cut off the communication between it and the city. But while he was engaged in making his approaches to the fort, the Lünenburg infantry, and a body of Brandenburg cavalry, entered the city. These were soon joined by a strong corps of Swedish matrosses and gunners from the duchy of Bremen, the whole garrison forming an army of twelve thousand men. However, the king did not relinquish his design; he continued drawing lines to cut off the communication, and erecting batteries to play on this strong fort. Several little forts were built to cover his operations, which the Hamburgers perceiving, determined to drive the Danes from their works. A vigorous sally was made, and about five hundred Danish infantry were cut in pieces before the cavalry could come to their assistance: afterwards the scene changed, the Hamburgers were repulsed, driven back to the town, and scarce able to prevent the Danish cavalry from entering the gates with them pell-mell.

*Peace re-
solved.*

Immediately after this conflict, a negociation was set on foot by the elector of Brandenburg and the duke of Zell, who came to Harburg, on the opposite side of the river, to push the mediation with the more vigour. The English envoy strenuously promoted an accommodation, which was at length

length concluded, after his Danish majesty had made fruitless attempts to lay the city in ashes with his bombs. The principal article of this treaty was, that matters should remain as they then stood, until the year 1700, without detriment to the claim of his Danish majesty.

Although the city of Hamburgh was now secured by a peace, guaranteed by princes able to protect her, yet she did not fail to keep herself in a posture of defence. Christian's standing army, and close alliance with France and England, gave the alarm not only to the senate of Hamburgh, but to all the neighbouring princes. The North enjoyed peace; but all the princes made vigorous preparations, as if they intended coming to an immediate rupture. This conduct was owing to the intrigue and policy of France, who finding it necessary to maintain a large army for the defence of her conquests, thought of nothing but to keep all the neighbouring kingdoms in a state of suspense. Her views were to exhaust their funds for carrying on a war, in case they should unite to retrench the power of the house of Bourbon.

An ordonnance published this year by the king of Denmark furnished new matter of speculation, and gave the alarm in particular to the Dutch. The treaty of commerce concluded in 1647 between Denmark and the United Provinces being now expired, his majesty raised the duties on Dutch shipping passing the Sound, and prohibited the exportation of black cattle out of Jutland, and other parts of his dominions. It was presumed that he had farther designs, and that these edicts were published with a view merely to excite fresh troubles. For this reason the Dutch laid an embargo on all their ships destined for the Baltic, to prevent their being seized by the Danes, in case his majesty should think fit to come suddenly to a rupture, before they should have taken measures for regulating the affair of the customs of the Sound. In the mean time their ambassador at Copenhagen procured a suspension for four years of any farther proceedings, till matters should be finally adjusted by a solemn treaty.

*His dispute
with the
Dutch.*

The affairs of the duchy of Holstein had been long in agitation. His Danish majesty still claimed the sovereignty of that duchy, and in a manner kept possession of Holstein, as appeared from the late heavy tax imposed on the people. To put a final end to their differences, the duke at last consented to a conference at Altena, to be conducted under the mediation of the emperor and elector of Brandenburg. Christian could not give stronger proofs of the justice

A. D. 1687.

*Negotiations re-
specting
Holstein.*

justice of his cause than by submitting to the mediation of princes visibly, nay professedly, biased in favour of the duke. His highness relied upon his declining the conference upon such terms; but finding that Christian accepted the proposal, he did all that lay in his power to confound the business of the negotiation, which he knew must terminate to his disadvantage. All his endeavours, however, being frustrated by the vigilance and policy of Christian, his highness was compelled, as the last resource, to accede to the proposed accommodation, in hopes that fortune might one day prove more favourable to his pretensions.

A.D. 1688.

The two northern crowns continued their armaments, and the duke raised his hopes in proportion as he saw the Swedish army increase. At last he published a memorial, in which he demanded, first, that the duchy of Sleswick, and the territory called *le Don de Dieu*, with its dependencies, should be restored to the same situation in which they stood in 1674, when they were sequestered: secondly, that the treaties of Roschild, Copenhagen, Fontainebleau, and Lunden, should be the basis of the negotiation, and that of Rendsburg totally annulled: thirdly, that the isle of Femeren, the bailliages of Trittaw, Trensbuttle, and Steenhurst, should be given up without any equivalent or remaining claim: and, fourthly, that his highness should enjoy all the prerogatives of sovereignty, particularly those of collecting and imposing taxes, and of declaring war and peace. Several other particulars, which we need not mention, were specified in this memorial.

A.D. 1689.

His majesty answered every article in a memorial which he published immediately after the appearance of the duke's. He began with observing, that the treaties mentioned by the duke, could not possibly lay the foundation of the desired negotiation, as the face of affairs was greatly altered since that time; and the duke having once refused their authority, he had now no right to claim any benefit from them. Every article was minutely answered, and the differences at last ended by the treaty of Altena, concluded under the mediation of England and Brandenburg; the former influenced to intercede by the solicitations of prince George of Denmark, and the latter from a desire to prevent Sweden's marching an army into Pomerania. By this treaty a general amnesty was agreed upon, and a perpetual union and friendship took place between the courts of Denmark and Holstein. His Danish majesty restored the duke to all his dominions and sovereignties, with the right of levying taxes, making alliances,

ances, declaring war, concluding peace, building or demolishing fortresses: in a word, all the prerogatives his highness enjoyed, from the treaty of Westphalia and the North, to the year 1665, and likewise all that he could claim from the treaty of Fontainbleau. The king also consented to the redemption of the isle of Femeren, and the bailliages of Steenhurst, Trensbutle, and Trittaw, which had been mortgaged to the crown of Denmark.

*Conclusion
of the dif-
ference be-
tween Den-
mark and
Holstein.*

On the other hand his highness renounced all claims, pretensions, and actions against his majesty for the damages he had sustained by the retention of his dominions; and the king's levying his revenues for many years past. He likewise yielded up all claims in consequence of the verdict obtained against the duke of Holsten Ploen in the imperial chamber. As to the treaty of perpetual union, family connections, conventions, and private contracts, they were put on the same footing in which they stood before the year 1657, as was literally expressed in the treaties of Westphalia, Fontainbleau, &c. All other particulars were referred to an amicable decision, or to the course of law, without any attempts to be made on either side to succeed by force. In testimony of this agreement, two copies were made out, signed, sealed, and delivered to both parties at Altena, on the 20th of June, 1689. Such was the end of those differences betwixt the king and duke of Holstein, which were the immediate cause of the late war with Sweden, and had been for years the subject of jealousy, contention, and perpetual wrangling.

About this time some altercation happened between the courts of Versailles and Copenhagen, about some Danish ships which the French monarch had detained. Christian did not care to embroil himself with that crown. He knew the advantages which his subjects deduced from the French commerce: however, this trifling circumstance became the foundation of a treaty, which he soon after concluded with Sweden, by which it was agreed, that they should mutually resent the injuries done to either, and act in all respects like nations closely connected in interest, treaties, and natural alliances. Both, notwithstanding, consented to carry on trade in its utmost extent; a resolution which gave umbrage to the enemies of that monarchy, and was the occasion of the Hollanders attacking a fleet of Danish merchantmen bound for France. This was an affront which his majesty soon revenged, by ordering all Dutch vessels in his ports, and in the Sound, to be seized; a measure which soon re-

A D. 1690.

*Treaty
with
France.*

duced

duced the republic to the necessity of using supplications, and demanding an accommodation. A negociation for this purpose was set on foot, and a treaty finally concluded in the month of July, whereby Denmark was permitted freely to trade with France in all kinds of commodities, except such as were prohibited by former treaties : viz. salt-petre, pitch, powder, lead, and a few other articles. In consequence of this accommodation both sides released the shipping they had detained, and Denmark lived upon the same terms of amity as before with the republic.

A.D. 1697.

His majesty this year made a trip to Holstein, to visit the fortifications erecting with the duke's consent at Rensburg. Such progresses made by princes always furnish matter of speculation, and it is generally supposed they are actuated by other motives than those they declare. This was the case in the present instance. The public would have it, that a plan was concerted between the kings of Denmark and Sweden for the reduction of the cities of Hamburgh and Bremen. The conjuncture was indeed favourable for such a design ; all the princes interested in the preservation of these towns being otherwise engaged. However, all suspicion was banished by a letter which his Danish majesty wrote to the diet at Ratisbon, disclaiming an intention to molest either Hamburgh or Bremen, or any wise disturb the repose of the empire.

Nothing farther of moment happened in Denmark during the reign of Christian, except some little disputes with the Dutch, the duke of Holstein, and the cities of Hamburgh and Lubec, all which were accommodated with little trouble, and without the necessity of having recourse to arms.

*Death and
character
of Chro-
stian.*

It was now the policy of this great monarch to preserve to his people the blessings of peace, which he effectually did until his death, which happened on the 4th of September, 1699, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and in the twenty-ninth of his reign.

The breath had no sooner quitted his body, than some of the by-standers exclaimed at the window. " The king is dead ;" upon which count Raventlaw called over the window of the young queen, " Long live king Frederic IV." The count's voice was no sooner heard, than the heralds at arms solemnly proclaimed the prince king of Denmark, the gates of the city were shut for some days, all the troops put under arms, and an oath exacted from the senate, magistrates, and inhabitants, before they were opened.

Christian

Christian V. died with the reputation of one of the greatest monarchs in Europe, having given numberless proofs of his wisdom in the cabinet ; of his courage and conduct in the field ; of his affability, tender affection for his people, and every virtue which could engage esteem and love. His greatest enemies charge him only with one foible, and that was, in reposing too much confidence in the opinion of his ministers and generals, and thinking too meanly of his own understanding ; an amiable fault, that ever accompanies true merit. He spoke most of the modern languages, and had made a great progress in those branches of the mathematics which regarded the military art, and history. Christian was never so much pleased as when he was presented with some new geographical chart or plan of fortification. It would be unnecessary to dwell upon his character ; the Danes recite his virtues with the utmost satisfaction to this day.

F R E D E R I C IV.

WHEN Frederic IV. ascended the throne, he found it convenient to act precisely upon Christian's principles. He resolved to keep the duke of Holstein dependent on his crown, and with that view over-run the duchy, and undertook the siege of Tonningen, circumstances that laid the foundation of a long war, which will be particularized in the history of Sweden. His Swedish majesty laid siege to Copenhagen ; and the English and Dutch, as guarantees of the last peace, sent fleets into the Baltic ; vigorous measures which reduced Frederic to the necessity of signing the famous peace of Travendahl in August, 1700.

By this treaty, the full right of sovereignty was once more yielded to the duke of Holstein, who was to use, without controul, all the annexed prerogatives ; the right of making war, concluding peace, levying taxes, erecting or razing fortifications, &c. with this limitation, that he should not build within two miles of any Danish fort. It was likewise stipulated, that his Danish majesty should pay the duke two hundred and sixty thousand crowns ; and that the chapter of Lubec should be at liberty to elect for their bishop a prince of Holstein. Disputes however about this election happened the very next year.

A D. 1700.

In 1708, after making the tour of Italy, Frederic attacked the Swedes in Schonen, by whom he was roughly handled : however, his good fortune by sea compensated in a great measure his losses on shore. Three years after, in conjunction

tion with the Poles, he fell upon Swedish Pomerania, took Damgarten, but failed in some other enterprizes. Next year he made himself master of the duchy of Bremen, and city of Stadt; but his army was soon after defeated by the Swedes, and the fine town of Altena burnt to the ground. In 1714, and the year following, he was successful by sea and land, drove the Swedes out of Norway, reduced Wismar, and gained several other advantages, which he did not pursue, because he perceived they were less beneficial to himself than to his allies, who did not merit great services from him. This it was that inclined Frederic to peace, which was concluded in 1720, under the mediation of George I. king of Great Britain.

This treaty secured to his Danish majesty all he could reasonably desire. In particular, it procured what was of great consequence to him, the guarantee of France for the possession of the duchy of Sleswick. From this time his majesty passed his days in tranquillity, and only a single accident, the burning of his capital, occurred to disturb his repose. Frederic was certainly a wise prince, strongly inclined to promote the welfare of his subjects; brave and politic; but too enterprising, as some think, and ready to embrace the ideal schemes of projectors, upon which he squandered the public money, without deducing the expected advantages. He died in 1730, in the sixtieth year of his age, deeply regretted by all his subjects, and highly esteemed by the potentates of Europe ^a.

^a Vid. De Roches Hist. de Dan. Mem. de Dan. Relation de Dan. Present State of Europe. Annal. des Provinces Un. Hist. de Négociations de Paix de Nimeguen.

C H A P. I.

The History of Sweden.

S E C T. I

Of the Etymology, Geography, Form of Government, and present State of Sweden.

THE etymology of Sweden, like that of most other *Etymology of Sweden.* names, is disputed, and all the researches of the learned have only served to render it more doubtful. As the subject, indeed, is but of little importance to a reader who seeks for instruction, we shall avoid entering into the debate, contenting ourselves with one or two of the most natural and obvious etymons. Some derive Sweden from Swen^a, which to this day signifies *warlike, youthful, &c.* in the Swedish language, and was, for that reason, bestowed on many of the kings and warriors of this country. Others again derive it from Scyth or Scythia^b, by a transposition of letters, and gradual change of sound; which we think altogether forced. Lastly, Grotius^c conjectures, that it may be derived from Swedt, *sweat*, intimating the hard labour the first colony from Scythia, settled here, underwent, in clearing the woods, and rendering the country fit for tillage. But the archbishop of Upsal, in his Annals, calls the ancient Swedes, Swediodar and Sui-thiodar (A), said to be derived from one of the names of the idol Oden; whence he deduces Suedia. Without insisting upon either of these derivations, it is sufficient that centuries back this kingdom has been known by the name of Suedia, which we have changed to Sweden, agreeable to the rules of the English language.

The part of ancient Scandinavia known by the name of *Geography* Sweden, is bounded by the Baltic, the Sound, and the Schagirac or Categate, on the south; by Norwegian Lapland on the north; on the east it has Muscovy; and towards

^a Loccen. Antiq. Suev. Goth. p. 8.

^b Ol. Mag. p. 156.

^c Grot. in Procop. p. 53.

(A) The archbishop's opinion is confirmed by almost all the ancient monuments with Runic inscriptions, as well as by the Annals of S. Olaus, the Edda, and other fragments of antiquity. In all of these the words Suidioda, Swediodar, or Sui-thiodar, frequently occur.

the west it is secured by the impervious mountains of Norway. Sweden comprehends a vast tract of continent, extending from fifty-five degrees twenty-two minutes, to sixty-nine degrees thirty-one minutes north latitude; and from the eleventh to the thirty-second degree of longitude, east from London. It must be observed, that Finland, though part of it was ceded to Muscovy at the last peace, is included within these limits: but as the frontiers of bordering kingdoms frequently vary, we chuse to adhere to such as were formerly deemed boundaries, and always called a part of Sweden.

*The great
divisions of
Sweden.*

This potent kingdom may be divided into seven grand provinces, each containing several lesser divisions, which it would be unnecessary to enumerate. The great divisions are, 1. Sweden proper, bounded on the north by Lapland, and on the south by Gothland, extending seven hundred and ten miles from north to south, and near two hundred and twenty-five from east to west. 2. Gothland, surrounded on the east, south, and west, by the Baltic, the Sound, and part of the northern ocean. 3. Livonia, or Liefland, as the natives term it, bounded by the gulf of Finland on the north, the duchy of Courland and Lithuania on the south, by Muscovy on the east, and on the west by the gulf of Riga. 4. Ingermenland, or Ingria, bounded on the north by the gulf of Finland, the river Nieva, and the great lake Ladoga; on the east, by an imaginary line extending from the town of Luba to the river Luga. 5. Finland, or Finingia, stretching from the polar circle, or Kimi Lapland on the north, to the gulf of Finland on the south. 6. Swedish Lapland, bounded on the north by Danish Lapland, on the south and south-east by Jempterland, Angermania, and Bothnia; on the west, by the high ridge of mountains which separate it from Norway, extending in length from east to west about three hundred and sixty miles, and in breadth from sixty-five degrees thirty minutes, to sixty-nine degrees of north latitude. 7. The islands of Gothland, Oeland, Oesel, Dago, Aland, Hogland, and Rugen, which last is at present disputed between the Swedes and Prussians, as indeed are almost all the Swedish dominions in Germany. On this side, as well as on its frontiers towards Muscovy, the limits of Sweden are precarious, depending wholly on the success of a war, and the ability of the ministry in the cabinet; it cannot therefore be expected we should be very accurate in this particular, with respect to the present possessions of the crown ^d.

^d Geograph. Moderne, p. 726.

The capital of Sweden is Stockholm, the metropolis of the whole kingdom, situated in Sweden Proper, and built on the junction of several little islands, upon piles, taking its name from two words expressive of that circumstance, *Stock*, timber, and *Holm*, island. About three hundred and forty years ago these islands were inhabited only by poor fishermen; but upon the building of a castle on one of them, to stop the incursions of the northern barbarians the Muscovites, the court was translated hither for security, houses were built, adjacent islands joined to this, and the city in time enlarged to its present dimensions, reported to make one of the largest cities in Europe, with respect to the number of houses, though the number of inhabitants does not exceed thirty-five thousand. In general, the houses are of wood, though persons of fashion build with brick. When a fire breaks out, it generally carries all before it, notwithstanding the excellent police established in this respect. Most of the timber buildings are made in Finland, according to models sent, and transported by water to Stockholm, ready to put up; so that losses sustained by fire are soon repaired, and less pernicious to the public than in almost any other country. Stockholm is stronger by nature than by art. Towards the sea it is secured by a number of little islands, which render the harbour difficult of access; and on the opposite side it is defended by the lake Mellern, which falls into the sea, and by high, unpassable mountains. The principal city stands in the island of Stockholm, about a mile and a half in circumference, the rest of the islands forming the suburbs, are connected with it by bridges. In the island of Stockholm stood the old citadel, long since destroyed by fire; at present it is embellished by the magnificent church of St. Nicholas, the senate-house, royal palace, the court of chancery, criminal college, a beautiful library, and a variety of other noble public and private edifices.

*Of the city
of Stock-
holm.*

As to the government of Stockholm, it is in the hands of the great stadtholder, who is, in consequence of his office, a privy-counsellor. Once every week he sits in the town-house, to adjust the affairs of the city; and assisted by a sub-stadtholder and baliff of the castle, presides in the college of criminals, by some called the college of execution. The next magistrates to him, in rank, are the four burgomasters, each of whom has his distinct department, and with them the counsellors of the city always vote, resolutions being taken by a majority of voices. Besides stated salaries, all these magistrates have certain perquisites, arising from taxes laid on the inhabitants for the support of government, so

that they are not only honourable but lucrative places. Besides these salaries and perquisites, which are all issued from the city-treasury, Stockholm maintains a guard of three hundred soldiers. To support this expence, besides a duty on all goods imported and exported, which amounts to a considerable sum, this being the great mart of Sweden, a yearly tax is imposed on the burghers, adjusted by a common-council of forty-eight persons chosen out of their own number, who regulate the imposition according to circumstances. Indeed they amount so high, that, with the king's taxes, they would be intolerable, but for the extraordinary privileges in trade which they enjoy. It is the excellency and safety of the harbour that chiefly conduces to render Stockholm the great seat of trade. For this reason all imported goods are brought hither, which are exchanged for the produce of the country, hemp, flax, pitch, deal, copper, and iron, commodities in themselves so valuable, that they draw a ballance against almost all the western and southern states of Europe.

In this province stands likewise the city of Upsal, long famous for its university, and the residence of an archbishop. What travellers usually regard here, are the cathedral, library, and botanical garden. It would be tedious to describe the other cities in Sweden Proper, as few of them merit a description; sufficient it is to observe, that each province within this grand division has its capital, besides a variety of market-towns of less consideration.

*Character
of the
Swedes.*

The Swedes in their persons, are robust, strong, healthy, and hardy, inured to fatigue, and capable of supporting hardships, beyond almost any other people. According to Puffendorf, the Swedes have a peculiar gravity of disposition, engaging enough when tempered by a correspondence with other nations. Vanity and ostentation are their prevailing foibles; but these blemishes are confined to externals, the love of dress, shew, and pomp, by which many families are involved in ruin. Conceit and self-sufficiency accompany their best qualities, destroy their effects, and give them a supercilious, disagreeable manner. Alert and ready enough in learning the elements of arts and science, they seldom make any great proficiency, on account of a certain impatience of temper and unsteadiness of mind; or, more probably, from that sufficiency taken notice of by our author, which persuades them that they are fully accomplished in their business, before they are half instructed. To their little taste for mechanic employments is owing their slow progress in useful manufactures, especially such as require application and ingenuity. We may add to this descrip-

description, that the severity of the climate seems to have influenced their minds as well as their bodies. Strength and solidity of judgment they often arrive at; but for vivacity and sprightliness of wit, these are qualities scarce understood in Sweden. Their natural genius disposes them to employments of fatigue and bodily labour, rather than the exercise of the imagination, and even in the art of war their generals have been famous for courage and enduring hardships, seldom for stratagem, intrigue, and those refined qualities of the head, that constitute great talents. The Swedish gentry are too proud to follow trade, or even the liberal professions, necessity alone compelling them to exercise the functions of the pulpit, the bar, or of medicine. As to the clergy, they affect gravity and long beards, which often supply the want of learning; however, as they exercise hospitality, they are greatly beloved by the people. We may perhaps attribute their little skill in controversy and theological erudition, to that despotism in the Swedish constitution, which admits not of liberty of conscience or disputes concerning religion. In the cities pride and arrogance are less prejudicial than among the country gentlemen. Here they will condescend to engage in trade; but, if we believe Motraye, they are better proficient in the art of cheating, and that species of little cunning, than of fair and honest traffic. The peasants, submissive, and even abject to their superiors, when sober, are turbulent, insolent, and frantic, when intoxicated, which is often the case, strong spirits being in the highest esteem among them; and perhaps with some degree of reason where the diet is poor, and the climate intensely cold. In general, the Swedes are religious in their way, constant at divine service, eminently loyal and attached to monarchy, but more so to liberty, or what they take for liberty; grave, even to formality; heavy, to the very borders of stupidity; not without a strong tincture of jealousy and envy.

The climate of this country is healthful; for though the winters are extremely cold, the air is clear and salubrious; violent storms and rains are seldom known in Sweden, and the sharp north wind serves to purify and refresh the air.

The Swedish coast is encompassed with innumerable small islands. The country abounds with fresh water lakes, and is likewise pervaded by many considerable rivers, among which the following are the principal.

The Motalastram, issuing from the Wetter-lake, is swelled by seventeen smaller streams, forms a cascade of sixteen feet, near Nordkiöping, and empties itself into the Baltic. The Stang, which divides Ostgothland into two parts. The

Gotheschelbe, rising in the Wener-lake, produces a cata-
ract of a great height, and falls into the North sea near Got-
tenburg. The Gullspang, that divides West Gothland
from Wormeland. The Dal-Elbe in Thal-land, or the vale
country, which is the largest river in Sweden.

Gothland produces a considerable quantity of corn,
wheat, rye, barley, oats, and pease; but this is so far from
being sufficient for the subsistence of the inhabitants, that
several hundred thousand quarters of grain are annually
imported into this kingdom.

Before we finish this exterior view of Sweden, it may
be necessary to say something of its woods and mines,
which form the most valuable of its merchantable com-
modities. As for the woods, they overspread the great-
er part of the whole kingdom, and are all of the resinous
kind, peculiar to cold climates, viz. pines, fir, juniper,
beech, and some oak. For some years the Dutch have
carried on a considerable trade with Sweden for deal,
which they find as good as that of Norway; the demand
for pitch and tar rose with the sale of deal, and now this
branch of trade begins to lessen the exports from Norway
and Denmark.

In Sweden there is one silver mine so considerable, that
it produces yearly to the crown about twenty thousand
crowns of pure silver; we mean, that the king has the
pre-emption of all silver dug in the mine, paying one-fourth
less than the real value. This mine has been so long
wrought, that it is more than a hundred and thirty fathom
deep, the roof being supported with strong arches of oak.
Writers speak only of one copper-mine that has been much
wrought, and even that, it is believed, will be relinquished,
the profits so little exceed the expence; but we are assured
that of late years several other mines have been opened
with great success.

Iron mines and forges are in great abundance, especially
in mountainous parts, where there is the conveniency of
falling streams, to turn their mills. It is computed that the
exports in iron amount to near four hundred thousand pounds
yearly; notwithstanding the forges have of late years been
so much increased in number, and the price of iron is
fallen by the rivalry among the traders. It is not many
years since the Swedes were so ignorant in mechanics, that
they exported all their iron-ore to Prussia and Dantzic,
where it was cast in bars, and sold by the name of Dant-
zic or Spruce iron; however, some ingenious Dutch artists

introduced the art of manufacturing it, and they are now extremely expert.

Of late years a variety of manufactures have been erected in Sweden, particularly silk and woollen, the latter of which begins to flourish; yet still the imports in silks, stuffs, and woollen cloths, are very considerable, though by no means equal to the goods exported, as has been asserted by some writers; the trade with France only being disadvantageous to Sweden. To regulate commerce there is a college of trade erected, under the conduct of a treasurer and four counsellors. The bank of Stockholm is of the utmost advantage to commerce, as it always assists the credit of the merchant, and prevents his ever being at a loss to make payments, or extend his stock. Bills are drawn upon each other, and stock transferred, without the trouble of transporting money from place to place, which would be an intolerable labour, particularly in Sweden, where the current money is copper, and payments are generally made in that metal. Indeed the greatest trade of this kingdom has been always conducted by foreigners, the natives wanting either genius, application, or sufficient capitals. Their iron-works are carried on upon credit: for instance, their merchants contract with the English, they receive a certain portion of the payment before they have dug an ounce of ore, and they are enabled to perform their articles sooner or later, just as the English merchant's money arrives. Their poverty and little disposition for commerce is of the utmost importance to the foreigners settled among them, who are permitted only because they are necessary.

The Swedes, and indeed most maritime nations, have followed the example of England, in establishing an act of navigation, prohibiting foreigners to bring to their markets any goods, but what are the product of their own country; an act that affects the Dutch chiefly, as they are the common carriers of Europe.

According to Tacitus, all government among the northern nations appears to have been monarchical^f. We may judge of their constitution by the nature of the governments they established in countries which they subdued. From them feudal tenures had birth; a kind of reward bestowed on the valiant and faithful, which, at that juncture, shewed the absolute power of the monarch, but in time became the instrument of hurting his prerogatives. These tenures were mostly held by military men, who, from their

Trade

Government of Sweden

A view of the ancient government of Sweden.

^f De Mor. German. p. 256.

possessions, constituted the nobility and gentry of the country, on condition of performing certain services to the crown. In course of time, they began to complain of the tyranny of the monarch, and to enter into associations and confederacies to oppose him. Battles were fought, and the prince, if worsted, was compelled to submit to certain limitations of his power, to admit the nobility and gentry into a share of the government, and perhaps to surrender his hereditary right to the crown, putting the power of election in the hands of the subjects. Neither despotism nor hereditary right were indeed universal over all the northern nations; but it appears, on the best authorities, to have been the most ancient form of government among the Swedes.

*Changes in
the constitution
upon
the first introduction
of the Christian
religion.*

On the first planting of Christianity, another powerful body, who from their influence over the minds of the people, and that slavish implicit obedience paid to the papal authority, obtained great wealth and credit, claimed a share in the administration, and controlled the power of the civil magistrate in proportion as the ecclesiastical influence gained strength. To ballance this power, as well as to restrain the pride of the nobility, the sovereign granted certain privileges to the burgesses and common people, entitling them to some influence in the legislature; but these being the vassals and tenants of the nobility, and greatly under the dominion of the clergy, were of little service to the crown, until a new regulation was made, whereby the commons were represented by a few leading wealthy persons among them, who were most independent of the barons. History, it is true, is not very clear, with respect to the manner in which the commons were first introduced into the great council of the nation; but we have documents sufficient to prove, that they were intended by the sovereign as a counterpoise to the nobility and clergy. They, again, in their turn, trespassed on the political line which separates the legislature, and keeps within certain boundaries the different departments that compose the constitution. Be this as it will, neither department so far encroached on the other, as absolutely to abolish any part of the constitution. The kingdom, for some centuries, has been governed by four estates, subordinate to the sovereign: 1. The nobility. 2. The clergy. 3. The burgesses. 4. The commons, or the peasants. Various attempts have been made by each to gain the ascendant, either by uniting itself with some other of the states, or throwing itself into the scale of the sovereign; but whatever temporary advantages

tages might be gained, were soon again lost, and the equal poise of government restored.

From a very early period of the monarchy, until the accession of Gustavus Ericson, in 1523, the crown of Sweden was elective, and the royal prerogatives were extremely limited. Vested with little more than the ensigns of sovereignty, the king could not declare war or make peace, impose taxes, or levy troops, without the consent of the states, or, during their recess, of the senate. His revenues were scanty, as his power was circumscribed. They arose from a trifling poll-tax on the peasants, fines and forfeitures in criminal cases, and certain small demesnes about Upsal. Even this revenue was reduced by the encroachments of the nobility and clergy: at last, it was brought so low, that the king could scarce maintain two hundred horses; and was, in short, considered as little more than the chief officer in the field, and the president in the high council of the nation. The senate engrossed to itself almost the whole executive power; and though the right of filling up vacancies belonged to the sovereign, by which means he retained some weight; yet the new senators no sooner tasted the sweets of independency, than they forgot their obligations to their benefactor, and struck into the measures of their colleagues, to extend their own power, and retrench that of the sovereign. The government of castles, fiefs, or manors, granted by the king during life only, was gradually altered to hereditary possessions, claimed as such by right, and held by no other title than force. The rents were stopped by the nobility, and the tythes by the clergy, under pretence that church-lands were exempted from all taxes and impositions. The archbishop of Upsal, both as primate of Sweden and head of the senate, became the chief man in power, and often contended with his sovereign about prerogatives, which indisputably were inherent in the crown; and the other officers of state, and governors of provinces, in time, claimed a like independency on that very authority they were first instituted to support. Not only the barons, but the clergy fortified castles, by which they maintained a despotic sway within certain jurisdictions; arming their vassals, they waged war with each other, like so many petty tyrants, and often against their king, whose weakness they despised and insulted. Too proud to seek redress at his courts, each obtained justice for himself by dint of arms; the people were slaves, the nobility and clergy absolute sovereigns, and the prince, originally destined to govern the whole, was reduced to a mere cypher.

The limitations of the ancient royal prerogative.

The

Gustavus Ericson resumes the prerogatives of the crown, and makes the government despotic.

The valour, prudence, and popularity of Gustavus, first restored its pristine splendor to the crown. The Danes become insupportably insolent; Gustavus stood up in defence of liberty, and by his generous efforts broke the yoke of usurpation. Gratitude took possession of every breast, and the states thought they could never sufficiently express their sense of the obligations they owed their deliverer. A solemn decree was passed, enabling Gustavus to take any measures he should think proper for the preservation of his dignity; his enemies were declared the enemies of the state; the right of peace and war was vested in him, with a variety of other prerogatives expressly specified in the decree.

A fortunate incident occurred at this time, which greatly assisted the designs of the artful monarch. Taking advantage of the Lutheran religion, now first introduced into Sweden, he recovered the royal castles and demesnes, which had been long alienated from the crown, and looked upon as church-property, under pretence of promoting the doctrine of Luther. The people, oppressed with ecclesiastical tyranny, rejoiced to see the clergy humbled, and the power and revenues of their favourite monarch enlarged. An act was passed by the states, ordaining, that all the privileges of the clergy should be at his majesty's disposal; that all grants of estates to the church, since the edict published by Canutson in 1447, should be repealed, and the lands so bequeathed, reunited to the crown; that the bishops should immediately surrender their strong holds, castles, and fortresses, to the king, and disband all their troops; that their pretended rights to fines and forfeitures should be restored to the royal prerogative, to which it originally belonged; that the superfluous plate and church-bells should be sold to pay the public debts; and that two-thirds of the tithes, usually possessed by the bishops and abbots, should be sequestered for the support of the army in time of war, and for erecting and endowing public schools in time of peace.

In consequence of an order from the diet, this decree was presented to the king by the chancellor and Olaus Petri, the great promoter of the protestant religion in Sweden, with an assurance, that the assembly would never, in the smallest instance, oppose his will*. Gustavus made a progress through Sweden, accompanied by a military force, to see the act put in execution. The clergy's tithes and grants were scrupulously examined, and many of them set

* Loccen, Hist. lib. vi.

aside, agreeable to the intention of the decree; whence the crown-revenues were augmented near two-thirds; besides thirteen thousand farms, which the church had appropriated to itself, were now annexed to the civil list, for the support of the royal dignity and of government. Gustavus then attacked the usurped rights of the nobility, in the same manner, and met with equal success. His next attempt was, to make the crown hereditary in his own family; to accomplish which aim, he assembled the states, and proposed in the most artful manner the abolition of that ancient custom of electing their monarchs, which had been attended with such a variety of calamities. Having recapitulated his own services, and the happy effects which would necessarily flow from his proposal, he assumed an air of sovereignty, and enforced his rhetoric with certain intimations, which the assembly well understood, that he would have his will punctually obeyed. There appeared not one man, who had the courage to stand up in defence of this greatest of national liberties. The respective departments of the state consented with the most servile submission, to surrender their rights, abrogate the power of election, and to settle the crown on his eldest son, to descend according to birth-right to their heirs. Thus, from a limited, Sweden became an absolute government; from the crown's being elective, it became hereditary. The latter establishment still remains; but the former has received such alterations, as have reduced it within a narrower prerogative than ever, only that the senate, instead of the barons and clergy, have usurped the chief sway. The particulars of these alterations will appear in the course of the history.

With respect to the states, they consist of deputies sent from the nobility, clergy, burghers, and peasants, assembled of course once in three years, but oftener, if the exigencies of affairs render it necessary. Each family sends a deputy, the whole number of nobility amounting to a thousand; and with them the colonel, lieutenant-colonel, major, and senior captain, of each regiment, sit and vote. It may appear surprising, that military officers should, in quality of their commissions, have a seat in the high council of the nation; but in Sweden, the army forms a part of the constitution. The officers are for life, and have estates in land, which pay rents equivalent to their pay, so that they may be reputed a part of the landed interest, independent of the crown. Besides, as they are generally persons of family, and have all property of their own, there is little to be feared from their attachment to the king.

*An account
of the
states of
Sweden.*

The clergy are represented by the bishops and superintendants; also by one deputy, chosen out of each rural deanry or district, containing ten parishes, whose expences are supported by the electors. These form a body of two hundred.

The representatives of the burghers are chosen by the magistrates and common-council of each corporation; Stockholm sending four, other corporations two, and some one; making in the whole about one hundred and fifty.

Lastly, the peasants of each district choose one of their own quality to represent them, whose charges they pay, giving him instructions about such matters as are thought necessary to the good of their body. Those deputies are, generally speaking, about two hundred and fifty.

At the first meeting of the states, the king attends with the senate, and the president of the chancery opens the diet with a speech on the part of his majesty, briefly remarking all the critical occurrences since their last meeting, and the principal reasons for their being now convoked. He is answered by each of the speakers of the four orders, and then the states repair to the different chambers appointed them; where each elects a certain number of members out of its own body, to compose the secret committee, appointed to prepare and digest matters for the consideration of the states. This committee may indeed be deemed the legislative power of Sweden, as matters generally go in the assembly according to the bias given in the committee; so that the peasants being excluded this privilege, have really lost all weight in the legislative state. Each of the several orders has a negative vote; but, in their respective houses, a majority of voices absolutely decides the business. It is customary for the orders to defer representing their grievances until they have discussed the business proposed by his majesty: then they give in their remonstrances, to which the king makes such answers as are thought adviseable. At the breaking up of the diet, an extract of the whole proceedings, and the king's answer to their grievances, is given to every member of each order, which he carries home to his constituents.

The senate. Next to the states, the senate forms the most considerable branch of the government. The underwent various revolutions, sometimes rising to an exorbitance of power, at other times descending to the mere shadow of authority. At present they are restored to their ancient constitution, having not only authority to advise and admonish the sovereign, but even to over-rule him, when he presumes to attempt any thing contrary to law: indeed, without the concurrence

currence of the senate, he can undertake nothing. They are chosen, it is true, by the king, but they take an oath of fidelity to the kingdom, and are responsible for their behaviour to the states, who have the power to remove them, should they find cause to disapprove of their conduct: but an exertion of this power seldom happens, either because the senate studiously avoid giving offence, or the diet is scrupulous about hurting the delicacy of the king's prerogative, or giving umbrage to persons in so great power as the senators. In a word, the senate was never a more respectable body than at present, being now established as a fundamental part of the constitution, having a direction of the revenue, and on the king's absence or illness, the whole executive power in their own hands. As to their number, it is indefinite. In queen Christina's time the senate was composed of forty members; under Charles Gustavus they were reduced to twenty-four; and at present they consist of twelve, agreeable to the ancient constitution. In Mr. Molfeworth's time they had salaries of three hundred pounds per annum, with several beneficial employments. The latter they still retain; but what the value of their present salaries may be, we know not.

We may reckon as a part of the constitution, the five great officers of the crown, who preside each in a tribunal composed of a certain number of senators. The drofter, or chief-justice, at present the first officer in Sweden, and formerly a kind of viceroy, enjoys a power little inferior to sovereignty. The drofter has the honour of placing the crown on the king's head, and, what is of more real consequence, of presiding in the supreme court of justice, to which all the inferior courts make their appeal.

The next crown-officer, in rank, to the constable, who presides in the council of war, inspects the military discipline, and, in a word, directs whatever belongs to the army.

The admiral is the nearest, in rank, to the constable. His power, influence, and profits are very considerable, as he commands the fleet, appoints all sea-officers, and is supreme in all causes which fall within the cognizance of the admiralty-courts.

The chancellor is an officer highly respected, his employment more immediately giving him great influence over the minds of the common people, as the director of police, rectifier of all public abuses, and dispenser of all regulations regarding society. By virtue of his office, the chancellor is also the keeper of the seals, he dispatches all state-affairs, and lays the business of the sovereign before the states.

Last

Last comes the treasurer, who administers the king's revenue, examines the accounts of the several receivers, signs orders for payments, manages the public funds, and pays all the officers of the kingdom. It is surprising that an officer who holds the money of the nation in his hands, should here be deemed the lowest servant of the crown; but so scrupulously are his accompts examined before they are passed, that very little can be embezzled, by which his power is reduced to the mere salary and known perquisites of his employment. He likewise presides in the chamber of accompts, where the public taxes are assessed, and all affairs relating to the exchequer conducted.

In ancient times the laws of Sweden were as various as the provinces were numerous, each having peculiar statutes framed by the laghman or governor of the province, just as circumstances required. Such a variety of laws could not but be attended with confusion; to remedy which a general code was compiled not two centuries since, by which the whole kingdom was to be directed. Yet even this collection is so imperfect as to require the constant assistance of the civil law, or rather of courts of equity, by which too much power is lodged in the hands of judges, whose poverty often obliges them to use it improperly.

Affairs properly belonging to the admiralty, fall under the cognizance of the ordinary courts. They are, however, to be judged according to the sea-laws, founded on the ancient Wisby laws, formerly famous all over the Baltic. But in fact the admiralty claims only the cognizance of causes immediately relating to the king's fleet, all other naval disputes belonging to the ordinary courts of justice^b.

For the decision of all ecclesiastical causes, each diocese hath a consistory, of which the respective bishop is president. Here causes concerning legitimacy, marriage-contracts, and all spiritual affairs, are tried; but the courts have no power of administering an oath, or inflicting corporal punishment; and from them there lies an appeal to the respective provincial courts, and in some cases to the king.

Law is no where administered at a lower price than in Sweden, the chief expence arising from a late institution, that all declarations, acts, and sentences, shall be passed upon sealed paper of different prices, according to the quality of the matter in agitation. This tax forms a part of the king's revenue, and of consequence becomes more useful to the public than those enormous fees given to advocates, for

^b Loccen. *Antiq. Suev. Goth.* p. 53.
p. 104.

Johan. Magn.

perplexing and obscuring the light of reason. In Sweden; especially in criminal cases, the parties plead in person; hence the practice of the law is but little sought after by gentlemen, and is rather the refuge than the choice of persons of liberal education.

It is remarkable, that notwithstanding the Swedes have perfectly secured their freedom against the encroachments of the crown, yet one of the greatest liberties of the subject is fallen into disuse; we mean juries, consisting of twelve men, a custom so ancient in Sweden, that their writers pretend it was originally derived by other nations from them. At present juries are only known in the lower courts, and there they have salaries, and remain in office for life. They have this in common with the juries of England, that their verdict must be unanimous, whereas in all the other courts judgment is given by a majority of voices.

The laws of this country have wisely provided against disputes concerning property, by ordering registers to be kept in every province, of all sales and alienations, as well as engagements respecting property. Should a purchaser fail of registering the particulars of a purchase, an after-contract will take place, which is all the penalty annexed. In Sweden alone of all European countries, criminals are allowed to purge themselves by oath, where the evidence is not very clear against them. Duelling is punished with the survivor's death, and stigmas affixed on the memory of both parties; but if neither die, both are closely confined for two years upon bread and water. So rigid a punishment makes this barbarous practice less frequent in Sweden, and persons of the most scrupulous punctilio think it no breach of honour to apply for reparation to the respective provincial court, where the aggressor is made to give public satisfaction.

The revenues of the crown, or rather the kingdom of *Revenues.* Sweden, have been much impaired by the repeated misfortunes sustained during the long war in the reign of Charles XII. and that with Russia in the late king's reign. Still, however, as the expences of the government have been proportionably reduced, there remains a competent provision for the civil and military lists, and whatever else the public service requires. Those revenues arise from the demesne lands of the farms, the customs, the copper and silver mines, tithes, poll-money, fines, stamped or sealed paper, and other duties payable for proceedings at law. In all they are computed at near one million sterling, of which the customs produce about a fourth, and the demesne lands a third.

a third. Thus, while the Swedish finances are regularly and frugally managed, they will always be able to maintain the government in such a condition as not to stand in need of subsidies from foreign courts, or in any degree to apprehend invasions and insults from their neighbours.

The poll-tax was levied only upon the peasants, until the reign of Charles XI. when the distresses of the kingdom obliged the ministry to extend the tax to persons of superior condition; this, however, has been since abolished.

The militia of Sweden has undergone but few changes. The officers, who have lands parcelled out to them, are obliged to bring the same men and horses into the field, while they are fit for service; and hence those troops are equal to the best regular forces. Charles XI. put the army upon an excellent footing, and his regulations continue to this day. Formerly no levies could be made without the consent of the commons or fourth state, in obtaining which there was usually found much difficulty. But this prince appointed commissioners, who were to assign to each province their quota of soldiers, according to the number of farms it contained. Every farm of sixty or seventy pounds was charged with one soldier, who received his diet, cloaths, and about twenty shillings yearly from the farmer. The married soldier has a wooden house built for him by the farmer, who allows him hay and pasturage sufficient for a milch cow, and furnishes land enough to supply him with bread, which he prefers to quartering. Once enlisted in the king's service, no soldier can quit it on pain of death. But as the farmers are obliged to find recruits in the room of persons killed or disabled, they complain grievously of the oppression, while the government congratulates itself on thus having a strong military force, with little or no expence to the sovereign.

All the officers of horse and foot are maintained out of lands lately resumed, and united to the crown. Each has a convenient house and competent portion of land assigned him, as near as possible to the quarters of his regiment, with which he is better satisfied than soliciting for the pay at the treasury. The laws for maintaining this constitution are exact and particular. They provide with great caution, that neither the peasants shall be oppressed nor insulted by the licentiousness of the soldiers, nor the lands or houses ruined; to prevent which evils, they are visited at certain periods, and the possessor is compelled to make such repairs as are found needful. As every officer, on entering upon an estate, subscribes to an inventory, so, on his promotion, he puts the estate in good repair before he receives the

the benefit of his new employment; and in case of his death his heir cannot inherit before this is done to the satisfaction of the officer who succeeds.

Nor are invalids neglected in Sweden, the king having annexed to each regiment about twenty supernumerary farms, as a provision for those officers who are past service; while the common soldiers, whom age, wounds, and infirmities, have disabled, are received in a large, well endowed hospital, supported by a sort of tax on military preferment.

The trade and navigation of Sweden have been greatly augmented by the progress of the English commerce in the Baltic, which has reduced within bounds the commerce carried on in these seas by the United Provinces. In pacific times Sweden seems to reap the chief advantage of this commerce, in point of navigation; but whenever that kingdom is engaged in war, then our merchants carry on the whole trade in English bottoms. Navigation.

S E C T. II.

Containing the public Transactions, and Reigns of the several Swedish Monarchs to Biorno III.

THE ancient history of Sweden is involved in fable, absurdity, and anachronism. However, as the general laws of history, deduced from the example of the best writers, and particularly our plan, require that we should trace every nation as near its origin as circumstances will admit, we should be inexcusable if we did not gratify the reader with a view of the first monarchs of Sweden, and such a succession of kings as the documents now existing will afford. Jo. Magnus, Joh. Gothus, Loccenius, Suaningius, Jacob Giffon, Saxo-Grammaticus, Puffendorf, and a variety of other writers, have exhibited regular catalogues of the princes that reigned in the more obscure period; but as they differ greatly among themselves, and found their authority upon ancient legends and monuments, which each has interpreted in his own way, they are to be read with caution. One, for instance, places Eric at the head of the monarchy¹; another goes four kings higher, making Eric the fifth Swedish prince^k; a third plunges some centuries deeper into obscurity, beginning his series with Magog the son of Japhet, and grandson of Noah^l; in

¹ Loccen. Chron. Dan. p. 2.

^k Rudbeck. Atlant. tom. ii.

^l Suaning.

a word, they vary not only with respect to the origin of the monarchy, but of the succession of the princes. Assured that it would now be impossible to reconcile their differences, we shall follow, in general, the most approved historians, confronting them, however, with others, as often as we find occasion, and endeavouring from this collision of sentiments to strike out the truth.

All historians agree that ancient Scandinavia was first governed by judges, elected for a certain time, by the voice of the people. This in particular was the form of government in Sweden, the country being divided among a number of temporary princes, until Eric, if we believe Loccenius and Johannes Gothus; or Suenon, if we rather credit Puffendorf and Johannes Magnus, was raised to the supreme power, A. M. 2014, or 1951, just as we follow one or other of these authorities. In either case, the inconveniences attending the form of government, and the merit and popularity of these princes, are said to have determined the people to elevate them to the sovereignty of the whole country, uniting the prerogatives of all their temporary magistrates in the person of one king for life, or until his conduct required he should be stripped of his authority (B).

Eric.

Eric governed his people with applause; he preserved peace, and augmented his dominions, by sending colonies to Schonen, as well as to several of the Danish islands in the Baltic; a fact, however, which is contested by Grammaticus and the Danish writers.

After Eric's death the Goths, or, as some writers call them before this time, the Swedes (C), were divided into factions, and harrassed with civil wars for the space of four hundred years, during which period we have no account of their form of government. Some writers allege they reverted to their ancient custom of electing judges: others again affirm that a monarchical form was maintained; and to prove their assertion, mention Uddo, Alo, Othen, Charles, Bjorno, and several other persons who held the sovereign power, but of whom they transmit nothing besides their names. To them succeeded Gylfo, mentioned in several

Gylfo.

(B) Messenius advances strong arguments against Suenon's being the first prince; and as we have no traces in history to warrant an opposition to his opinion, we have chosen to begin with Eric, according to Loccenius's chronology.

(C) It is remarkable, that although most Swedish historians deduce the Swedish nation from the Goths, yet they frequently speak of them as distinct nations, and the titles of the Swedish kings at this day distinguished them.

ancient

ancient Swedish and Norwegian monuments to have reigned about this time.

Immediately after Gylfo, Messenius places Humulf (D), Humble, father to Dan, the first king of Denmark (a circumstance very discordant with their chronology), Thor, Urber, and Osten. But the first prince of whom we have any kind of history, is Othen or Odin, said to have passed from Asia to Scandinavia, where he was raised to the throne of Sweden. Great skill in magic is attributed to him; and Puffendorf makes him the greatest warrior of his age. Driven out of Asia by Pompey, he opened a way with his sword into Scandinavia, conquered the Saxons, frequently defeated the Danish king Lothar, and performed a variety of exploits, concerning which the Danish historians and Loccenius are entirely silent^m. There would indeed appear to be a considerable error in chronology here, which we should vainly attempt to rectify. For some time he kept his court at Upsal, afterwards he built a palace near lake Lagen, called from his own name Odinsfala. He framed several wholesome laws for the good order of society, promoting religion, and the decent performance of funeral obsequies, the last act of gratitude to persons meriting well of the public. He rewarded bravery, by setting a certain price on the heads of his enemies. After his death he was enrolled among the gods, and worshipped as a deity on a certain day of the week thence called Odin's day or Woden's day, now Wednesdayⁿ. According to Puffendorf, Odin instituted a nonennial feast at Upsal, to which were invited all the kings of Scandinavia. Here it was that an ancient custom so glorious, if true, to Sweden, had its origin: his Swedish majesty mounting his horse, was attended by two kings, the Danish monarch holding his bridle, and the Norwegian the stirrup^o. The same author adds, that, notwithstanding his many excellent qualities, his rebellious subjects drove him for ten years into exile, from which he was recalled a little before his death.

Torsæus alleges, that Freyer, Friwo, or Frotho, succeeded Othen; but Loccenius places Niord immediately after that monarch. He was one of the high-priests of Up-

^m Puffend. tom. i. p. 12.

ⁿ Loccen. lib. 1.

^o Puf-

fend. p. 14.

(D) According to Puffendorf grandson Humble is affirmed by and Messenius, Humulf lived Suaningius, and the Danish writers, to have flourished 1048 about four hundred years before the Christian æra; and yet his years before Christ.

ſal, equally famous for ſorcery as his predeceſſor, to which qualification and the credulity of the people, he owed his elevation. By ſome hiſtorians he is repreſented as a pacific and religious prince; but Puffendorf ſpeaks of his warlike qualities, in which, however, he was unfortunate. Attacked by the ſovereign of Muſcovy, on account of ſome injury that prince had received from Othen, he defended himſelf with courage; but at laſt, oppreſſed with numbers, he loſt a battle, and fled to Denmark. Sweden was the reward of the conqueror, and tranſmitted by him to his ſucceſſor, who governed with ſuch tyranny, that the people revolted and recalled Niord. In ſome ancient records he is called Nearchus, and ſaid to be brother to Freyer, or Frotho, whom Loccenius makes his ſucceſſor.

Frotho.

In Frotho's reign, ſays Puffendorf, the northern kingdoms enjoyed profound tranquillity. He was a religious and magnificent prince, ſparing no expence in ornamenting the temples of the gods. It is ſaid he adorned a large temple at Upſal with a rich golden chain, each ring weighing ſeveral pounds, and the whole enclosing the building^p.

Hiſtorians are divided about the ſucceſſors of this monarch. Puffendorf, and a few others, mention Sigtrug, Suibdager, and Oſmund; but Meſſenius and Loccenius place no leſs than nine kings before Sigtrug. All, however, agree that Sigtrug did ſucceed to the crown, though they differ with reſpect to the time.

Sigtrug.

Not long after Sigtrug aſcended the throne, Gram, king of Denmark, demanded his daughter in marriage; but the Swede deſigning to beſtow her in marriage on Humble, brother to the king of Finland, ſent back the ambaffadors with a polite denial. The Dane found means to gain the princeſs's conſent, by his liberal preſents; upon which he ſet out in diſguiſe to Sweden, came to court, and carried her off. This adventure occaſioned a war between the two kingdoms, which ended fatally for the Swediſh monarch; and the Daniſh hiſtorians allege, that Gram united the dominions of the vanquiſhed to his own; nor is this aſſertion poſitively denied by the moſt approved Swediſh writers. Gram's underſtanding was intoxicated with proſperity. He grew inſolent, cruel, and oppreſſive. His new ſubjects rebelled, and he was driven out of the kingdom, or, as others relate, ſlain in battle by Suibdager, who ſucceeded to his crown^q.

Suibdager.

This prince, who was king of Norway, now united the three northern crowns, and became the moſt potent mo-

^p Johan. Magn. p. 4. 7.

^q Loccen. lib. i. Meurf. p. 3. narch

narch of his time. After a short reign he was defeated at sea, and slain by Hading, the son of Gram.

No sooner was the death of Suibdager known, than his son Asmund was raised to the throne, with the title of king of Sweden, Norway, and Gothland. Desirous of revenging his father's death, he made war on Hading, and was slain, after an obstinate battle, in which he killed Hading's son, and wounded the king himself in the leg^r. *Asmund.*

Uffo succeeded to the crown and quarrel of his father and grandfather. At his accession, his dominions were ravaged by the troops of the victorious Dane; hostilities which he retaliated, by making a descent on Denmark. This obliged Hading to return to the defence of his own kingdom; upon which Uffo embarked his army for Sweden, not chusing to venture a battle. The conquest, however, of Sweden was the utmost ambition of the Danish monarch, and the ultimate aim of his politics. He assembled a more numerous army than before, and invaded Sweden once more; but found Uffo encamped so advantageously, that it was impossible to advance, and as unsafe as disgraceful to retreat. He was reduced to the greatest extremities, his soldiers perishing with cold and hunger, when necessity obliged him to attempt opening a way through the midst of the Swedish camp. Despair rendered the Danes irresistible, they fought with fury, pushed their way through, and saved the remainder of the army in Gothland, from whence Hading with great danger escaped to Norway, and thence into Denmark. *Uffo.*

Uffo, in despair, that his greatest enemy should have escaped out of his hands, set a price on his head, publishing, that whoever would put Hading to death, should be assuredly recompensed with his daughter in marriage. Hunding, one of the heroes of the age, animated by the greatness of the reward, attacked Hading with a troop of desperadoes, but failed in the attempt. In his return, Hading contrived the death of his enemy. Pretending that he sought the means of reconciliation, he desired a passport to the court of Uffo at Upsal, in order to perform a certain vow he had made. His request was granted, he arrived at the Swedish capital, was invited to a grand entertainment which Uffo prepared, with a view to countermine his designs; but some of the assassins discovering the plot, Hading left the court privately, and traversing almost impervious woods and mountains, arrived in Denmark. Some time after, he returned secretly to Upsal, accomplished his design, assassinated Uffo, and

^r Svaning. Chron. p. 26. Loccen.

buried his body magnificently, in order to win the affections of the Swedes. This account differs in many particulars from what we have already related in Hading's life but it must be remembered, that we deduce the history of each nation from its own historians.

Hunding.

The schemes of the deepest politician are not always successful. The Swedes and Goths, detesting the murderer of their prince, elected Hunding, Uffo's brother, for their king. Upon this election the war rekindled with fresh vigour; both made extraordinary exertions for victory; but tired with fruitless battles, and the profusion of blood and treasure spent to no purpose, they resolved upon a peace as cordial and sincere as ever their animosity was bitter. They swore a perpetual alliance, and entered into a very extraordinary agreement, that as soon as the one should be informed of the other's death, the survivor should immediately lay violent hands on himself. After they had both reigned with great felicity for some years, the news came to Upsala that Hading was no more: it was false, but Hunding had not patience to wait for a confirmation; he resolved to die, and immediately prepared a magnificent entertainment, assembled all his officers round him, plied them with wine, and at the close of the feast flung himself into a vessel full of hydromel, where he perished. The Danish monarch received the news with the utmost grief, and that he might equal his friend in generosity, hanged himself in sight of the whole court.

Regner.

The death of Hunding naturally paved the way for his nephew Regner, the son of Uffo; but the young king's step-mother, an ambitious woman, resolved to keep the government in her own hands. Regner could not oppose her, and his first success was owing to her policy; however, Suanvita, daughter to Hading, late king of Denmark, interposed. She made a voyage to Sweden, gained access to the young king Regner, and found him eloquent, liberal in his sentiments, and politic beyond his years. After having exhorted him to rescue the kingdom out of the hands of a woman who was altogether unworthy of sovereignty, she made him several handsome presents, received the promise of his hand, and returned to Denmark. On her departure, Regner assembled all his father's friends and adherents; he attacked his mother-in-law, made her prisoner, and put her to death; and being publicly proclaimed king of Sweden, married Suanvita.

Frotho, brother to this princess, reigned then in Denmark. His ambition hurried him into a war with Sweden, while king Regner was absent. Besides a powerful army of

of Danes, he was strongly reinforced by some nations inhabiting the eastern part of Sweden. Suanvita, however, was not intimidated by her brother's formidable strength, nor her husband's absence: she boldly embarked her forces, set sail, joined battle, defeated, and took a great number of prisoners; but, from natural affection to her country, released them on such conditions as secured the peace of Sweden. Unmindful of her generosity, Frotho attacked her a second time, and received the just punishment of his ingratitude. He was defeated, and left dead on the field. From this time Regner and Suanvita lived in uninterrupted peace and harmony. He died first, and she was so much affected with the loss, that she soon followed him.

Holward, surnamed Hotebrod, no sooner ascended the throne than he resolved to revenge the injuries done to his father, making war at the same time on the Russians, Esthoni- *Holward.* ans, Finlanders, Suabians, and Courlanders. His design was to reduce all these nations under his obedience, and he succeeded. Having finished these expeditions, he married Gyrita of Norway, by whom he had two sons, Attilus and Hother. Next he turned his arms against Denmark, and after two undecisive battles, left king Roe dead on the field in the third. Helgon, Roe's brother, resumed the quarrel; he equipped a fleet, gave battle to the Swedes, and defeated them, after having mortally wounded Holward. Profiting by his victory, he reduced the whole kingdom, and annexed it to his own crown; but, intoxicated with prosperity, his insolence destroyed what his bravery had won. The Swedes rebelled in every province; but still Attilus could never ascend the throne until he married Ursilla, daughter of Helgon, with whom he received the crown of Sweden, on paying a certain yearly tribute. Attilus was remarkable only for his avarice; he heaped up treasures without any other view than the pleasure of amassing. His queen formed a design on the treasure, and persuaded him to invite her son Rolvo, by a former marriage, now king of Denmark, to his court. On his arrival a plan was laid for carrying off the treasure, and flying out of the kingdom. On the day of their departure, Rolvo amused his father-in-law with frivolous discourses, while his mother was slipping the money; then he followed her, and both got safe out of the kingdom, notwithstanding they were diligently pursued by Attilus.

Hother succeeded his father Attilus, unlike him in the *Hother.* qualities of mind and person. He was liberal, polite, and handsome, the most elegant courtier and fine gentleman of the North. His accomplishments won the heart of Nanna, daughter

daughter to Givar, king of Norway; but Hacho, king of Denmark, who formed pretensions to the princess, obstructed the marriage by every possible means. A war ensued; Hother invaded Denmark with a fleet and army, and was repulsed, escaping with great difficulty to Jutland, where he wintered. He was not discouraged, however, by his disgrace; labouring to recruit his army and refit his fleet, he a second time gave battle to the Danes; but the combatants were separated, by the darkness of the night, before victory was decided. Next day both armies resumed the engagement with redoubled fury: Hacho was slain, his army defeated, and his kingdom annexed to the crown of Sweden. Denmark indeed did not long remain in a state of servitude; for Hother had no sooner departed for Sweden, than Fridlef took possession of the throne. Hother marched against him without delay, and defeating him, deprived him of his kingdom and life. Afterwards he reigned peaceably for some years over Sweden and Denmark; but the nobility of the latter rebelling, he raised an army, gave them battle, and lost his life.

Roderic.

Roric, or Roderic, who next ascended the throne, did not suffer his father's death to remain unpunished (E). He raised a powerful army of Swedes and Danes, and conquered the Russians, Esthonians, Finlanders, and other northern nations. All acknowledged the superiority of his arms, and bent their neck to the yoke; yet, moderate enough to content himself with his lawful dominions, he gave up all his conquests, and even governed Denmark by a viceroy.

Attilus II.

To his crown succeeded Attilus his brother, and the second Swedish monarch of that name. This prince engaged in a war with Denmark, and was murdered by the treachery of his enemies. Rito and Vigo, half-brothers to the Danish monarch, came to the court of Attilus, and took an opportunity of assassinating the king; a base action, for which they were rewarded liberally by the dastardly prince who employed them.

*Hogmor
and Hog-
grin.*

Hogmor and Hogrin succeeded to the throne. All we know of these princes is, that they reigned long, carried on a war against the king of Denmark, and perished in a battle fought at sea with that monarch.

(E) This prince, surnamed Slingabond, is reckoned by their historians; but, instead of calling him the son of Hother, they make him son to Halden, and assign him only a part of Denmark for his dominions (1).

Next the Swedes elected Alaric, whose son was prince of Wermland. He began his reign with vigorously attacking Gestiblund, king of the Goths, with design to annex his dominions to Sweden; but he found the business more difficult than he apprehended. Gestiblund applied to Frotho (E), king of Denmark, for assistance, who sent him Godescale with a body of Sclavonians, and Eric with a numerous army of Norwegians. These auxiliaries first defeated Ganto, son of Alaric, and reduced his province. Some say he was left dead on the field, and all agree, that, after his defeat, the conquerors joined the Goths, and marched against king Alaric. The Swedish monarch, having vainly endeavoured to detach Ericson from the interest of Gestiblund, challenged the latter to single combat; but Eric would not permit the issue of the war to depend on the arm of a prince worn out with age and infirmity. He offered himself, was accepted, a battle was fought, and Alaric left dead upon the spot. *Alaric.*

Eric procured the crown of Sweden in reward of his victory, and he annexed the kingdom of the Goths to his own, at the death of Gestiblund. Descended from one of the most considerable families in Norway, he acquired great reputation by his valour and eloquence, as well as consummate wisdom. The king of Denmark performed nothing without his advice, and besides the crown of Sweden, which Eric procured by his interest, was constantly making him presents, in testimony of his esteem. In a word, he carried his regard to such a length, that he resolved to connect the families by marriage, and raise Eric's brother to the throne of Norway. It is added, that the Norwegians revolting, the new king demanded assistance of Denmark and Sweden. Frotho and Eric marched with all possible dispatch to succour their ally: Frotho came up first with the enemy, and must have been defeated, had not the Swedish monarch's arrival changed the fortune of the day, saved his brother's crown, and the Danish army. *Eric.*

Halden succeeded Eric on the thrones of Sweden and Gothland. The crown had scarce adorned his temples when he entered upon a furious war against the Norwegians, who, at the death of Eric and Frotho, claimed independency, and even endeavoured to revenge the insults offered them by those two powerful monarchs. His arms *Halden.*

(E) More probably Rolvo; cond of that name some ages for Frotho I. reigned several after. years before Alaric, and the se-

had

had but little success; one defeat followed another, and he found himself in a short time on the brink of perdition, when he applied for succour to the Russians, and obtained powerful reinforcements, under the conduct of Fridlef the son of Frotho, king of Denmark. Fridlef had served long in Muscovy, and was in high credit on account of his exploits: it was no difficult matter for him to raise an army; every one ran to his standard, and he was ready a few days after it was erected, to begin his march at the head of thirty thousand able-bodied men, with whom he proposed, first to subdue the Norwegians, and then to rescue Denmark out of the hands of one Hiarn, who had usurped the sovereignty. On his arrival on the frontiers of Sweden he was joined by Halden with a body of Swedes. Both princes made an irruption into Norway, and obtained a signal victory. After this repulse the Norwegians durst not hazard a battle; they shut themselves up in a strong fortress on the borders, from whence they greatly incommoded the allied princes with repeated incursions. At length, however, Fridlef carried the place by storm, put the garrison to the sword, and secured peace to Halden. A few years after Fridlef, now king of Denmark, experienced Halden's gratitude. Falling deeply in love with the princess of Norway, her father refused to give her to him in marriage, upon which he began a second cruel war against that people, in which he was powerfully assisted by Halden. The Norwegians were defeated in a pitched battle; their king was slain, and his daughter carried off as the prize of victory. For a number of years the kings of Sweden and Denmark lived together in the strictest ties of friendship. At last Halden was assassinated by some malecontents, who, not satisfied with murdering the father, contrived the death of his son Siward, and, failing in that attempt, endeavoured at least to prevent his ascending the throne.

Siward.

In spite of all opposition Siward at length obtained the crown, by means of one Stercather, a man of extraordinary personal qualities and great influence. The Goths, however, dismembered themselves from Sweden, and gave their sovereignty to one Charles, a person of very ancient family and great popularity. Charles knowing that the Swedes would not patiently support this act of independency, took the most vigorous measures to support his authority, and formed several powerful alliances. He married his daughter to Harold, son of Olaus, king of Denmark; and Siward, to destroy the intention of this match, gave his daughter Ulvilda in marriage to Frotho, Harold's brother; by this expedient preserving Denmark a neutral power
between

between both. It fell out otherwise, for Harold declared for Charles, and Siward was powerfully assisted by Frotho. Several bloody battles were fought, Harold was murdered by his brother, and Frotho raised to the throne of Denmark; but he enjoyed the fruits of his villainy no longer than till his nephews, the sons of Harold, came of age. They thirsted after revenge, burnt their uncle in his palace, and stoned to death his queen Ulvilda. Afterwards they made an irruption into Sweden, and killed king Siward, after having defeated him in battle.

As Siward left no male children, the son of his daughter *Eric*. Ulvilda was raised to the throne of Sweden, at the death of Frotho; but he did not long enjoy his crown in peace. His cousin Halden, not contented with having murdered the father, mother, and grandfather of Eric, was now plotting against his life, as the only impediment to his obtaining the crowns of Sweden and Denmark. First, he made himself master of Denmark, the government of which he gave to his brother Harold, and then went to Gothland, where he raised a powerful army, with which he marched against Eric, attacked him, and was defeated, saving with difficulty the remains of his army in Helsingia. Not discouraged by this repulse, he recruited his army with all expedition, and attacked Eric a second time with redoubled vigour, but similar fortune. He was again defeated, and forced to seek shelter with the shattered remains of his army in the inaccessible mountains of Gothland, from which it was not possible for Eric to dislodge him. He fell, however, upon a stratagem that answered his purpose. He invaded Denmark, defeated Harold in four battles, and obliged him to recall his brother Halden out of Sweden, for the defence of his own dominions.

It was just on Halden's arrival that Harold was a fourth time defeated, almost his whole army destroyed, and himself slain, as he was endeavouring to carry off the remains of his forces. Upon this victory Eric set out for Sweden, whither Halden pursued him with a numerous fleet, determined to revenge all his losses by one decisive engagement. Both fleets met on the coast of Sweden, and Eric, who was led into an ambuscade, received a total overthrow, in which he lost his life (F).

(F) The Danish historians ed him to have held his crown allege, that Eric was made of Halden. This he refused, and the conqueror ordered prisoner, and might have obtained advantageous conditions, him to be exposed to wild if his pride would have suffered beasts (1).

*Halden
Bergam.*

This victory paved the way to the throne of Sweden, which Halden annexed to that of Denmark and Gothland, signalizing the beginning of his reign by a vigorous war against the pirates and corsairs, who had greatly molested the navigation of the Baltic. While he was thus engaged a rebellion was excited in Sweden by one Siwald, who represented to the people how shameful it was to acknowledge for king a foreigner, who had burnt their king Siward, stoned his queen Ulvilda, and slain their late king Eric. He admonished them to elect a prince of their own nation, whose interest and inclination would equally attach him to the country. His reproaches and exhortations made an impression; the people revolted, and offered the crown to Siwald, descended of the blood-royal. Halden flew immediately to quell the sedition, and his presence soon intimidated those who had declared for Siwald. They abandoned him, and left that hero alone, to oppose the whole force of one of the most powerful monarchs in Europe. Siwald was not discouraged; he sent a herald to Halden, declaring that with his seven sons he would fight him; but Halden answered, that the match was unequal, as he alone would then be opposed to eight enemies. Siwald, however, replying, that his sons and himself were one blood, the challenge was accepted, and the eight combatants were left dead on the field. A proof of valour and prowess so astonishing ought naturally to have deterred others from declaring themselves the enemies of Halden. One Hastben, however, sent him a challenge, depending on his enormous stature, and the good-fortune which had hitherto attended him in all his encounters. His cartel was accepted. Halden fought him and six associates, all of whom he left prostrate on the field. In a word, after having acquired the reputation of the greatest warrior of his times, Halden died, and was, agreeable to the custom of that age, enrolled in the calendar of heroes (G).

Unguin.

Halden bequeathed by will his dominions to his kinsman Unguin; whence their opinion who report that his son Asmund died before him, seems confirmed. Yet it is questioned, upon good foundation, whether Unguin stood in any degree of affinity or relationship to the king. This prince annexed the crown of Gothland to that of Sweden,

(G) It is supposed, and not without reason, by some historians, that Halden's reign is composed of events which happened under several different

kings: however, as we could not now separate them upon any authority, we have transmitted them in the usual form.

and

and died after a short but prosperous reign^b. Others allege, with more probability, that he lost his life in a battle against Regnald, king of Gothland, who, in right of conquest, succeeded to the crown of Sweden^c.

To render his victory still more extensive in its consequences, Regnald invaded Denmark, with a view to annex that kingdom to his crown. Here he fought a battle which raged for three days with unremitting fury, and at last ended with his life. Regnald's fate determined the fortune of the day; a panic seized his troops, and they suffered the enemy to snatch a victory out of their arms, retiring with precipitation to the fleet. Afterwards a great part of the army entered into the service of Hacho, a famous pirate of Norway.

Regnald.

Historians are greatly divided about the successor. Loccenius and Suaningius assert, that Asmund, the son of Regnald, was raised by the universal voice of the people to the throne of Sweden; while Puffendorf, and Johannes Magnus, from whom he deduces his authority, are no less positive that the crown fell into the hands of Siwald, the victorious monarch of Denmark. Asmund had four sons, the most formidable pirates of the age, who became the terror of the Baltic, and the scourge of honest industry and fair commerce. At sea they met with the four princes of Denmark, who likewise led piratical lives; a fierce combat ensued; both sides exerted their utmost endeavours for victory, and with such equal fortune, that they struck up peace, and entered into the most cordial amity. The Swedish princes accompanied their new friends to the court of Denmark, where Hagbord, the third brother, became deeply enamoured of Segrís, the king's daughter, a young lady possessed of every accomplishment of mind and person. She had, before his arrival, been betrothed to Hildegislaus, a noble German, of great merit; but changing her inclinations at the first view with the Swedish prince, such an emulation arose between the lovers as could only be appeased by blood. Hildegislaus would have had recourse to his own courage, but he was dissuaded from challenging his rival, by the insinuating arts of the cunning Bolvisius, a nobleman grown grey in court-intrigues. He undertook to sow the seeds of jealousy between the Swedish and Danish princes, and thence to oblige the former to quit the court. His wiles succeeded; the Danes were soon convinced that the children of Asmund had secret designs, which they pushed under the mask of friendship and esteem.

Asmund, or Hamund.

^b Suaning. p. 27.

^c Loccen, lib. i. p. 25.

They contrived the murder of the four princes, and actually assassinated Helvinus and Armud, the second and youngest. But their death did not remain long unrevenged. Hagbord fell sword-in-hand upon the Danish princes, and made them suffer the just punishment of their credulity and treachery; but imagining that all his endeavours to obtain the king's consent to marry the princess would now be vain, he got access to the palace, disguised like a woman, penetrated to the princess's chamber, and carried her off. Loccenius, indeed, says, that in a female disguise he entered into the princess's service, found admittance to her bed, ravished her, was discovered, and put to death. He adds, that the princess, distracted with love and despair, set fire to her part of the palace, and consumed herself, with all her wealth and attendants. Hacquin now alone remained of all the sons of Asmund. Immediately on his return to Sweden he levied an army to revenge the murder of his brothers. No sooner had he landed his troops in Zealand than he ordered them to cut down large boughs of trees, which they held in their left hands, as they marched towards the capital. The centinels round the city were struck with fear at the sight of so unusual a phenomenon as a moving wood; they abandoned their posts, and communicated their panic to the whole court. The king doubted not but it foreboded ruin to him; however, he determined to fall gloriously. After he had achieved every thing for the preservation of his people, collecting a tumultuous army, he sallied out of the city, began a fierce engagement, and fell by the hands of the enemy. Hacquin used his good fortune in a manner that shewed how little he deserved it; his cruelty spared neither age nor sex; all, without distinction, were hewn down in cold blood, and Denmark was struggling in the arms of expiring freedom, when advice arrived of the death of Asmund. Hacquin, upon this, repaired with all expedition to Sweden, to take upon him the sovereignty, leaving the command of the army with one of his generals, surnamed the Proud, who was soon driven out of the country after his master's departure. The king was not long in repairing the losses sustained by his general. He over-ran Denmark with a powerful army, and, to subject the conquered to every possible ignominy, set a woman to rule over them; a fact omitted by all the Danish historians. The remaining years of this prince's reign were pacific and happy; Denmark paid him tribute, and Sweden and Gothland acknowledged him as immediate sovereign. The equity, moderation, and prudence of the latter part of his

Hacquin.

reign

reign fully effaced the errors committed in the beginning. For ten years before his death he lost the use of all his faculties, and was suckled like an infant, through a horn. Still, however, he preserved the affection and esteem of his subjects, and died highly regretted (H).

According to most writers, Hacquin was succeeded by *Egil Auniff*. Egil Auniff, who was well nigh being deprived of his crown, by the intrigues of Thunno, the treasurer in the late reign. This person had converted to his own use great sums of the public money, and his wealth enabled him to aspire at sovereignty. To avoid being called to an account by the young king, he openly revolted, and assembled a numerous army of desperadoes. The little success he met with in his first rencounters with the royal forces did not discourage him. Too far advanced in treason to retract with safety, he now pushed on in mere despair, and fought eight successive battles, in all which he was worsted, according to Loccenius; though Gothus alleges, that Egil was so hard pressed, that he applied for succour to Asmund, king of Denmark. It was then, says this last historian, that he fairly turned the tables upon Thunno, destroyed his army, drove him into banishment, and passed the rest of his life in perfect tranquillity. Egil ended his days unfortunately. One day, as he returned from the chase, he was set upon by a mad bull, and so miserably gored that he expired on the spot.

Egil's sceptre was put into the hands of his son Gothar, *Gothar*. called by some writers Ottar. His majesty's first care was to strengthen himself by powerful alliances, and to secure the tranquillity of his people, by entering into friendly connections with the neighbouring states. With this view he cast his eyes on the daughter of Asmund, king of Denmark, and demanded the princess in marriage. An ambassador was sent, with a splendid train, to the court of Denmark; but in his passage through the province of Halland, he was set upon and murdered by robbers, supposed to have acted agreeable to orders from his Danish majesty. Siwald had now mounted the throne of that kingdom, and

(H) About this period the utmost confusion prevails among all the northern historians. Some mention Hacquin the successor of Asmund, and succeeded in his turn by Ostan, Alaric, and Ingo (1); while others relate the life of Hacquin the son of Germundar, of a character totally different from the former (2).

(1) Loccen. lib. i. p. 32.
dorsf, p. 54.

(2) Johan. Goth. lib. i. Puffen-

seemed but little disposed to comply with the inclinations of his father and sister, to avoid which Gothar was persuaded he fell upon this execrable stratagem. To avenge himself, he immediately declared war, and obtained a considerable victory over the Danes in Halland. Next he conquered Schonen, and ravaged all the enemies provinces, until he obtained his mistress, and carried her off in triumph. In his absence, one of his vassals had carried on an intrigue with the princess his sister; and the king, on his return, condemned him to death; a sentence that was executed without mitigation. The friends of the deceased, determined upon revenge, invited the usurper of Denmark into Sweden, promising to assist him, in the conquest of the kingdom with powerful forces. Ravished with so fair an opportunity of gratifying his ambition, Jarmeric, for that was the usurper's name, joyfully received the proposals made by the malecontents, raised an army, and began a cruel war against Sweden. Gothar was not terrified at the approaching storm; but, assembling his forces, marched with a good countenance, and gave battle to the Danes. Fortune, however, was not propitious; he was defeated with great slaughter, and left dead on the field, amidst the horrible carnage. Jarmeric made a brutal use of his victory; no sooner was the king's body recognised, than he ordered it to be exposed, on the top of a mountain, to wild beasts and birds of prey. He was even insolent enough to send into Sweden a wooden image of a raven, with an inscription, importing, "that king Gothar was now of no more consequence than the raven." Hence it was that this unfortunate prince obtained, after his death, the surname of Wandelkroka or Raven^d.

Adel.

Adel succeeded to his father's crown, and was preparing to revenge his death, when advice was received of a complete victory which Jarmeric had obtained over the Selavonians and Livonians. This obliged the young king to suppress his resentment, it being hazardous to declare war so early in his reign, against a prince flushed, and greatly strengthened by repeated conquests. Not long after, he yielded to his impatience of vengeance, engaged the enemy by sea, and after a warm contest, that continued for three days, concluded a peace, on condition that Jarmeric should marry his sister, and thenceforward live in perfect harmony with Sweden. This good intelligence between the two crowns was but of short duration. Swavilda, sister to the Swedish monarch, was unjustly accused

^d Goth. lib. i. Puffend. p. 57.

by her husband of holding criminal conversation with his son-in-law Broder, and, being convicted, was torn asunder by wild horses. All Adel's caution could not restrain him from breaking out into bitter invectives against Jarmeric, on receiving intimation of this melancholy event. He solemnly vowed revenge, and instantly set about the means of accomplishing it. Entering Denmark in a hostile manner, he laid waste all before him, without once encountering the enemy, who were immersed in civil wars; Jarmeric having, by his cruelty, incurred the hatred of his subjects. At length, the Danish monarch was forced to seek shelter in a strong fortress he had built, where he was besieged by the Swedes, taken prisoner, and broke upon the wheel. Adel finished his expedition with the conquest of Schonen, Halland, and Bleking, annexing these provinces to the crown of Gothland. As for Denmark, he gave it to Broder, the son of Jarmeric, on condition that he paid him a certain yearly tribute. On his return, the king offered sacrifice at Upsal to his false gods; and as he was surrounding the temple, on horseback, in procession, he was thrown off, and his neck was dislocated, at the age of fifty-five, and after a reign of forty-five years^e.

Ostian immediately ascended the throne of his father, *Ostian.* and was hardly established in the sovereignty, when one of the most considerable families in Sweden revolted, and drew into their faction a great number of adherents. To crush this sedition in its bud, the young monarch began his march at the head of an army into Gothland. Here the rebels found an opportunity of destroying him. They surrounded the house where he lodged, in the night, and set it on fire, consuming the king and all his attendants. This prince died at the age of fifty-five, after a reign of twenty-six years^f; leaving a son and successor near of age.

Inguar inherited his father's crown and the warlike spirit of his ancestors. At a very early period of life, he distinguished himself as one of the first warriors of the times. Snio was in possession of the throne of Denmark, and aspired at the conquest of Schonen. The latter, to accomplish his designs, had endeavoured to secure the friendship of the king of Gothland, by paying his addresses to his daughter. The young lady shewed no aversion to the match; but, in the mean time, his Swedish majesty made overtures more agreeable to her father, and was accepted *Inguar.*

^e Loccen. lib. i. p. 38. Suan. Chron. p. 35.
Reg. Dan. Loccen. 38.

^f Torf. in Ser.

in preference to his rival. This was an affront which Snia determined to revenge. He flew to arms, invaded Schonen, and conquered the province. Not satisfied with his success, he laboured to gain the affection of the young queen of Sweden, and establish a clandestine correspondence, injurious to the honour of her husband. Inguar was not of a disposition tamely to bear so gross an insult. He raised forces, re-conquered Schonen, subdued Denmark, and annexed it to his own crown. At the death of his father-in-law, he succeeded to the crown of Gothland; and, not contented with this fresh accession to his power, his ambition aspired at the conquest of several nations lying eastward of his dominions. His designs succeeded; his arms were every where victorious: but he was taken off by the hands of an assassin, in the prime of life, and full bloom of glory (A).

Asmund.

Asmund inherited the three crowns and extensive conquests of his father. He ascended the throne at twenty years of age, and entered upon the government with a full resolution to avenge Inguar's murder. Accordingly he invaded the territories of that people, who were supposed to have contrived the assassination, and, having ravaged the whole country, returned with great booty. Next, he turned his thoughts to the arts of peace. In order to give his people a higher relish of the blessings of tranquillity, he offered great encouragement to husbandry, by cutting down vast forests, and parcelling out the lands among the industrious. Thus he increased population, established plenty among his subjects, and reigned in the hearts of his people. He cut out roads and high-ways at the public expence, for the convenience of commerce, and set on foot a thousand useful and public-spirited projects; notwithstanding which, his brother, who had formed designs on the crown, raised a powerful faction to espouse his pretensions. A civil war ensued, a battle was fought, Asmund lost his life and crown, and the Swedes the best monarch that had ever wielded their sceptre: a prince glorious in war, wise in peace, the father and the friend of his subjects.

Siward.

After a reign of twenty years, Asmund was succeeded by his brother Siward, whose victory cleared the way to the throne. The ambition of this prince was not gratified with

(A) Here follows a chapter in the Swedish history, which writers have supplied by various and contradictory relations, just as humour and caprice would seem to direct. We shall follow Puffendorf, who comes the nearest, in our opinion, to probability.

the possession of three crowns; he resolved to extend his dominions by the conquest of Norway. Fortune smiled on his endeavours; he conquered and slew in battle Siward, king of Norway, and succeeded to his crown. Intoxicated with prosperity, he exercised the most barbarous and wanton cruelties, scourging his new subjects with a rod of iron, and governing with such severity, as soon became intolerable to the Norwegians. They revolted, and called to their assistance the Danes, who expressed the same inclination to throw off the yoke. They had proclaimed Regner, a prince of Norwegian extraction, sovereign of Denmark, flocked to his standard, and exhorted him with such eagerness to march to the relief of the Norwegians, as admitted of no refusal. He met Siward in the field, vanquished and slew him, and then disposed of the kingdom of Norway in favour of his own son, who was likewise named Siward.

Hirot was next raised to the throne of Sweden; but it is *Hirot.* disputed whether he was the son of Asmund or of Siward, or the younger brother of both. It is acknowledged on all hands that, during the last reign, he obtained the crown of Gothland; and that in his time great crowds of Goths and Danes settled in the country of the Vandals, at the mouth of the river Odger, building the city of Vineta, so famous in after ages for its flourishing commerce². Just as Hirot ascended the Swedish throne, it happened that his Danish majesty, having repudiated his own queen, demanded in marriage Thera, princess of Sweden. According to the custom of the age, Hirot refused to grant his daughter's hand, before the suitor had distinguished himself by some achievement; and he approved himself worthy, by slaying several wild beasts let loose in the chamber of his mistress. By this lady the king of Denmark had several sons, all of them famous for their cruelty.

At Hirot's death, Ingel, the son of Asmund, was at *Ingel.* length raised to the throne, from which he had been unjustly excluded for two reigns. Of him it is reported, that being in his youth of an extremely mild disposition, his tutor, Suibdager, in order to alter his temper, obliged him to eat wolves hearts; a regimen which, we are told, soon produced the desired effect. On the day of his accession to the crown, he assembled all the petty kings who governed the different provinces in Sweden, and sat in their presence on a footstool placed before the throne. Here was presented to him, according to ancient custom, a horn

² Chron. Slavor. lib. i.

filled with wine, which he drank off, swearing, either to extend the frontiers of Sweden, or to perish in the attempt. The very night following he shewed he would stickle at nothing to perform his vow; for he set fire to the house where seven of the petty kings were lodged, and destroyed them in the flames. These were violences to which the Swedes were not accustomed. Determined to punish such perfidy, they revolted, gave battle to Ingel, and defeated him, but the victory was not decisive, and served only to produce an accommodation. Here Ingel acted with his usual insincerity; feigning a hearty reconciliation, he pretended to do them every kind of good offices, invited them to an entertainment, and when he had them all assembled, set fire to the house, and burnt them alive. In this manner he got rid of twelve petty tyrants, who had usurped the supreme government of as many Swedish provinces. Ingel had a daughter named Asa, of the same bloody disposition with her father. She was married to the prince of Schonen, whom she murdered, together with his brother-in-law, delivering their dominions into the hands of their enemies. To escape the punishment due to so horrible an action, she fled to her father's court; but Iwar of Denmark resolved to take vengeance. He posted with an army to Sweden, and laying all waste with fire and sword, so terrified Ingel, that, to avoid falling into his hands, he set fire, at the persuasion of his daughter, to his palace, and perished with it. The single action of this prince's reign, that is reported to his honour, is his reducing into one volume the Swedish law, in which work he employed a person of great learning for those times, Vigar Spache, celebrated to this day in Sweden.

*Olaus Træt-
telga.*

Ingel's son, Olaus, escaped the fire which destroyed the rest of the royal family. This prince is numbered among the Swedish kings, though for what reason we know not; as it does not appear that he ever possessed the sovereign power. We find nothing more related of him, than that retiring to Wermeland, he cut down large forests, employed his time in husbandry, and obtained the surname of Trætrelga, from the vast quantity of wood he had hewn down^k.

Charles.

The king's death, the flight of the presumptive heir, and the inroads of a powerful enemy, all contributed to raise Charles, a Swedish lord of distinction, to the throne, an honour he enjoyed but a very short time. Regner, king of Denmark, could not support the thought of losing

^k Torfæus in ser. reg. Dan, lib. i.

so valuable a kingdom. He challenged Charles to single combat, and slew him; rendering himself, by his victory, master of the crown of Sweden, which he placed on the temples of his son Bero, or Biorno, called by Loccenius the third of that name, and the first Christian prince of Sweden (A).

S E C T. III.

In which the History is deduced to the Reign of Eric of Pomerania. A. 1415.

B E R O or B I O R N O III.

ALL historians, German, Swedish, and French agree, that in Biorno's reign the gospel was first preached in Sweden, by Anscharius, a pious monk, sent thither by Lewis le Debonaire; or, as Loccenius will have it, by Charlemagne. According to Puffendorf, the saint's first mission proved unsuccessful; the king denying him audience, or leave to preach Christianity in his dominions: an assertion very contradictory to the relation of the learned abbe de Fleuri, who expressly affirms, that ambassadors came from Biorno to Lewis le Debonaire, beseeching him to send proper ministers to teach the gospel in Sweden, where numbers of people were prepared to receive it^a, and the king disposed to encourage it. After having related the dangers which Anscharius and Vitmar encountered in their passage, he adds, that Biorno, hearing the missionaries were arrived, sent them a welcome, and the affair being canvassed in council, it was unanimously resolved, they should have leave to remain and preach the gospel in Sweden; a work on which they immediately entered with the utmost success. Several Swedish nobility were baptized, and among others, Herigar, governor of Birca, a lord possessed of the king's friendship, the founder of a cathedral, and the great instrument of

^a Fleur. Hist. Eccles. ann. 829.

(A) It is true, that Loccenius does not make this Biorno the son of Regner; on the contrary, he expressly says, that his parentage is doubtful, though we have ventured, on the authority of Torfæus and Puffendorf, to mention him as of Danish extraction. The year of his accession is no less dubious; but Torfæus places it in 831 (1).

(1) Vid. lib. ser reg. Dan.

the propagation of the faith. It was not long after the arrival of the missionaries, that Biorno fell into trouble, was dethroned, and reduced to extreme misery. Esbern, a man of high quality, whose daughter had been violated by Regner, levied an army, and waged furious war against Biorno and his father. He was slain, indeed, with most of his adherents, in one battle; but the Swedes, who were tired of the Danish yoke, renewed the war with redoubled vigour, and drove both Regner and Biorno out of the kingdom^b (A).

A S M U N D.

Asmund was then raised to the throne, but he did not maintain his possession long. Under him the Christians suffered terrible persecutions, and in this reign it was, that St. Hitard, probably the monk Vitard, suffered martyrdom. His people revolted, and he was deposed, and forced, out of necessity, to have recourse to piracy; which he exercised with unparalleled cruelty against the Vandals, Angles, and other commercial nations.

OLAUS the TREE-CUTTER, or Trætælga.

It was now that Olaus, surnamed Trætælga, was raised to the throne of Sweden, being re-called by the voice of the people to succeed Asmund. To prevent any disturbances from Denmark, he demanded in marriage for his son Ingo, the daughter of king Regner. His request was granted, without hesitation, and thus he continued to reign peaceably over Sweden and Gothland. About the year 853, Ansgarius returned to Sweden, and presented himself before Olaus at Birca, the largest city at that time in the kingdom, and so populous, that it could in a few days arm twelve thousand men, without prejudice to any public manufacture. The progress Ansgarius made among such a multitude was prodigious; hundreds were baptized in a day, and the king not only embraced the faith, but propagated it with all his influence. He may indeed be said to

^b Goth. lib. i. Loccen. lib. ii.

(A) Loccenius and Puffendorf certainly mean two different persons by this Biorno, whom they both call the first Christian prince. Yet the prince of whom the former speaks, flourished, according to him, in

the days of Charlemagne; and the other, mentioned by Puffendorf, in the reign of his son Lewis. Loccenius indeed speaks of two Biornos, that answer to both these periods (1).

(1) Vide p. 39. 45. Loccen. p. 49. lib. ii.

have

have died a martyr to the Christian religion ; for, after he had established his son king of Denmark, a famine happened in Sweden, which was attributed by the pagans to the increase of Christianity. They endeavoured to persuade the king to sacrifice to the heathen gods ; but on his absolute refusal, they immediately offered him up a sacrifice^c (B).

I N G O.

AT the death of Olaus, his son Ingo was placed on the throne ; a prince of a pacific disposition, who dreaded nothing so much as disturbing the tranquillity of his people. The neighbour from whom he apprehended the most danger was the king of Denmark ; and to prevent annoyance from that quarter, he married the princess his daughter. However, lest long repose might emasculate the minds of the youth, he permitted them to make incursions into the frontiers of Russia ; and some writers allege, that he led an army thither in person, and perished in the field sword in hand^d.

E R I C W A D E R H E A D.

HIS son Eric, surnamed Waderhead, or Weatherhead, succeeded him. All that is recorded of this prince favours strongly of fable. He was a great magician, and took his name from the astonishing influence he had over the weather, from the mere turning of his hat^e.

E R I C S E G H E R S E L L,

TO Waderhead succeeded his son Eric, surnamed Segherfell, or the Victorious, from the constant series of good fortune that attended him. He conquered the provinces of Finland, Esthonia, Livonia, and Courland, and kept

^c Puffend. p. 71.
^e J. Mag. p. 34.

^d Loccen. p. 49. lib. ii. Puffend. p. 73.

(B) It is confidently asserted by the Swedish historians, that Olaus conquered Denmark, governed there in person for five years, and then resigned the crown to his son Ennignup, whom the Danish writers call Emignuf, denying that he was son to the king of Sweden. Indeed Olaus is entirely omitted by Torfæus in his catalogue of Swedish princes ; and, possibly, because he was not acknowledged sovereign of the whole kingdom. Sweden, as well as Denmark, was in those days often governed by several kings ; though that prince who had the greatest power usually claimed the title of king of Sweden (1).

(1) Goth. lib. i.

possession of them to the end of his reign. The war he carried on against Swen, king of Denmark, terminated with equal success. First he deprived him of Halland and Schonen, and at last of the whole kingdom of Denmark; Swen saving himself, with great hazard, in Norway. Thence, say the Swedish writers, he passed over to Britain, and spent seven years in Scotia, (a term used extremely vague by all the historians of the North) returning at length to his own dominions at the death of Eric Segherfell, about the year 940^f.

ERIC STENCHIL MILDE, or Aarsfel.

ERIC, surnamed Stenchil Milde, or Happy-born, was raised to the throne at his father's death. Stenchil not only embraced, but forwarded with zeal the Christian religion. After his accession, he demanded teachers from the bishop of Hamburg, and had two sent, Adelwart and Stephen, who were strongly patronized by his majesty, and successful in their mission. They publicly baptized the king at Stigtuna, and his example was followed by the most considerable personages in Sweden. To distinguish his zeal for Christianity, he caused the fine heathen temple at Upsal to be demolished, the idols to be broken, and prohibited sacrifices to be made under the severest corporal penalties. In a word, such was his ardour to propagate the true religion, that, neglecting his own safety, he fell a sacrifice to heathen superstition, and was murdered in a tumult of the people, occasioned by the demolition of the temple^g.

OLAU S SCOTKONUNG.

OLAU S, surnamed Scotkonung (A), who succeeded to the crown, was not discouraged from publicly professing Christianity, by the unfortunate example of his father, or, as other writers imagine, of his brother^h: on the contrary, he dispatched ambassadors to Ethelred, then reigning in England, requesting him to send missionaries to Sweden to preach the gospel. In compliance with his earnest desire, three ecclesiastics, of exemplary piety and profound learn-

^f Suan. Chron. p. 66.
Eccles. lib. iii.

^g Suan. Chron. p. 67. Nuetf. Hist.
^h Loccen. lib. ii. p. 51.

(A) Olaus was likewise surnamed the Tributary, on account of a certain annual tax he paid to the pope to carry on the war against the Infidels, called Rem-scot in Sweden (1).

(1) Loccen. lib. ii.

ing, were sent thither. On their arrival in West Gothland, they preached before the king, and baptized him. Either the force, or novelty of their doctrine, induced numbers of the nobility to become converts. Charity was reckoned the first of virtues, and this might be called the harvest of churchmen, when offerings were so considerable, that at one mass, upwards of six hundred marks in silver were takenⁱ.

While the light of Christianity, or rather the power of the clergy, was thus spreading itself in Sweden, Olaus Truggeson, king of Norway, was endeavouring to wrest Denmark from Swen, who had lately recovered his crown. As he found the enterprize clogged with unexpected difficulties, he laboured to engage Olaus of Sweden in his interest. The method which appeared most effectual, was, to demand his Swedish majesty's sister in marriage; and such proposals were made, as it was not thought advisable to decline. Her highness was sent to Norway, and both kingdoms were united in the closest ties of friendship. Swen prognosticated ruin to himself from such an alliance; he used every expedient to break it, and at last succeeded so far as to wean Oluf's affections from his queen, and prevailed on him to send her back to Sweden, by the indirect offers he made of his daughter, the most celebrated beauty of the age. Olaus had no sooner got rid of his queen than he demanded the Norwegian princess; but Swen, having now gained his purpose, kept his daughter's marriage in treaty, and demanded for himself the mother-in-law of Olaus, king of Sweden. In a word, his intrigues brought on a war between Sweden and Norway. Olaus equipped a fleet to revenge the injury done to his sister, came up with the Norwegians, gave battle, and defeated them. To avoid being taken prisoner in the pursuit, the king of Norway threw himself over-board, and perished in the sea. His death made Norway an easy conquest. Olaus invaded, subdued, and annexed it to his own crown: after which conquest he married his mother-in-law to Swen, and gave him for a portion half the kingdom of Norway. But this country soon after reverted to the lawful heirs. Oluf, the son of Harold Grandshe, who had been excluded his right by Truggeson, now claimed the crown, and supported his demands with a powerful fleet, that not only annoyed the coasts of Sweden and Norway, disturbed the commerce of the Baltic, but forced the Sound, and seized the kingdom of Gothland. In pro-

ⁱ Loccen. lib. ii. p. 51.

cess of time peace was concluded, and the crown of Sweden quietly resigned to Oluff.

This prince's severity in punishing all his subjects who refused to embrace Christianity, occasioned a rebellion in his kingdom, and obliged the Norwegians to offer the crown to Canute king of Denmark. The king of Norway made such overtures to his Swedish majesty, that he engaged in the quarrel between Canute and Oluf, and sent strong reinforcements to the latter against his own subjects and the Danes. At last Oluf was defeated, and forced to fly from Norway. Afterwards he recovered his dominions by the assistance of his Swedish majesty; but at last perished in a battle, fought against his own subjects, on the frontiers of Norway^k.

Upon his death it was that Olaus unalienably annexed Gothland to the crown of Sweden, with a view to prevent the wars consequent on a partition of the kingdoms; and this is the reason assigned by historians, why the descendants of Olaus neglected, for many ages, to assume the title of king of the Goths^l.

A S M U N D.

WE have it on the best authority, that Olaus was succeeded by his son Asmund Kolbrenner, which Loccenius translates Carbonarius, so called from a law passed in his reign, that if any of his subjects injured another, a part of his house should be thrown down and burnt, proportioned to the injury given. However absurd this law may appear, Asmund is said to have been a sensible, pious, and upright prince, a strenuous advocate for Christianity, and enforcer of the laws. Loccenius relates a war in which he was engaged against Norway, and the Anglo-Saxons of Britain; but we do not chuse to trouble our readers with the recital of events^m so doubtful, that it is even disputed who were the powers engaged (A).

A S M U N D S L E M M E.

ASMUND Kolbrenner was succeeded on the throne by Asmund Slemme, surnamed Gomneel, on account of his great ageⁿ. Very different in disposition from his father, he

^k Puffend. Hist. p. 74.
p. 67.

ⁿ Idem ibid.

^l Idem ibid.

^m Loccen. lib. ii.

(A) It may be proper to add, that according to J. Gothus and Loccenius, Asmund Kolbrenner was killed anno 1035, in a battle fought with Canute the Rich,

king of Denmark and England. Upon what authority they have founded this assertion, it would be difficult for us at this distance of time to enquire.

gave

gave himself little trouble about the progress of Christianity, and regarded religion only as it affected policy and the laws. He had the name of Slemme from his having, in concert with the Danes, marked out a certain frontier between Schonen and Sweden, in order to cut off the continual controversies about the limits of that province. The Swedes claimed a right to the whole, as far as Oresund; and they bestowed this opprobrious name on their king for surrendering their right. Finding the contempt into which he had fallen, he endeavoured to wipe it off, by reducing Schonen; for this purpose he raised an army, met Canute the Rich, was defeated and slain.

S T E N C H I L.

AT Asmund's death, Hacquin Rufus was elected king of the Goths, while the Swedes who pretended to a superior right of election, chose Stenchil for their sovereign. These two princes came to an accommodation, and terminated their differences amicably; stipulating, that Hacquin should retain the crown for life, he being now in an advanced age; and that at his death Gothland should revert inseparably to Sweden. Agreeable to this treaty Hacquin reigned peaceably for thirteen years, and was then succeeded by Stenchil, grandson to Olaus the Tributary, a wise prince, who reflected dignity upon both diadems. His principal care was to protect religion and the laws; but he was no less a warrior than politician. The Swedish writers expatiate on his prodigious strength, dexterity, and courage; instancing, as proofs of his warlike genius, three signal victories, which he obtained over Swen Estrith, king of Denmark. Yet the Danish biographers of this prince affirm, that instead of carrying on a war with Sweden, Swen had always drawn large succours from it^o. Notwithstanding these contradictory assertions, we think it our duty to mention, that the Swedes push their notion so far as to affirm, that both kings perished in battle^p.

I N G O.

INGO, a person of noble, but not royal blood, was raised to the throne at the death of Stenchil. His qualities which were truly princely, and merited a crown, now shone with brighter lustre. Possibly it is, that he carried his piety beyond the measures of true policy. He forbade sacrifices and worship to idols, and propagated the Christian religion with

^o Meurs. lib. i.

^p Loccen. lib. ii. p. 69.

such zeal, as incurred the resentment of his subjects, by whom he was murdered in his bed^a.

HALSTAN.

HALSTAN, his brother, inherited his crown and virtues. No sovereign ever more strongly possessed the affections of his subjects. His address, rather than the sweetness of his disposition, gained him the reputation of the best natured of men. He died in 1064, after a short, but happy reign, and was succeeded in his throne by his son Philip, a prince who trod closely in the footsteps of his excellent father.

PHILIP.

FOR many ages the memory of Philip was dear to the Swedes, so gentle, so mild, so affable were his manners and conversation. As to the particulars of his reign, they are not transmitted to posterity^r.

INGO.

IN the year 1082, Ingo, the fourth of that name, ascended the throne. According to some writers, he was the son, while others call him the brother of Philip; but what was of more consequence, that he resembled him in manners, is agreed upon by all hands. The piety of his life, and the zeal he professed for Christianity, obtained him the surname of Good; nor was his queen Raguild less celebrated for her virtues. After her death, she was in a manner deified, and her urn visited by devotees from every quarter of the kingdom. By this princess Ingo had two daughters; one he married to Eric the Holy, king of Denmark; the other to Magnus of Norway, and by these alliances united in ties of the strictest friendship the three northern crowns. Ingo's whole life was a series of worthy and pious labours. He administered justice with rigour, except where circumstances required the interposition of clemency. The good he rewarded, but waged unremitting war on robbers, plunderers, and pirates, with whom Sweden was at that time grievously infested by sea and land. The scrupulous attention he paid to the execution of the laws, raised him enemies. The Ostro-Goths meditated a revolt, and contrived means to poison Ingo, whom they considered as the great obstacle to their licentious projects^s.

RAGWALD KNAPHOEFE.

IN fact they had no sooner removed him than they elected Ragwald, a lord of considerable possessions, and a

^a Puffend. p. 83. tom. i.

^r Idem ibid.

^s Loccen. lib. ii.

very ancient family. His stature was gigantic, and his strength prodigious; and he possessed a ferocity and cruelty of disposition perfectly suited to his brutal aspect. Jealous of his royal prerogative, he carried it to a degree of despotism, trampling on the laws and liberties of the people. The violence and fierceness of his disposition gained him the surname of Knaphœfde, and gave birth to a conspiracy, that put an end to his life.

M A G N U S.

AT the death of Ragwald, the Ostro-Goths elected Magnus, son of Nicholas, king of Denmark; but the Swedes, jealous of their rights, disputed this election, by choosing another king, who was slain soon after his accession, in a battle fought against the Ostro-Goths. For some time Magnus remained in peaceable possession of the crown; but becoming odious to the people by his crimes, the Swedes, in concert with the Ostro-Goths, presented the crown to Suercher, a man of a character the very reverse of the former.

S U E R C H E R.

THIS prince ascended the throne in 1148, and from the station of a private man, acquired the reputation of the most amiable and accomplished monarch of his times. His reign would have been truly happy, had he given less way to parental tenderness, and acted with the authority of a father and sovereign, to subdue the enormous vices of his son; a prince who indulged himself in every vicious excess. At the head of a band of young libertines, devoted to their passions, he made an incursion into Halland, violated virgins and matrons, and ravished the sister and wife of the governor. The Swedes exclaimed loudly against this action, and the Danes determined to revenge it. For this purpose they took arms, and some writers affirm, that Suercher had the misfortune to see his son fall under the blows of his enemies; while others allege, that, charged by his father with the conduct of the Danish war, prince John assembled the people to raise the taxes necessary to support it, and was murdered in a tumult of the populace, who were incensed to the highest degree at an expence incurred by his profligacy. As for the king himself, he was assassinated in his sledge, by a party of male-contented; and it

† *Ann. ibid.*

‡ *Loecen. lib. ii. Puffend. p. 87, 88.*

was supposed the fatal blow was given by one of his own domestics, who had been bribed for that purpose (B).

CHARLES, and ERIC the HOLY.

AT this period, a difference arose between the Swedes and Goths, the latter preferring Charles, the son of Suercher, to the throne, and the former declaring for Eric, the son of Jeswar. This prince had chiefly gained the affections of the Swedish nation by marrying Christina, daughter to Ingo the Good; a prince whose memory they held in veneration. As it was now an established principle with both nations, that the crowns should be united, to prevent the consequences of a rupture they compromised the dispute. Eric, by this agreement, was to remain in possession of both crowns during his life, and they were then to devolve to Charles, their descendents to reign alternately, still reserving the rights of the people. This treaty continued in force for the space of a century, and became the source of numberless calamities to the sovereign and subjects.

In the year 1154 Eric made a successful expedition against the Finlanders, a people hitherto buried in the grossest idolatry, and refusing submission to the Swedish government. After having totally subdued, he compelled them to receive the Gospel. He then returned to Sweden, and performed every duty of an excellent king. He administered justice with the most scrupulous delicacy; he promoted religion with zeal; he founded monasteries, and endowed them liberally; he compiled an admirable body of laws, called in the vernacular language St. Eric's Lag, and he saw them executed with punctuality. The more discerning about his court were of opinion, his zeal carried him to an imprudent excess, in denying pagans and idolaters the benefit of these laws. It was said, that his religion degenerated to superstition and bigotry, and his justice to rigour and even cruelty. Certain it is, that the severity with which he punished all offences against society, drew on him the displeasure of those who lived on rapine and the spoils of the public. They conspired against their sovereign, formed a powerful faction, and invited a son of the

(B) It is worthy remarking, that, though Magnus and Suercher were stiled kings of the Ostro-Goths, they were in fact sovereigns of all that country now called Sweden. Whence it would

seem, that Ostrogothia and Suecia were frequently used by the Latin writers as synonymous terms; notwithstanding the former comprehends only a part of the latter.

king

king of Denmark to join the league. With this succour they expected soon to become masters of the kingdom. The king of Denmark and his son passed with a powerful army into Sweden, and joined the rebels. Eric marched with a handful of forces to oppose the enemy; he came up with them in the plains of Upsal, fought like a warrior, and died with the reputation of a hero, after having singly withstood the utmost efforts of ten Danish officers.

The enemy, having cut off his head, carried it in triumph to Upsal, pillaged the royal palace, and proclaimed Magnus king of Sweden. But the reign of this prince was of short duration. The Swedes denounced vengeance for the death of their monarch, and flew to arms to execute their menaces. Assisted by the Goths, under the conduct of Charles, they cut the enemy in pieces, leaving dead on the field the king and prince of Denmark.

CHARLES SUECHERSON.

BY this victory Charles became, according to agreement, king of Sweden and Gothland; but as he was supposed to have been an accomplice in the murder of Eric, the Swedes at first refused to acknowledge him. They would willingly have bestowed the crown on Canute, the son of Eric; but that prince had withdrawn to Norway, on discovering that Charles had conspired against his life^b. At last, however, Charles, obtained his ultimate wish. He found himself seated firmly on the throne of Sweden and Gothland, and he determined to merit his prosperity, by complying strictly with his engagements. With this view he recalled Canute from Norway, settled the succession agreeable to the treaty between him and Eric, and declared the son of that prince presumptive heir to the crowns. Whatever means he took to acquire dominion, his conduct shewed that he knew how to rule with discretion. His reign was pacific, his government unexceptionable. He was generous to the clergy, without superstition or bigotry, and protected the church, without being a dupe to priestcraft. He erected several monasteries, and obtained from pope Alexander III. the dignity of an archbishop, and the pallium for the bishop of Upsal. It somewhat impeaches the character we have drawn of this prince, that some writers confidently affirm, he burthened the people with an unsupportable complaisance for the see of Rome, granting his holiness the inheritance of all who died without issue, and a certain proportion of the effects of those who had

^b Loccen. lib. iii.

childrenⁱ; a heavy tribute that continued to the papacy of Gregory X.

CANUTE ERICSON

DID not chuse to wait the death of Charles, by whom he was appointed successor. Refusing that prince's invitation to return to Sweden, he began levying forces in Norway; then entering Sweden all of a sudden, he surpris'd Charles, took him prisoner, and beheaded him, under pretence of his having been accessory to his father's death. On advice of his death, the widow of Charles fled out of Sweden with her children, and found an asylum in the court of Waldemar I. of Denmark, who promised her all manner of succour against king Canute. In effect, his troops took the field at the same time that the Goths were in arms to revenge their king's death, for whom they expressed a singular attachment. Both armies being joined, they marched against Canute, under the conduct of Kol, brother to the late king Charles. A battle was fought; but Kol being slain just as victory was ready to declare for him, the combined army was seized with a panic, routed, and cut to pieces^k.

This success turned the scale wholly in favour of Canute, whom it rendered absolute master of Sweden and Gothland, which he governed peaceably for twenty-three years. During this whole period, his tranquillity was but once disturbed, and that by a slight incursion the Esthonians and Courlanders made into Sweden, where they killed the archbishop of Stecka, and pillaged the rich city Sigtuna. He died at Erickberg, in West Gothland, in the year 1192, and was buried with great funeral pomp in the cloister of Warnheim. His character may be described in a few words. He was equally ambitious and capable of reigning. To gratify his lust of power, he stuck at no means, and yet he exerted it with such superior capacity and moderation, that no Swede had reason to lament his success^l.

SUERCHER.

THE cruelties exercised by the late king on the family of king Charles did not prevent the Swedes from raising his son to the throne. True it is, Eric, the son of Canute, shewed some inclination to dispute the crown with him; but as the face of affairs promised but little success, he reconciled himself by treaty with Suercher, stipulating that he should succeed at the death of that prince. What gave

ⁱ Puffend, tom. i. p. 92.
p. 80.

^k Auct. citat. ibid.

^l Loccen.

Suercher the greatest advantage over his competitor was, his marrying a princess of Denmark, in consequence of which alliance he was enabled to draw powerful succours from that kingdom. He at the same time possessed excellent qualities, and governed for some years with great wisdom. In the end, however, he became suspicious and a tyrant. To secure himself on the throne, he believed it necessary to massacre all the friends and relations of Canute; but, in spite of his utmost vigilance, Eric, the only male child of that prince, saved himself in Norway, where he lived for several years. At last the inhabitants of Uplandia, shocked with the cruelty of Suercher, and moved with compassion for the young prince, rose in arms against the government, and recalled Eric, promising to open his way to the throne, at the expence of their lives and fortunes. He accepted their invitation, and appeared in Sweden at the head of a few troops, furnished by king Ingo. On his arrival almost all the Swedish nobility espoused his cause. He marched against the king, defeated, and forced him to save himself in West Gothland, where he expected succours from Denmark. Waldemar II. detached the bishop of Roschild with six thousand men to his assistance; but scarce had this reinforcement joined the remains of Suercher's army, when Eric came up, and obtained a second complete victory, all the allied forces being cut in pieces, and the Danish generals left dead on the field^m. Suercher took refuge in Denmark, where he lived two years, during which he assembled a very formidable army, and marched towards the frontiers of Sweden. A third time he gave battle to Eric, but with the same fortune as before; his troops were cut to pieces, and himself left among the carnage on the field. Thus Eric at length attained the peaceable possession of the crowns of Sweden and Gothlandⁿ.

A.D. 1192.

ERIC CNU TSON.

TO remove every difficulty, and avoid every obstacle to the peace and happiness of his kingdom, Eric renewed the treaty of alternate succession with the children of the late king; giving the strongest testimonies of his sincerity by appointing John, the son of Suercher, his successor on the throne. His policy extended farther: to reconcile himself to Denmark, he espoused the princess Reckot, sister to Valdemar. From this time he reigned with the utmost felicity, died regretted, and was buried at Warnheim.

^m Meurf. Hist. Dan. lib. v. Loccen. lib. iii.

ⁿ Puffend.

J O H N I.

AGREEABLE to the late treaty, John ascended the throne as soon as it was vacant, governing three years with admirable wisdom and policy. Some military operations he set on foot met with less success than the justice of his cause and prudence of his measures merited; but he died highly esteemed, and lamented by all who were friends to their country, and lovers of integrity, moderation, piety, and prudence in a monarch.

ERIC the STAMMERER.

THE treaty of succession still continued in force. Eric the Stammerer, son of Eric Crutson, wore, in his turn, the badges of sovereignty. This prince had a paralytic disorder that affected his tongue, and deprived him of the use of the left arm and leg. It gave him a most ungraceful appearance, and a look of simplicity that conveyed a very unfavourable impression; but these ideas soon gave way to a real esteem, inspired by his bravery, wisdom, and virtue. There was in his reign a family of the name of Falkunger, so powerful and ambitious as to form designs on the crown. To gain over the lords of this house to his interest, Eric married his sister Helena to one of them, whose name was Canute, a person highly respected for his eloquence. To a cousin of this nobleman's he gave his second sister, and he himself espoused the daughter of Swen Falkunger. All these ties, strong as they might appear, could not check the ambition of the Falkungers. Birger Jerl, of the whole family, remained faithful to the king; all the rest revolted, and obtained a victory over the king, which obliged him to fly to Denmark.

In his absence, Canute Falkunger was proclaimed king of Sweden by his adherents; but the usurper's reign was of short duration. Eric raised an army in Denmark, and marched against the usurper, who advanced to meet him with a good countenance. Eric was victorious, his competitor wounded, his son Holinger taken, and, though the king's own nephew, beheaded by his order. Thus the public tranquillity was at length restored, and those treacherous allies of his majesty were punished in the manner they deserved.

In Eric's reign a nuncio from the pope arrived in Sweden, prohibiting ecclesiastics to marry, as before that time they were permitted °.

This monarch's chief military operations were against the Tawastians, a people of Finland, immersed in the most absurd idolatry. The king sent Birger Jerl, his brother-in-law, with an army into that country. Birger carried all before him, defeated the enemy, pardoned all who embraced Christianity, and put the rest to the sword; a strange method of convincing the reason, too frequently employed in those days, in points of religion. Before Birger's return from this expedition, king Eric yielded up his last breath, leaving the reputation of a consummate politician, and of a skilful, intrepid general.

W A L D E M A R.

After the king's death Ivar Bla, one of the chief nobility of Sweden, convoked the states for the election of a new sovereign; and so successful were his intrigues, that their suffrages raised Waldemar, eldest son of Birger Jerl, and nephew of the late king, to the throne. Thus the treaty of alternate succession was broke through; but Birger Jerl was not satisfied. He hastened to Sweden, called the diet, and declared they had taken a wrong step in raising his son to the sovereignty, insinuating, that he was too young to support the weight of government, and indicating plainly enough, that it would have been more conducive to the public good to have bestowed the crown on himself. But the diet answered, they were under no necessity of chusing either him or his son, and that if he disliked the election, they would cast their eyes elsewhere. Birger found the diet resolute, and thought it advisable to dissemble. He pretended to be highly pleased with the honour conferred on his family, and protested that only his concern for the public good could ever make him appear ungrateful for so signal a demonstration of their esteem and regard. Thus Waldemar was crowned at Jenscoping, and the administration put into Birger's hands, during his son's minority.

*Birger Jerl
displeased
with his
son's elec-
tion.*

A.D. 1257.

Many excellent institutions took place under the administration of Birger, who laboured to give his regency all the lustre which the crown ever reflected under the most powerful and prudent princes. He built and fortified the city of Stockholm; he revised the lands-lag, or that system of law which contained all the statutes of the kingdom; he gave new regulations to the Swedish cities, deduced from the old laws of the city of Birca. In a word, he put in

*Birger Jerl
regent of
Sweden.*

^v Goth. p. 56. Loccen. p. 82. Puffend. p. 92.
^{lib. iii.} Joh. Goth. lib. ii.

¹ Loccen.

practice whatever could raise the reputation of his country, secure its felicity, and increase his own reputation. In acknowledgment of his services, the king, his son, at the request of the nation, granted to Birger Jerl the title and dignity of a duke, instead of that of earl, which he before enjoyed (C).

*Civil war
in Sweden.*

The house of Flockenger, one of the most powerful families in Sweden, beheld with a jealous eye the success of a family which had been long their rivals in ambition. They used their utmost endeavours to ruin the duke, and he exerted himself to surprise Charles, who was the principal person among his enemies. At last their animosity rose to such a height, that a civil war seemed unavoidable. Both parties armed, and took the field. They met near Helwards-broo, and began an engagement, which would undoubtedly have proved decisive, had not the combatants been separated, in the heat of the battle, by the breaking down of a bridge. After this accident, they contented themselves with discharging their arrows and javelins at a distance.

*Birger's
perfidy.*

In the mean time several noblemen, more moderate in their sentiments, who foresaw the ruinous consequences of a civil war, interposed, offering their mediation to accommodate matters amicably. A truce ensued, and passports were granted, in order to begin a negotiation; in consequence of which several of the Flockengers came to the duke's camp, where they were seized, by his order, and beheaded, without regard to the most solemn oaths and engagements; an action so base and perfidious as cannot in the least be palliated, and tarnishes the glory of his regency. Birger was not the only person who had pledged his faith for their security: the bishop of Lincoping had also guaranteed the agreement; and was so much shocked at the breach of it, that, by way of atonement, he resigned his see, and began a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, in which he died.

Charles Flockenger, having escaped this massacre, breathed nothing but vengeance; but his menaces were impotent, as he had lost his most powerful and trusty adherents. After several vain attempts to renew the war, and having

* Puffend. p. 100.

(C) The word Jerl, in the all probability, of northern extraction, and possibly derived from the Swedish (1).
ancient Swedish language, imports that degree of quality which we call *earl*; a word, in

(1) Vide Loccen. p. 540.

rejected

rejected all the overtures made by Birger, he retired for security to the grand-master of the Teutonic order, in which service he died, after having performed acts of astonishing valour^a.

Duke Birger being now secure from all attempts, and rid of the most formidable of his enemies, celebrated with great pomp, his son's marriage with the princess Sophia, daughter of Eric. But though Waldemar was now of age, the old duke, almost oppressed with years, could not prevail on himself to surrender his power. At last he died, and the reins of government were taken by the young king into his own hands (D). Each of the three princes his brothers kept a separate court, and Magnus especially lived with all the taste and magnificence of a king. This prince possessed many great qualities. He was munificent, learned, affable, and accomplished. The nobility flocked to him, and the Swedish nation was so captivated with his generosity, that the king began to express uneasiness at his popularity. He persuaded himself that his brother aspired at the crown; and queen Sophia, who hated Magnus, confirmed these sentiments. It is a little extraordinary, however, that amidst these suspicions, Waldemar should make a pilgrimage to Rome, and afterwards to Jerusalem, entrusting the administration to Magnus, in his absence; and that immediately on his return he should accuse his brother of having endeavoured to fix the crown on his own head, notwithstanding the proofs of his fidelity he had given. To prevent the consequences of the king's jealousy, a diet of the Swedes was held at Strignen, where the differences between Waldemar and Magnus were canvassed, and all possible means employed to terminate their disputes amicably. Benvit, the youngest brother, gave a most extraordinary instance of moderation. Far from embroiling the kingdom with any new claims, he surrendered Finland to his brothers, in order to put an end to their disputes about their several patrimonies^b.

Waldemar marries.

A.D. 1266.

Jealousies between the king and his brothers.

^a Auct. citat. ibid.

^b Loccen. lib. iii. p. 85.

(D) Birger left four sons: his son the king to confer on Waldemar, king of Sweden; his brothers. The event shewed, that Waldemar had made Magnus, duke of Sundermania; Eric, prince of Smaland; them too powerful for his own and Benvit, duke of Finland; tranquillity. The troubles they which dukedoms and principality were all appenages that excited were truly melancholy, and baneful to Sweden. duke Birger had prevailed on

*The two
brothers,
Magnus
and Eric,
return to
Denmark.*

*They re-
turn and
give the
king battle.*

*A parti-
tion treaty
concluded.*

*The Danes
lay Swe-
den waste.*

This cession of Bentvit, and the representations of the diet, could not effect the much desired reconciliation. Both sides were now so much enflamed, that it was not possible to bring matters to an accommodation; but as Magnus, and Eric his brother, were not in a condition to make head against Waldemar in the field, who was strongly supported by the alliance of Norway, they passed over to Denmark, and entered into a strict confederacy with king Eric, the treaty between them bearing date A. D. 1276. At the head of a considerable army they returned to Sweden, where they were joined by their friends and adherents. On the first notice of their march, king Waldemar put his army in motion, and, being greatly superior in numbers, he was so confident of success, that he gave himself up to feasting and diversions, being satisfied with sending out a detachment to look for the enemy. Magnus and Eric improved his misconduct to their own advantage. Defeating the detachment, they attempted to surprise Waldemar at Romlabada, but he got notice of their intentions, by some persons who had escaped from the battle. Instead, however, of making any resistance, he deserted his army, and fled to Wermeland, whither he was pursued, and made prisoner by a body of light horse, detached by Magnus^u.

The victorious Magnus now assembled a diet, in order to restore the public tranquillity, by removing every possible cause of contention. He knew that by this step he risked nothing, being perfectly secure of the affections of the nobility and people. Accordingly the states decreed, that Waldemar should, for his share, possess East and West Gothland, with the province of Smaland, renouncing all pretensions to the rest of the kingdom, which was assigned to Magnus^w.

This treaty being concluded, Magnus sent back the Danish auxiliaries; but these troops, dissatisfied at the detention of their arrears, committed horrible ravages in their march. When the king of Denmark afterwards demanded payment of the subsidy, stipulated in the treaty with Magnus, that prince answered, that he would deduct an indemnification from the devastation made in his dominions by the Danish forces. This answer exasperated the Danes still more; they redoubled their licentiousness, and Magnus resolved to make reprisals. He entered the provinces of Shonen and Halland, where he committed horrid cruelties; but was forced to retreat precipitately, on the approach of

^u Idem, lib. iii. Puffend. p. 105.

^w Loccen. ubi supra.

the enemy, who were greatly superior in numbers ; whereas his own troops were fatigued, and loaded with booty.

Eric of Denmark sought his revenge, by intriguing with Waldemar, to join him against his own brother, promising, as an inducement, to reinstate him in all his dominions. These were motives sufficiently powerful to engage Waldemar ; he agreed to every thing proposed, and immediately the Danish army took the field, but not till Waldemar and his family had arrived in Denmark. They met the Swedish army, commanded by Uffo Carlson, at Vexio, came to blows, and were defeated with great loss, and forced to retire with precipitation*.

*Waldemar
renews the
war a-
gainst his
brothers.*

Eric of Denmark seemed to be animated with his losses, which he firmly determined to revenge. Next year he levied a prodigious army, took the field in person, attended by Waldemar, entered Gothland, and committed dreadful devastations, but was at length slain by a Swedish soldier, according to Puffendorf, and the Swedish writers (E).

All this while Magnus beheld the ravages of the Danes with great composure. He was strong enough to offer battle ; but he declined it, contenting himself with shutting the enemy up in Gothland, knowing well that the winter would oblige them to retire, without drawing a single advantage from their expedition. However, a treaty was set on foot by certain noblemen of each nation, who lamented the calamities of both kingdoms, occasioned by so trifling a difference as the subsidy in dispute, which did not exceed six thousand silver marks. The difference was at length compromised, and a treaty signed, whereby Magnus agreed to pay four thousand marks, and to give the city Lædesa in security of payment. As to Waldemar, his interest was entirely forgot by the Danish monarch, and he found himself under the necessity of renouncing the whole kingdom of Sweden, of which it must be acknowledged, his pusillanimous conduct proved him unworthy. After having thus abdicated the crown, by treaty, he retired to Denmark.

*Treaty
agreed to.*

* Puffend. p. 106.

(E) This account differs, in all its circumstances, from the relations of the Danish writers. In the first place, the expedition into Gothland happened in 1277, and Eric was not slain before the year 1286. Next, he was not slain in Gothland, or by the hand of a Swedish soldier, but by his own courtiers. At Findarup, a village near Wiburgh, in Jutland. Yet Puffendorf and others expressly affirm, that his death happened at Axelwold.

MAGNUS LADISLAUS I.

The bravery and resolution of Peter Portze.

MAGNUS had scarce ascended the throne before an accident occurred, which might have cost him his liberty. The king of Denmark had borrowed a sum of money from one Peter Portze, mortgaging to him for payment the sum due by Magnus, agreeable to the subsidy-treaty with that prince. Peter Portze had repeatedly demanded payment of Magnus; and at length his importunity obliged the king to cede a certain castle, by way of security. Portze, however, knew that the castle was not an equivalent for the money, and contrived a stratagem for obtaining justice. Under some specious pretence which he devised, the king made him a visit, and was entertained sumptuously; but when he was preparing to go away, Portze reminded his majesty of the money due to him, remonstrating that the castle he received in security was by no means an equivalent, and giving him to understand, in a resolute tone, that he expected full compensation before he suffered him to depart. As the king had but few attendants, all resistance he found would be in vain; he paid the money, swore that he never would revenge the affront, and was suffered to depart. It is related, to his honour, that he not only kept his oath, but embraced every opportunity of loading Portze with favours, saying that he was a brave man, who could not but be faithful to his king, as he dared to be just to himself, at the hazard of incurring his sovereign's resentment.

The king disoblige the people by raising foreigners to high posts.

Soon after his coronation, Magnus married Hedwig, daughter of the duke of Holstein, a lady of extraordinary beauty. This marriage, and the countenance which his majesty gave to men of merit, drew great numbers of the Holstein nobility to court. They were raised, by the queen's interest, to high posts and preferments, which soon excited the jealousy of the Swedish nobility, particularly of the house of Flockenger, the old rivals of Birger Jerl's family. The discontented nobility remonstrated to the king, that he had broke his coronation-oath, which imported that he should not prefer foreigners to posts of trust and profit in the realm. Magnus answered, that to govern with glory to himself, and benefit to his people, prudence required he should promote men of honour and ability, of whatever country, who offered their services. As to the rest, he said, that when natives shewed themselves equally deserving of his countenance as the foreigners he had raised, they should not fail of having the preference in his favour. Incensed at this

answer, which reflected on their understanding and ability, they leagued against Magnus and the foreigners; while Waldemar privately fomented the quarrel, hoping to find an opportunity amidst the civil war of regaining his crown. The Flockengers were at the head of this confederacy. For the execution of their design, they embraced the opportunity of the queen's going to Scara, in Gothland, to meet her father. In this journey she was attended by Ingemar, and other Holsteiners, the most obnoxious to the Flockengers. On her arrival in Gothland, the malecontents met Ingemar, and demanded to know by what right he thrust himself into the chief offices of the realm, in contempt of the Swedish nobility. His reply was spirited, but unfortunate; for the Swedes immediately seized, and put him to death; then they massacred all the other Holsteiners, except the duke, whom they imprisoned in Jernsburgh citadel. The queen fortunately made her escape, and secreted herself in a monastery^z.

An insurrection, and several of the king's favourites massacred,

Magnus was sensibly afflicted with the news of these violences offered to the queen and his favourites; but the power of his enemies within and without the kingdom made him dissemble, and try to effect by policy what he apprehended would exceed his ability to execute by force. He soothed, by the most artful letters and expressions, the more resolute and powerful among the disaffected, and at last persuaded them, that they had fully regained his majesty's affection: but some time after, assembling the diet at Scara, he accused the Flockengers of high-treason; and no person appearing in their behalf, or no arguments being urged in their defence, he ordered them to be seized, conveyed to Stockholm, and beheaded, except Philip de Rundi, who saved his life by a large sum of money. From that time the Flockengers could never recover their ancient splendor, and Magnus possessed his crown in perfect tranquillity. He entered into the strictest alliance with Denmark, uniting the two royal families by several intermarriages. Justice was distributed with the utmost precision in every part of the kingdom; a variety of salutary laws, for the relief and ease of the subject, were passed; yet did Magnus govern with so tight a reign, that it was believed he would have made the crown absolute, and fixed it invariably in his own family, had not death interposed, and removed one of the greatest, wisest, and best of the Swedish monarchs, who, from the excellency of his laws,

The king's policy.

His death and character.

^z Loccen, lib. iii. p. 91.

and equity of his government, obtained the surname of Ladislaus.

B I R G E R.

A.D. 1290.

*Torkel
Cnutson
regent.*

AT the death of this great prince his son Birger was but eleven years of age; Magnus had therefore, by his will, appointed Torkel Cnutson regent of the kingdom, and tutor to the young prince (F). Cnutson began his regency with subduing some provinces towards the frontiers of Sweden, and arresting the late king Waldemar's sons, from whom some attempts to recover the crown were apprehended. He next sent a powerful army to Finland, against the Carelians, who, jointly with the Russians, had ravaged the frontiers of the kingdom. After an obstinate war, the Carelians were conquered, their country made a province of Sweden, and they themselves were obliged to receive the lights of Christianity. In order to check the Russians, the fortress of Wibourg was built, and the city of Hexholm taken from that barbarous people.

A.D. 1295.

*Birger
espouses the
princess of
Denmark.*

The young king Birger, being now of age, celebrated his marriage with the princess of Denmark, who had been contracted to him in his father's life-time, and had ever since resided at the Swedish court. At Birger's accession to the crown he was molested by fresh incursions made by the Russians; to prevent which he built, at the persuasion of Cnutson, the strong fortress of Landskron, a scheme well designed, though it never answered the intention. Sickness prevailing in the garrison, it was attacked, taken, and levelled to the ground by the Russians^a.

*A law pro-
hibiting the
sale of
prisoners.*

Birger, in fact, had but the name of king, every thing being done by the direction of Cnutson, who was undoubtedly one of the first politicians of the age. This great minister did not confine himself to warlike expeditions; it was no less necessary, he said, to render the people happy than powerful. For this purpose he collected the laws into a smaller compass, rendered them as perspicuous as concise, and enforced them with the strictest impartiality and rigour. He passed a law, which afterwards was called king Birger's law, prohibiting the sale of slaves, saying, "that it was unjust that Christians should sell each other,

^a Loccen. p. 95.

(F) Besides Birger, king Magnus left two other sons, Eric and Waldemar (1).

(1) Vide Loccen. lib. iii. p. 99.

" when

“ when Christ had made them all free at the price of his blood.”

About the year 1302 Birger and his queen were solemnly crowned, upon which occasion Cnutson resigned all his offices, but had them restored to him by the king, with additional power. Prince Waldemar had married the princess of Norway, with a view of being powerfully supported against the king his brother. Both he and Eric complained of Cnutson, as if he had shewn a partiality for the king's interest, although he was the common guardian of all the children; but the true reason of Waldemar's resentment was, that Birger had declared his son Magnus, then but three years of age, his successor in the throne. For these, and other reasons, they chose another guardian, and demanded their patrimonies, which they put under the management of Ambior, great baliff of Sweden^b.

On the other hand, the king was dissatisfied with the conduct of his brothers, and suspicious of their power and fidelity. In these sentiments he was confirmed by his queen, an ambitious woman, and by Cnutson, who highly resented the affront put upon him by the princes, in chusing another guardian. The king of Denmark likewise, for reasons of state and of private pique, helped to light up the fire of contention. In the end, the very same causes which had thrown Sweden in confusion in Waldemar's reign, disturbed the reign of his nephew Birger. Puffendorf alleges, that Cnutson had persuaded the king to load his subjects with very oppressive taxes, in order to maintain a brilliant and magnificent court; yet nothing can be more inconsistent with the character of this minister than any measure which could prove burdensome to the people^c. According to the same author, it was Cnutson that persuaded him to seize on the revenues of the duchies appropriated by his father's will, for the portions of the younger children, which money he applied for the space of six years to his own use. He committed other violences which were unjustly charged upon his minister. One arbitrary action of the king's is expressly said to have been committed at Cnutson's house, who invited his majesty and the two dukes, his brothers, to an entertainment: as the guests were preparing to go away, the king called his brothers to him, and telling them, that he had advice of their intention to quit the kingdom, he desired to know the causes of their proceedings; adding, that if they should clear themselves of the suspicions he harboured of their fidelity, they must sign a

Contentions arise between the king and his brothers.

^b Idem, *ibid*,

^c Puffend. p. 113.

They are forced to make concessions to the king.

writing which he produced. Such a proposition, so unexpected, could not but alarm the dukes: if they refused, they foresaw that the consequence would at least be imprisonment; they therefore signed the paper without hesitation, promising by this act, never to withdraw out of the kingdom, or approach the king's person, without leave; to keep only such a retinue and household as his majesty should prescribe; to attempt nothing, either openly or clandestinely, against his person and government; and to pay an implicit obedience to his will, and fidelity to himself, his queen, and his children.

The king grows a second time jealous of the conduct of his brothers.

Having finished this affair to his satisfaction, he returned to Wiefingoe, pleasing himself with the notion of having executed a very extraordinary stroke of policy. His joy, however, was but of short duration. Suspicion again laying hold of his mind, he summoned the dukes his brothers to appear before him. Duke Eric alone obeyed the order, and was accused of carrying contraband merchandize out of the kingdom, of travelling in a hostile manner with arms, and of committing several violences against the peasants: to which articles the king added, that one of Eric's domestics had struck his porter, because he had not opened the door immediately on his knocking; and that both the dukes maintained courts so brilliant as could not but give umbrage^d.

The two brothers take refuge in Denmark.

All Eric's endeavours to vindicate himself availed nothing. The king indeed for that time dismissed him; but he watched every opportunity of seizing the two brothers. They had advice of his designs, and saved themselves in Denmark, where they implored king Eric to use his influence in procuring them the peaceable possession of their appenages. Immediately on their departure, their estates were confiscated, and Birger had an interview on the frontiers with the Danish monarch, whom he found means to engage wholly in his interest. This circumstance obliged the dukes to quit Denmark, and seek shelter in Norway, where they were favourably received, treated with great hospitality, and promised all the assistance in king Hacquin's power. Two cities, Nydeburgh and Kundel, with all their dependencies, were assigned them for their support. From thence they made excursions into Gothland, which they ravaged without mercy, laid in ashes the city Lædesa, and built the fortress called Daleburgh, for their security, in which they confined a number of Swedish gentlemen whom they had taken prisoners.

To put a stop to these disorders, Birger sent an army to Gothland; but his troops were surprised and defeated by Eric. He next took the field in person, with a powerful army, and the duke received in the mean time a strong reinforcement from Norway. Both princes were in full march to come to a decisive action, when certain senators, offering their mediation, terminated their differences, and prevailed on the king to restore his brothers into favour:

Eric defeats the king's army.

They come to an accommodation.

No sooner were the princes reconciled than they came to an explanation concerning the cause of their quarrel; and all agreeing that Cnutson had acted the part of an incendiary, that old minister was dismissed from his employments, and imprisoned. Soon after his dismissal, he was charged with several high crimes and misdemeanors of which he had never been guilty, and beheaded publicly at Stockholm, to the great grief of the people, and joy of the two dukes, some of the nobility, and all the clergy, whose overbearing insolence and oppressive privileges he had boldly curbed and retrenched. Duke Waldemar repudiated his daughter Christina, whom he had married: such was the recompence these three ungrateful princes bestowed on their most faithful and able guardian and minister^f.

Cnutson falls a sacrifice to the enmity of the princes.

But the innocent blood of the honest Cnutson did not cement their union; on the contrary, their jealousies daily increased, and they now, when too late, perceived that Cnutson had acted an upright and prudent part; that he had prevented their coming to extremities, and shewed an equal affection for them all. The king endeavoured to keep the princes in absolute subjection; while they, on the other hand, aspired at his crown. They privately assembled a number of their friends, surprised Birger in his palace, made him prisoner, and obliged him to resign the crown in favour of duke Eric, and deliver up Stockholm. However, the citizens refused to obey the king's orders; upon which refusal the dukes began a regular siege, while a part of their army over-ran several provinces of the kingdom^g.

Birger surprised, and taken prisoner by his brothers.

The king, queen, and all the royal family, were imprisoned, except Magnus, the eldest son, who escaped out of his uncle's hands, and took refuge in Denmark. Touched with compassion at the miserable condition of his brother-in-law, the king of Denmark raised a powerful army to restore Birger. Upon his entering Sweden, the dukes advanced with a good countenance and well-disciplined army, to give him battle, which the Dane chose to decline, thinking it more prudent to have recourse to treaty. During the ne-

The king of Denmark takes part with Birger, and enters Sweden.

^f Loccen. lib. iii. p. 99.

^g Idem. ibid.

A.D. 1306. gociation the dukes were taking the most vigorous measures to reduce the rest of the kingdom, to attach the people to their interest, and to engage Hacquin of Norway to declare war against Denmark; but his Danish majesty counteracted their intrigues at the court of Norway, and not only prevailed on that monarch to decline the proffered alliance with the dukes, but to refuse his daughter to Eric, who sought her in marriage, except upon such conditions as could not be complied with.

A.D. 1307. In the course of this year duke Waldemar, with a body of German horse, made an incursion into Schonen, but was obliged to retire at the approach of winter. His troops were quartered in West Gothland, and behaved so insolently to the peasants, that an insurrection ensued, and several of the German soldiers were massacred. The remaining Germans fell upon the peasants, and made great slaughter of them. These misfortunes were increased by a sudden incursion of the Danes, when happily a treaty was set on foot by the more moderate on both sides. It proved, however, little more than a preliminary, whereby Birger and his family were set at liberty, and the final decision of the quarrel referred to a congress appointed at Marckery in Smaland.

Birger is restored to a part of his dominions. In consequence of the treaty concluded on this occasion, Birger was restored to a part of his dominions, and the dukes received of the remainder an oath of fidelity, not as kings, but sovereigns. The first use Birger made of his liberty was, to attempt the recovery of his crown and kingdom. Passing over to Denmark, he met with a hearty reception from his brother, and received assurances of powerful succours. At the same time a dispute arose between Hacquin of Norway, and duke Eric, which greatly forwarded Birger's affairs. The king of Denmark seized this opportunity to persuade Hacquin wholly to break with the duke, and marry his daughter Ingiburgha, to Magnus, Birger's son. In a word, Hacquin agreed to bestow his daughter, with six thousand marks in silver, on Magnus, appointing him besides his successor to the crown of Norway, provided he himself should die without male issue. At the same time a peace was concluded between the kings of Denmark and Norway; upon which Eric of Denmark assembled a powerful army, composed of Danes and Germans, to assist Birger, who joined him with a body of Swedes. The dukes advanced against the two monarchs; but not caring to hazard a battle, they contented themselves with blocking up the roads, and cutting off their convoys of forage and provisions. All their endeavours could

could not prevent Jenekoping from falling into the hands of the royal army, which immediately afterwards penetrated, through vast forests, to East Gothland; which the dukes were forced to evacuate, Eric retiring to Calmar, and Waldemar to Stockholm, to cover the province of Up-land^h.

During these transactions, the king of Norway was laying siege to Kongel, and the two kings, Birger and Eric, had sat down before Nicoping. The garrison made a vigorous resistance, and the kings were obstinate in their resolution to carry the place. At last the nobility represented the imprudence of neglecting greater advantages, which they might gain in the time spent before this town; the little benefit that would accrue from the conquest; the difficulties of the undertaking; the scarcity of provision in the camp; and the ill-humour of the army on account of the approaching severe season: but all their remonstrances could not oblige the princes to alter their resolution; upon which the Danish nobility took the shameful resolution of abandoning their king, and returning to Denmark, leaving him to try his fortune as he could, and fight his own battles; a desertion that would have greatly endangered his person, had not the duke of Mecklenburgh remained firm with the cavalry.

*Birger be-
sieves Nico-
ping, and
the nobility
desert him
and Eric.*

The duke had in the mean time retaken Jenekoping, and gained some other advantages; however, he chose to try what a negociation might produce in the present circumstances of the allied monarchs. With this view he demanded a conference with the king of Denmark, and offered to end all disputes sincerely and amicably with Birger. He moreover exhorted his Danish majesty to use his influence with Birger, to pay more respect to the treaties he had concluded, as he might be assured he could never profit any thing by using force. In consequence of this request an interview was held at Helsinburg, and a peace concluded between the dukes and Birger, on much the same conditions as the former; a partition being made of the kingdom, but with this addition, that the dukes should do homage to Birger, as vassals of his crown^l.

A.D. 1310.

*Peace con-
cluded.*

The reconciliation of the brothers proved no less destructive to the people than the war which ensued from their enmity. They now rivalled each other in pomp, splendour, and magnificence. Such an expence required extraordinary funds; the people were loaded with taxes which they could no longer support. In Smaland a rebellion appeared,

A.D. 1317.

^h Suan. lib. iii. Puffend. p. 122.

^l Pont. lib. ix.

headed by one Bagge ; and another, of a more dangerous nature, soon after broke out in Gothland, which obliged the king to quit the province, upon having several of his attendants murdered. Both these insurrections, however, were quelled by the assassination of Bagge, and his majesty's promise to lower the taxes ^m.

As the kingdom had now enjoyed profound tranquillity for the space of seven years, the dukes had reason to persuade themselves, that the king their brother's reconciliation was perfectly sincere ; but they little penetrated the true sentiments of Birger. Waldemar, in his way to Calmar, made him a visit at Nicoping, and was received with all the appearances of the utmost cordiality and affection. Such professions of regard were made by Birger as entirely deceived the duke ; who was so much convinced of his sincerity, that he requested duke Eric to come to Nicoping, in order to put the last hand to their reconciliation. Notwithstanding he still suspected Birger, yet he yielded to the arguments and intreaties of Waldemar ; but had no sooner arrived at Nicoping, than he received some hints of the king's design, and would have immediately retired, had not Waldemar used the most pressing instances to the contrary.

Birger perfidiously seizes the dukes, throws them in a dungeon, where one perished of his wounds, and the other of hunger.

At night Birger's perfidy appeared ; after having treated them with magnificence, and loaded them with favours and civilities, he ordered his people to break into their apartments while they were asleep, to seize and confine them : thus retaliating on them the same base action by which he had fallen into their power some years before. Eric endeavoured to defend himself, but was over-powered, after having been desperately wounded. Birger was present at this cruel scene ; and having satiated his revenge with the most cutting taunts and opprobrious language, ordered them to be stripped half-naked, and fettered neck and heels with iron chains. They were then thrown into a dungeon ; and the king set out with intention to surprize Stockholm. In this attempt he was disappointed ; the garrison made a brisk sally, defeated him, and sent a body of forces to lay siege to Nicoping, where the princes were confined ; but before it was taken both died, Eric of his wounds, and Waldemar of hunger ; the former three, and the latter eleven days after his imprisonment ⁿ.

Mathew Kettlemunson, who directed the siege, ordered, as soon as he got possession of the place, their bodies to be exposed to the people, to stir them up the more against Birger, and induce them to support the children of duke Eric.

^m Loccen. lib. iii.

ⁿ Puffend. p. 123.

Birger, on the other hand, recalled his son Magnus from Denmark, obtained a body of auxiliaries from king Eric, and was taking vigorous steps for maintaining his rights, thus recovered at the expence of the blackest perfidy and cruelty. Nevertheless he was defeated by Kettlemunson, and forced to retire to East Gothland, which country he found all in arms against him; but these tumultuous peasants he soon defeated and dispersed. Proud of his success, he put his troops in quarters, imagining the enemy would not again presume to make head against him; but he was deceived, Canute Portze and Kettlemunson first defeated, and then kept his son Magnus besieged in Steckenburgh, till he was obliged to surrender for want of provisions. With the prince were made prisoners several noblemen and officers of the court, who had been the greatest fomenters of the divisions between Birger and the dukes^d.

*Stecken-
burgh ta-
ken.*

Immediately upon this success Kettlemunson was declared protector of the kingdom, and impowered to carry on the war against the king. His first step was to settle the affairs of the nation, and establish peace in those provinces which for a series of years had scarce tasted the blessings of repose. Then he entered Schonen with a strong body of forces, and laid all waste before him, without pity or remorse, carrying off crowds of prisoners, and among them persons of the highest distinction in the province: The pretext for this invasion was the assistance given to Birger by his Danish majesty, who had been the chief instrument of the late massacre of the Gothland peasants.

*Kettlemun-
son declared
protector.*

*Schonen in-
vaded.*

The invasion of Schonen produced a peace between the two nations, both obliging themselves to live upon terms of friendship for three years; but the death of his Danish majesty prevented its taking effect. The Swedes began with an infraction of one material article of the treaty; namely, the free pardon stipulated for Magnus and his adherents, who had been taken in Steckenburgh. They first put Bruneme to death, and some other noblemen, ordering their bodies to be exposed to the populace of Stockholm. Then the protector made preparations for attacking Birger, who had retired to the isle of Gothland; but the king prevented him, by retreating to Denmark, where he was but coldly received by the then reigning prince Christopher.

*Peace con-
cluded.*

MAGNUS S M E E K.

On Birger's recess, Kettlemunson convoked a diet at Upsal for the election of a king. He had so managed affairs,

A. D. 1319.

^d Puffend. p. 123.

that the crown was assigned to Magnus, son of duke Eric, then a child of three years old, who soon after succeeded likewise to the crown of Norway, by Hacquin's will.

A. D. 1320.

*Birger's
son put to
death.*

Next year a diet was held at Stockholm, to deliberate on the manner in which they should treat Magnus, the son of Birger, at that time kept in close confinement. The father was now so odious to the people, that they resolved to punish his crimes in the person of the son; notwithstanding the capitulation of Steckenburgh expressly declared, that his life should not be touched. A few years before he had been declared successor to the throne; yet now, without any fault of his own, he was, by a sad reverse of fortune, condemned to die by the very same diet; a sentence that was executed without respite ^h.

A. D. 1333.

*Kettlemun-
son's policy.*

The Swedes flattered themselves they had at last got a prince to their wish in Magnus, the son of Eric; but they soon perceived that he was weak, effeminate, and open to flattery; a defect which proved the foundation of all those misfortunes that befel the kingdom, and afflicted the Swedes for the space of two hundred years. Nevertheless, the kingdom enjoyed perfect tranquillity for the space of twenty-eight years after his accession. Kettlemunson, the regent during the king's minority, fomented so artfully the troubles in Denmark, as to enlarge the limits of Sweden by the addition of some valuable provinces. Schonon took an oath of allegiance to king Magnus, who promised to defend the nobility, clergy, and people, in the full exertion of all their liberties.

A. D. 1336.

*King Mag-
nus takes
upon him
the admini-
stration.*

About the year 1336 Magnus was married to Blanche, daughter of the duke of Namur; and Kettlemunson dying, he took into his own hands the reins of government. The change became immediately sensible to the people. Before, the administration was steady, wise, and politic; now every thing was actuated by caprice, and dictated by wild young favourites, while the counsels of the aged and experienced were disregarded. By his hot-headed youthful counsellors Magnus was persuaded to attempt the conquest of Denmark, not contented with Schonon, and the other provinces, which had been obtained without shedding a drop of blood.

A. D. 1338.

*He demands
the investiture of
Denmark
from his
holiness.*

To give some colour of justice to his ambitious designs, he sent an embassy to Rome, to solicit a confirmation of the possession of Schonon; intimating at the same time, that Denmark being a fief of the holy see, the pope had a power to dispose of it to whom he pleased. It was more-

over insinuated, that Denmark having for some years refused to pay the usual tribute to his holiness, now was the time for recovering St. Peter's rights, by granting this kingdom to his Swedish majesty, who would receive it on those conditions, and pay whatever tribute should be required. But this embassy met with no success, his holiness declaring, that he would neither confirm Magnus in the possession of Schonen, nor grant him the investiture of Denmark, without hearing both parties concerned. Indeed all the politics of the Swedish king were sapped by the superior abilities of Valdemar, then king of Denmark; yet he obtained from that prince what he never would have granted, but for the distracted condition of his kingdom. Valdemar signed an act, whereby he ceded to Sweden the provinces of Schonen and Bleking, with the isles of Lyster and Haen. He also gave up, for the sum of eight thousand marks of silver, the province of Halland; and this treaty was solemnly ratified and sworn to by both parties. On his part Magnus promised assistance to the Danish monarch against his enemies, and the privilege to his subjects of trading to his ports in Sweden and Norway¹.

A.D. 1343.

Peace between the two kingdoms.

For twelve years after the death of his guardian Kettlemunson, the king of Sweden lived in peace with all his neighbours, and acted in a great measure agreeable to the plan laid down by that able minister; but now the whim of signalizing his valour unhappily seized him, and he meditated an expedition against the Russians. To support the expence of this unnecessary war, he was constrained to oppress his subjects with heavy taxes, to render them miserable to shew that they were powerful. A great body of German cavalry was levied, under the conduct of Henry count of Holstein. As soon as the necessary preparations were made, Magnus began his march, and took the castle of Noteburgh, with the whole surrounding country: but these successes were checked in the very bud. Magnus agreed to a truce for two months; the enemy in the mean time assembled, fell unexpectedly on the Swedes, and forced them to retire with precipitation. Then Noteburgh was attacked, and the king's garrison put to the sword; and all Finland would have felt the resentment of those barbarians, had not Magnus appeased the Russians by yielding up part of Carelia².

A.D. 1348.

Magnus undertakes an expedition against the Russians.

This unfortunate expedition involved Sweden in many difficulties. If Magnus was forced to increase the taxes,

Magnus lays heavy taxes on his subjects.

¹ Meurs. lib. i. p. 2.

² Puffend. ubi supra.

in order to carry on the war, it became no less necessary to lay new impositions, to enable him to pay the debts contracted by this feeble endeavour to prove his valour, and enlarge the boundaries of his kingdom: besides, some of the crown-lands were mortgaged, and among others the city of Calmar, which was pledged to the count of Holstein for a sum of money. Nor was this all: the pope's revenues had been expended on this romantic expedition; and now the king, unable to reimburse his holiness, fell under his censure and was excommunicated. The people, at the same time, began heartily to despise and hate their king, for the mixture of weakness and tyranny they perceived in his disposition. They saw him lavish the public money on a young worthless favourite, whom he had created duke of Halland, while the queen was bestowing favours upon him of a different nature, which equally disgraced herself and the king¹.

The senate advises Magnus to resign the crown.

At length the senate resolved to terminate the grievances of the people. They advised Magnus to resign the crowns he was unable to support, to his children; that of Sweden to his eldest son Eric, and Norway to his second son Hacquiu. Pontanus indeed alleges, that the crown of Norway was ceded in 1334¹. On the king's refusal to comply with the intreaties of the senate, the nobility revolted, and placed the crown on Eric's head.

Magnus retires to Schonen, which he surrenders to Valdemar.

Magnus retiring to Schonen, demanded succours from Valdemar; but the Danish monarch gave him to understand, that the full restitution of Schonen, and all the other provinces wrested from Denmark, must be the necessary condition of his aid. Some time after he consented to a negociation, as well to establish peace between Magnus and his subjects, as between Sweden and Denmark; however, the difficulties about Schonen rendered all endeavours fruitless.

Civil war in Sweden.

In the mean time Magnus and his son waged cruel war against each other. Eric, in the first place, defeated, took, and put to death the duke of Halland, his father's favourite, and the great object of the people's hatred. This action gained him the affection of the Swedes, as the conduct of Magnus alienated them daily more and more. At length the duke of Mecklenburgh and count Holstein offered their mediation, by which, after much altercation, affairs were

Treaty concluded, and the kingdom divided between Magnus and Eric.

accommodated. A treaty was concluded, whereby Magnus resigned a part of his dominions to his son Eric, and shared with him the title of king of Sweden. He reserved

¹ Loccen. lib. iii. p. 104.

¹ Pont. Hist. lib. viii.

to himself Upland, Gothland, Wermland, Dalecarlia, the northern parts of Halland, West Gothland, and the isle of Oeland. Schonen, Smaland, Finland, and the south of Halland, were given to Eric. Magnus was likewise obliged to promise, that he would surrender into Eric's hands all the letters, papers, and titles, respecting Schonen; as it was not doubted but Valdemar would regain that province by any means in his power.

This agreement did not prevent the nobility and people from shewing extraordinary marks of regard for Eric, and of equal dislike to his father. Queen Blanche was alarmed on hearing of Eric's intention to marry, and give her a rival queen, who would necessarily diminish the respect paid to her as the only sovereign princess in the kingdom. To secure her power, she persuaded Magnus to give Eric an invitation to his palace, under pretence of some extraordinary business he had to communicate. Eric came without suspicion, and had a cup of poison administered to him by the hands of his unnatural mother, whose ambition had suppressed every dictate of humanity, honour, and maternal affection. The young prince expired with these words, "The same person who gave me life, has now robbed me of it," about twenty days after having drank the poison (A).

The queen administers poison to Eric.

Magnus now regained possession of all his dominions, taking the most solemn oaths at his restoration, that he would correct the errors of his former conduct, and govern the state in the most irreproachable manner. Far, however, from observing his promises, he sought every opportunity of revenging himself on the senate, and those persons who had favoured Eric. With this view he entered into a close alliance with his Danish majesty, carried his queen and young son Hacquin, king of Norway, to visit him at Copenhagen, and engaged Hacquin in marriage with the princess Margaret of Denmark, then but seven years of age. On this occasion it was, that he yielded up Schonen, Bleking, and all the Danish provinces, which had for some years been the cause of contention between the two kingdoms. The pretext for ceding them was, a

Magnus recovers his dominions, and enters into a close alliance with Denmark.

Schonen and the other Danish provinces ceded to Valdemar.

* Pontan. *ibid.* Puffend. *ibid.*

(A) Pontanus, and almost all the Danish writers, place this event in the year 1354. They are likewise more tender of

queen Blanche's character than Loccenius and the historians of her own nation (1).

(1) Pontan. lib. viii. Meurs. lib. v.

maintenance for the princess Margaret, now betrothed to Hacquin; but the Danish historians allege, that Magnus was mean enough to make over Sweden to Valdemar, provided he would maintain him in full possession for his life. Certain it is, that all the deeds and papers regarding Schonen were delivered to Valdemar, without laying the proceedings before either the senate or the states; who were extremely incensed at a measure so pernicious and disgraceful to the kingdom (B).

A.D. 1360.

*The nation
incensed at
the king's
conduct.*

Valdemar no sooner found himself in possession of the proper documents than he took the field with a powerful army, and, marching to Schonen, seized upon the whole country. To stop the clamours of his subjects, Magnus made a shew of resistance. He appeared at the head of a body of troops, but declined giving battle, under pretence of the great superiority of the enemy; a poor disguise, that served only to render him more odious and ridiculous. This suggestion received full confirmation from the treaty that was concluded between them immediately after, by which he ceded Schonen a second time in the strongest manner, and promised to regard Valdemar henceforward as his brother.

*Valdemar
invades the
isle of Goth-
land at the
desire of
Magnus.*

Magnus gave Valdemar to understand, that he should be glad to see him punish his subjects of the isle of Gothland, who had refused to pay his oppressive taxes. Valdemar embraced the hint, and, to oblige his ally, or rather to serve his own purposes, made a sudden descent on the island, killed eighteen hundred peasants, who stood in their own defence, seized Wisby the capital of the island, and richest city of the North, pillaged the inhabitants, and obtained immense booty. But this iniquitous measure ended unhappily for both princes. Valdemar's fleet was shipwrecked returning to Denmark, his garrison left in Wisby massacred by the inhabitants, and Magnus thereby rendered still more odious to his people.

A.D. 1361.

*Valdemar
pillages Oe-
land.*

Next year Valdemar made a descent on the island of Oeland, put five hundred peasants to the sword, stormed the fortress of Borkholm, and pillaged the whole island, a violence that highly delighted Magnus, as nothing gave him so much satisfaction as the ruin of that people over

(B) Magnus obtained the sur- the specious promises of Val-
name of Smeek on this occa- demar (1).
sion, from his being duped by

(1) Loccen, p. 185.

whom

whom God had placed him, for their security and protection."

Tired out with oppression at home, and injuries and affronts from abroad, the Swedes had recourse to Hacquin, king of Norway, imploring him to have compassion on their sufferings, and rescue them from absolute destruction. Hacquin heard their prayer, arrested Magnus, and confined him in the citadel of Calmar. Upon this incident the senate took heart, and began to hope for a prosperous turn in the affairs of the kingdom. They required of Hacquin, that he would enter into no alliances with his Danish majesty; on the contrary, that he would come to an open rupture with that prince; and, instead of marrying his daughter, that he would make proposals to the count of Holstein's sister, the princess Elizabeth, and thereby strengthen his interest in Germany.

The Swedes have recourse to the king of Norway, who arrests Magnus.

Magnus, then a prisoner, feigned to approve of these terms imposed on Hacquin, which were confirmed by the states, on condition that if he should refuse to ratify them, he should lose his right over Calmar; and if, on the other hand, Magnus and Hacquin should be guilty of a breach of the conditions, the diet and senate should be released from their allegiance to them, and impowered to chuse Henry of Holstein for their lawful sovereign. Deputies were therefore sent to demand the princess, and they obtained her; but the ship in which Elizabeth sailed was driven, by stress of weather, on the coast of Denmark, where she was detained by the politic Valdemar. The duke of Mecklenburgh and earl of Holstein took arms to oblige him to release her; but Valdemar's intrigues gained over Hacquin, and persuaded him to marry the princess Margaret, in direct opposition to the conditions he had lately sworn to. The Swedish historians allege, that, to cut the way short to the crown of Sweden, Valdemar no sooner saw his daughter married to Hacquin than he caused poison to be administered to Magnus and his queen Blanche; a fact denied by good authority, and supported only by some libels and defamatory papers handed about at the time. The queen died immediately, but Magnus recovered by the skill of his physician.

Valdemar's policy.

After this infraction of the treaty, the Swedes, in resentment of Hacquin's conduct, elected Henry of Holstein king; but that political prince declined the honour intended, and strongly recommended duke Albert of Mecklenburgh, nephew to king Magnus. Albert likewise declined

" Meurs. sub Reg. ibid.

the offer, but proposed his second son Albert; who immediately set out for Gothland, where he was proclaimed king, by a certain number of the nobility, who had taken refuge there to avoid the effects of Magnus's indignation. Thence Albert went to Stockholm, which he took with little trouble, by means of a powerful party within the walls, that appeared in his favour.

A L B E R T.

Having got possession of the capital, all the nobility who opposed the measures of Magnus, were assembled to declare their reasons for throwing off their allegiance to that prince. It was no difficult matter to urge pretences for their disobedience; the folly of Magnus had afforded but too many. His desire of rendering himself absolute; his repeated breach of promise to the diet and senate; the cession of Schonen and the Danish provinces; his connivance at the plundering of the islands of Oeland and Gothland, and at the marriage of Hacquin and Margaret; his exorbitant and oppressive taxes; and, lastly, his attempt to exterminate the principal families among the nobility. After having formally deposed Magnus according to all the forms of justice, they proclaimed Albert a second time, in the capital. Magnus, however, who was supported by a strong party, by the kings of Denmark and Norway, resolved not to stand by their award. Collecting all his friends, he joined a body of Danes and Norwegians, and with his son Hacquin penetrated to the province of Upland. Here he was met, defeated, and taken prisoner, by Albert, his son Hacquin escaping wounded out of the field.

*Magnus
deposed.*

A.D. 1366.

*Peace con-
cluded with
Denmark.*

To profit by this victory, Albert laid siege to all the places that stood out for Magnus; but the number of Danish troops in the kingdom greatly obstructed his progress. This obliged him, with the consent of the senate, to purchase a peace with Valdemar, at the expence of the isle of Gothland, the city Wisby, the forrefts of Helsingburg, great part of Helsingia, with several other lands and cities. He likewise consented that his father and brothers should enjoy and possess the whole duchy of Mecklenburg, the duchy of Schwerin, and principality of Rostor, independent of the crown of Sweden. They promised in return to restore Werburg, not to release Magnus, or come to terms of peace with Hacquin, but on condition that these two princes should ratify the treaty now concluded.

* Loccen. lib. iii. Puffend. p. 131. Pontan. lib. x. Meurs. Vit. Vald. 18.

A peace so solemnly sworn to by all parties ought to have been solid, but it was of short duration. Albert entered into a league offensive and defensive with the count of Holstein, the Jutland nobility, the dukes of Sleswick, Mecklenburg, and the Hanse Towns, against the kings of Denmark and Norway. He then made an irruption into Schonen, and conquered that province, while his allies were busied in subduing Denmark, which king Valdemar was forced to abandon.

A.D. 1368.

The peace broken, and the war resumed.

But he was less successful against the king of Norway, who entered Sweden at the head of a numerous army, obliged Albert to quit the field, and laid siege to Stockholm. At last both sides consented to an accommodation, whereby Magnus was set at liberty, paying twelve thousand marks for his ransom, ceding the crown of Sweden, with his pretension to the province of Schonen, to king Albert, and accepting as an equivalent the provinces of West Gothland, and those of Wermland and Dali. Sixty gentlemen, as pledges of his sincerity, obliged themselves, in case Magnus broke his faith, to surrender themselves prisoners to Albert at Stockholm. In effect Magnus kept his word, lived the rest of his days in Norway, and at last perished in crossing a little ford near Blonenfort. Thus died an unhappy monarch, the most unsteady, weak, voluptuous, and arbitrary, that had ever wielded the Swedish sceptre.

A.D. 1371.

Death of king Magnus.

Wearied of the repose which had now blessed his reign for the space of five years, Albert took up arms to support his nephew the duke of Mecklenburg's claim to the crown of Denmark. At the death of Valdemar, the states of that kingdom had elected Olaus, son of Hacquin and Margaret, in prejudice of Albert's right. A great fleet was equipped on this occasion, but it was so roughly treated in a storm, that the duke relinquished his pretensions.

A.D. 1376.

Olaus elected king of Denmark.

As soon as king Albert found himself disengaged from this war, he employed his attention in rendering himself absolute. Prosperity swelling his heart, he began to despise the Swedes, and, after the example of his predecessor, adopted every measure that could possibly irritate and incense them. He introduced numbers of foreigners into lucrative posts and employments, believing them the fittest tools to work his purposes. These he invested in the governments of fortresses, and the most important trusts of the state, preferring persons of no merit or birth to the first nobility of the kingdom, for no other reason than because they were foreigners and subservient to his will. He even went so far as to introduce Germans into the senate, in direct violation of the express laws of the realm, and the kingdom was filled with foreign

A.D. 1385.

Albert becomes arbitrary.

foreign mercenaries, under various pretences, whose insolence and avarice became quite insupportable to the people. Albert imposed new taxes for the maintenance of this standing army of mercenaries, and gratifying the rapacity of his needy favourites. At last the country was so drained of money, that it was impossible for the people to pay the taxes, or answer the demands of the prince, which seemed to rise in proportion to their poverty. In this emergency he assembled the states, and represented to them, that the revenues of the crown were insufficient to maintain the regal dignity; that the people must contribute; and the strictest and most effectual method would be to annex to the crown the third part of the civil and ecclesiastical revenues of the kingdom. The diet besought him not to rob them of those possessions and rights, bequeathed them by their ancestors, or seek to extend the power of the crown beyond the limits assigned by law. They represented that the present revenues of the crown were sufficient to maintain it in the utmost splendor, provided he would retrench his extraordinary liberality to foreigners, and discharge that mercenary army with which the people were oppressed.

*The nobility
implore the
assistance of
Margaret.*

Albert, displeased with this refusal, determined to use force; accordingly he seized upon the third part of all rents of the laity and clergy, a violence that set the whole nation in a flame. The nobility, too weak to resist him, went over to Denmark, and implored the assistance of queen Margaret, a princess too wise not to employ their discontent to her own advantage. She promised them the most effectual redress of all their grievances, provided they secured the crown of Sweden to her, in case she should gain the advantage over Albert. "When (says she) I expose my crowns of Denmark and Norway, to the issue of a doubtful war, it is but reasonable I should have the prospect of an additional crown." She not only insisted upon their promise of electing her to the throne, but of making the crown permanent in her family; a condition which, hard as it was, the Swedes were forced to accept, rather than endure the tyranny of Albert^b.

M A R G A R E T.

IN this manner Margaret was elected queen of Sweden by the malcontents. Assured of her resolution and aid, they began to levy forces, and declare open war on the king; however, as he was supported by a strong party, and in possession of the chief fortresses, they had numberless difficulties to encounter. The war, indeed, was but

^b Vita Marg. p. 26. Des Roch. Hist. tom. iv. p. 26.

of short continuance, but it occasioned an infinity of calamities and misfortunes to Sweden, which was rent into factions that were inveterate in their animosity. Albert soon perceived that it would be impossible to support his armies long for want of money, the country being totally exhausted; he resolved, therefore, to come to a decisive action with Margaret. He sent her notice, that he would give her battle on a certain day, in a great plain near Fal-coping in West Gothland. This message was accompanied with some coarse and indecent raillery, which disgraced the character of a prince. In a word, so certain was he of victory, that the intermediate days were spent in mirth and pleasantry, the king taking an oath that he would not uncover his head till he had subdued the amazon queen. But all his hopes were soon frustrated; the armies met, and Albert, after a very bloody battle, was defeated and made prisoner, together with his son, who had attended him during the campaign (B).

*Albert is
defeated
and made
prisoner.*

Whatever misfortunes Sweden had sustained before the imprisonment of Albert, they were nothing when compared to those she was now about to suffer. The princes of Mecklenburg, the count of Holstein, and the Hanse Towns, united in support of this unfortunate monarch; and one of the most bloody wars recorded in history was kindled afresh. They had Stockholm, Calmar, and the chief fortresses in their hands, whence they made excursions which greatly harassed the queen's army. They burnt Westeraas, Enköping, Rostock, Wismar, and other places, cutting in pieces several bodies of peasants who had assembled in their own defence^b.

*A league in
favour of
Albert.*

On the other hand, the inhabitants of Stockholm suffered all the miseries consequent on tyranny, suspicion, and a siege. While the queen's forces were battering the city without, the German garrison within accused them of partiality to Margaret, and an inclination to surrender the city, for which they punished them with the utmost severity. These insolent masters seized and imprisoned the magistrates, put certain citizens to death, and plundered

*The miser-
able situa-
tion of
Stockholm.*

^b Meurs. lib. v. Puffendorf, p. 170.

(B) They were conducted afterwards to Calmar, where first to Bahus, a fortress on the confines of Norway and Gothland; thence to Laholm, and

(1) Loccen. lib. iv.

*Insolence of
the German
garrison.*

all without distinction. At length the citizens took arms, and a civil war must have broke out, had not the governor of the citadel and some moderate persons interposed, and prevailed on them to take a mutual oath that they would live in friendship. This accommodation was but of short duration. In a little time, the Germans assembling in the night at the town-house, the governor sent for the chief citizens, as upon business of importance. When they came, a list was read over to them of such persons as were accused of high-treason, and correspondence with the enemy. These were instantly seized, imprisoned, and put to the torture, of which several died through the extremity of pain ^c.

In the mean time a large reinforcement of Germans arrived in the port of Stockholm, which rendered them absolutely masters of the capital. It was then given out that the criminals, put to the question, had made very important discoveries. Under this pretext, they spirited off those who had resisted the torture, and enclosed them, bound hands and feet in a house, to which they set fire. Nor did the fury of the Germans stop here. The princes of Mecklenburg published a declaration at Wismar and Rostock, granting the freedom of all their ports to all who should cruise and commit piracies on the Danes, Norwegians, and Swedes. Instantly the Baltic was covered with pirates, who rendered themselves equally formidable to friends and foes, were the scourge of Sweden, and pests that could scarcely be exterminated at the conclusion of the war ^d.

A.D. 1394.

*Margaret
unites the
three
northern
crowns.*

In this state of anarchy and confusion did the affairs of Sweden remain till the year 1394, when the powers at war first began to talk of an accommodation. A conference was held at Helsingburg, but without effect, on account of a skirmish between the Danes and Germans, in which a burgomaster of Stralsund was slain. Soon after another congress was held at Laholm, at which were present queen Margaret and John of Mecklenburgh. At this interview they came to an agreement about the release of king Albert, his sons, and several of the nobility, on condition that Albert should, in three years, surrender to Margaret all power and pretensions to the city of Stockholm; and that in case of any infraction of the treaty, he should return prisoner to her. As security for the performance, the Hanse Towns engaged to pay the sum of sixty thousand silver marks, on Albert's breach of faith. A suspension of

^c Loccen. lib. iv.

^d Pontan. lib. ix.

arms was likewise settled, and a free commerce opened. Stockholm, in the mean time, remained in the power of the Hanse Towns, and each side was to retain their possessions in the isle of Gothland.

Albert no sooner obtained his liberty than he turned his thoughts to the recovery of his crown, chusing rather to forfeit the sixty thousand marks than resign his pretensions to a throne. With this view he went over to Prussia, and formed an alliance with the knights who had retaken the isle of Gothland from the pirates. This island was put into his hands, and here he left his son Eric to keep his court, while he pursued his measures for renewing the war.

Margaret had now attained the summit of her ambition. She saw herself in possession of three kingdoms, and the most powerful potentate in Europe. Her wisdom and sound policy gained her the esteem and affection of her subjects, who were eager to fix the succession, as the queen had no issue, and could not be prevailed on to share her sovereignty with a husband. To gratify the ardent wishes of her people, in a manner that would not derogate from her own authority, Margaret introduced to court her grand-nephew Henry, son of Wratislaus VII. and Mary of Mecklenburgh, daughter to Henry of Mecklenburgh, and Ingiburgha, sister of queen Margaret, and daughter of Valdemar I. This prince, then an infant, she proposed for her successor; and that the name of Henry might not sound harsh in the ears of the people, she changed it to Eric, a name which many of the sovereigns of the three kingdoms had borne. It was his youth that influenced Margaret to consent to his being proclaimed king, as she was to hold the reins of authority until he arrived at age. Some writers^c, however, affirm, that Eric was only appointed successor, while Puffendorf and Loccenius are equally positive that he was immediately elected sovereign of the three kingdoms, and Margaret appointed regent^d.

Margaret, sensible of the obligations she owed the Swedish nation, was resolved not to seem ungrateful. She resumed all the crown-lands which Albert had granted to foreigners; she degraded all the strangers on whom he had bestowed titles and preferments; she razed the fortresses he had built as a curb to liberty; in a word, she laboured, in conjunction with the senate and diet, to remedy the misfortunes and grievances consequent on a despotic reign and bloody revolution. But while she was labouring thus

A.D. 1395.

Albert is set at liberty.

Eric elected king, and Margaret continued in the regency.

Her policy.

^c Vertot Revol. de Suede, p. 33. Puffend. p. 171.

^d Loccen. lib. iv.

for the interests of the Swedish nation, she did not forget her own. She persuaded the diet to allow her, for the support of her dignity, West and East Gothland, the provinces of Wermeland, Westermanland, and Dalecarlia, together with a power of disposing of the mines as she thought proper. She left no means untried to confirm the union of the three crowns, and render it as lasting as it was advantageous to each, while governed by an impartial and equal hand ^e.

She assembles a diet at Calmar, where those articles were drawn up that obtained the name of Union.

When she imagined she had sufficiently gained the principal persons in the three kingdoms, she called a diet at Calmar, with intention to frame a law that should inseparably unite the crowns. On this occasion she expatiated with admirable eloquence on the necessity and utility of the union; using among other arguments this pretext, that the royal line being now extinct in the three kingdoms, a fairer occasion could not offer for consolidating them into one state, and removing all causes of contention and wars, which must ever subsist while they remained divided. Her reasoning was so plausible, that in all appearance her design would have succeeded to her wish, if the Danes had not shewn an eagerness to oppress the Swedes and Norwegians, relying much on Margaret's being a native of their country, and the partiality she had occasionally shewn towards them. Notwithstanding this obstruction, Margaret gained her point so far, that articles were signed by the states of the three kingdoms, promising by oath, by letters and charters, to remain perpetually under the dominion of the same sovereign; but the formal, fundamental instrument she had designed, was for this time deferred.

A.D. 1397

According to these articles, the right of electing a king was placed in a congress consisting of forty members out of each kingdom, viz. one archbishop, two bishops, one bailiff, one mareschal, the chief magistrate of every town, and two of the oldest peasants of each jurisdiction; in all making one hundred and twenty electors (B).

Albert gives up all pretensions to the crown of Sweden.

Not long after the congress at Calmar, Eric, the son of Albert, died in the isle of Gothland; a circumstance that determined his father to resign all thoughts of recovering his crown. He did not imagine it worth his while to en-

^e Meurs. lib. v.

(B) It is remarkable that the Swedish writers should differ from the Danish even in this particular, which concerns no one nation more than another; yet we find that they do vary.

counter

counter so many difficulties and dangers in pursuit of a dignity that must fall with his death; he therefore surrendered Stockholm to Margaret, with all the pretensions he had to the crown of Sweden, and passed the remainder of his days in Mecklenburgh ^f.

When Margaret perceived herself fixed on the throne of Sweden, she began to shew her partiality for Denmark, making in that kingdom her usual residence. She is charged at the same time with arrogating to herself more power, and acting in a manner too arbitrary for the laws. The Swedes allege that she loaded them with taxes, the amount of which she carried over to Denmark, enriching her native country, by impoverishing that people who had voluntarily offered her a crown. They remonstrated, but received only fair promises in answer to all their complaints. It was obvious enough, from her conduct to the Swedes, why the Danes were so eager for the union of Calmar; and the advice which she is said to have imparted to the young king, could not fail of alienating the Swedish nation from her. "Sweden, said she, will furnish you with food, Norway with raiment, but you must look upon Denmark as the country that will stand by you in all extremities ^g."

*The Swedes
accuse Mar-
garet of
tyranny.*

About eight years after Margaret's accession to the three crowns, she recovered the isle of Gothland by a sudden descent; but Wisby, the capital, stood an obstinate siege, and was relieved by the Teutonic Knights, who drove the Swedes out of the island. Margaret therefore resolved to compromise the dispute, perceiving the difficulty that would attend the reduction of that island: but the reader will find this whole transaction fully related in our history of Denmark ^h.

A.D. 1404.

*Margaret
recovers
the isle of
Gothland.*

According to Loccenius and Puffendorf, the young king Eric was declared of age in the year 1410; though Meursius and Pontanus both agree in placing this event in 1406, when he married the daughter of Henry IV. of England. The Swedish writers say, that Eric now took upon himself the administration of public affairs, leaving very little authority to the queen, as appears by his putting to death her minion and prime favourite, Abraham Broderfon; yet all the Danish writers agree, that, to the day of her death, Margaret retained her authority in full force. We have already expatiated on the transactions of Margaret's reign, in our history of Denmark, so that it would be unnecessary to add more in this place, than that she began to sink in

*Margaret's
death.*

^f Pontan. lib. ix.

^g Loccen. lib. iv. Puffend. p. 177.

^h Id. *ibid*.

the esteem of the people, before she paid the tribute to nature, which preserved her reputation with so much lustre to posterity. Had she lived longer, it is probable another revolution would have been the consequence of her rigorous treatment of the Swedes and Norwegians; and that prejudice she always shewed in favour of the Danes.

S E C T. IV.

Containing the History of Sweden down to the great Revolution effected by Gustavus Erickson, in 1520.

A.D. 1415.

Eric of Pomerania.

Eric's oppression.

THE same year that Margaret died a war broke out between king Eric and Henry count of Holstein, the guardian of earl Gerhard's children, from whom the king was desirous of wresting the duchy of Sleswick; a scheme planned, and in part executed, by queen Margaret. By the laws of Denmark his claim was perfectly just; yet was his obstinate pursuit of it attended with almost fatal consequences. At first he was strongly supported by the Hanse Towns, the dukes of Saxony and Mecklenburgh, who soon after changed sides, and succoured his enemies with more vigour than ever they had shewn in the service of Eric. To maintain numerous armies, and support a ruinous war, it was necessary to impose heavy taxes, which were levied in Sweden by Danish governors, without feeling or compassion for the miseries of the people. When the senate carried their complaints to the throne, they were either denied audience, or received with coldness. The gentry, who were forced to serve in the wars at their own expence, were wholly ruined, either by long services, or high ransoms paid for their liberty when they were made prisoners; the peasants were in much the same situation, by means of grievous taxes, and the rapacity of the Danish governors. Even the clergy were not exempted from oppression and violence. A Dane was made archbishop of Upsal, in opposition to the whole chapter. This prelate, after having committed various outrages during his possession of the see, was at length deposed, for defrauding the cathedral of Upsal of twenty thousand ducats^a.

Among all the acts of oppression and violence committed in this reign on the Swedes, the most cruel and extraordinary were owing to the inhuman disposition of one Erickson, of Westeraas, the sworn enemy of the Swedish peaa-

^a Loccen. lib. iv.

sants. This fellow massacred them at pleasure, tortured them through mere wantonness of barbarity, and puzzled his brain to find out variety of punishments and tortures for the harmless, industrious hinds, whose labour supported his pride and insolence. Some he smoaked to death, others he flead, broiled, and salted alive; nor did he shew more compassion for the tenderer sex, it being a common diversion with him to yoke them like oxen in the plough. When their complaints were carried to the king, all the redress they found was a repetition of blows and threats for aspersing the reputation of his officers. Such was the deplorable condition of Sweden, and more particularly of Dalecarlia, of which province Jesson Asdal was governor. His insolence had now grown to such a height, that the inhabitants publicly declared it was no longer supportable, and they would revenge themselves if he continued his cruelties. At last the province revolted, under the conduct of Engelbert Engelbrachtson, a gentleman who had boldly laid the governor's conduct before the king, for which he was forbid the court. They besieged Jesson in Westeraas, and refused to lay down their arms before he should be removed^b.

A.D. 1434.

On Jesson's departure, he threatened to revenge himself on the Dalecarlians, by prevailing on the king to send them a governor still more severe than himself; and Engelbert gave them to understand that they never could expect any thing but tyranny and oppression while they were under the command of foreigners. Thus alarmed, the peasants again had recourse to arms, chose Engelbert for their general, and seized a variety of fortresses, which they burnt and razed to the ground. This success extended their views; Engelbert invited other provinces to follow the example of the Dalecarlians, and to banish foreigners out of the kingdom. His army daily increased, and soon became formidable; at the same time that Eric Pache, another brave Swede, was stirring up the provinces of Nericia and Westmerland to vindicate their rights. Uplandia, and the nobility of several other provinces, embraced the same generous resolution: the Danes were every where massacred, and the king's fortresses destroyed.

Engelbert heads the Dalecarlians.

He drives the Danish governors out of the province.

So general a revolt obliged the senate to meet, to deliberate on the means of securing the government against a revolution. Engelbert boldly entered the senate, at the head of a thousand peasants, pathetically represented the deplorable condition of Sweden, the barbarity and insolence

^b Puffend. p. 180. Des Roches, tom. iv. p. 92.

of the Danish governors, and concluded with a solemn oath, that the first who opposed the measures in agitation, for preserving the rights and liberties of the people, should be instantly put to death. His intrepidity and resolution obtained an act, whereby the senate renounced their allegiance to king Eric^c.

Charles Canutson joins the rebels, but bears a grudge to Engelbert.

Charles Canutson, grand-mareschal of Sweden, and governor of Finland, conformed immediately to the resolution of the senate. This nobleman, descended from the illustrious family of Bonde, which had given kings to Sweden, perceived with joy the approaching revolution, that promised freedom to his country; but he beheld with jealousy the whole glory attributed to a private gentleman, and dreaded lest the regard the peasants entertained for Engelbert's person, would induce them to reward his valour with the crown he had so nobly vindicated. This consideration made him resolve to join the malecontents without delay, where, on his first appearance, he obtained that power and authority due to his birth and dignity, being made general and commander in chief of the peasant army (D).

The states resolve to depose Eric.

Canutson profited by a quarrel that arose between king Eric and the Danes. His majesty seeing himself sovereign of three powerful kingdoms, imagined that his power might set aside the laws and privileges of the people, assume a despotic authority, and treat his subjects as his slaves. Although in general he had favoured the Danes, yet had he committed many outrages against the laws of that country, the natives of which were extremely jealous of liberty. In a word, the three kingdoms, unanimous in nothing besides, came to a resolution to depose a tyrant whose cruelties rendered him unworthy of a crown. Denmark and Norway led the way, and declared Christopher of Bavaria king; but how far the Swedes carried their revenge, is not clearly determined. Some writers assert, that, after a civil war which lasted three years, Eric was reduced so low, as to grant whatever terms the people required; upon

^c Loccen. lib. iv.

(D) In our history of Denmark we have minutely related all the particulars of this memorable revolution, which it would be unnecessary to repeat. We have mentioned the base assassination of Engelbert, the ambition of Canutson, which

rendered him odious, the quarrel between him and Eric Pache, the great power which he acquired, and the share he had in uniting the three kingdoms under Christopher, the succeeding king.

which

which a general diet was called, and certain restrictions were laid on the royal prerogative^d. Others again are of opinion, that the king was formally deposed, and the administration put into the hands of Canutson, who acted as regent, and was the great instrument of Christopher's accession. This last opinion we have followed in our account of Denmark, as supported by the best and earliest authorities. Lottenius, Pontanus, Meursius, and a cloud of other writers, expressly relate, that he retired to the isle of Gothland, from whence he committed piracies on the Swedes, Danes, and Norwegians; in a word, that he lived the last twenty years of his life in exile (E).

Different opinions of authors.

Amidst such a variety of discording opinions, it may be proper that we trace the steps by which Christopher ascended the throne. After Eric was deposed, the administration being put into the hands of Canutson, he summoned the governors of cities and castles to surrender their trusts to him, in order to commit them to the charge of natives. This citation many of them refused to obey without an express order from Eric, whose authority they still acknowledged; but they were soon intimidated into compliance by the power of the administrator. Thus he enjoyed all the rights of sovereignty, except the name. Eric Pache could not support with patience the good fortune of his rival. He excited a revolt among the peasants, under pretence of revenging the death of Engelbert, a name highly revered among them; and soon took the field with a force which he thought sufficient to drive the mareschal out of the kingdom. Canutson readily perceived that it would be in vain to have recourse to arms; the popularity of his enemy's cause drew the whole country on his side; he therefore had recourse to treachery. Proposing to compromise their differences by treaty, he found means to draw Eric Pache to an interview, where he ordered him to be seized, sent pri-

History of Charles Canutson's regency, and the means by which he ascended the throne of Sweden.

^d Puffend. Hist. tom. i. p. 201. Vertot: Revol. Suede, p. 47.

(E) Puffendorf relates, from some other authorities, that passing from Calmar, where he had signed the limitation-act to Sweden, he was driven to the isle of Gothland, after having lost almost all his fleet. It was supposed that the king was drowned; but the senate took an oath of fidelity to him, and put the administration in Canutson's hands until Eric's fate should be certainly known. His own absurd conduct to the deputies, sent to him, was the reason he was never recalled to the throne (1).

(1) Puffend. p. 202.

*The policy
of his Da-
nish ma-
jesty.*

soner to Stockholm, and beheaded. He now aspired openly at the crown, and played every engine of intrigue and policy to obtain his purpose. He found an inclination in the people to recall Eric, and he bent all his force to frustrate a design so destructive of his hopes. However, all his art could not prevent the diet from sending deputies to Eric; but fortune was more favourable to the marshal than his conduct merited. Eric was either unwilling to comply with the conditions proposed, or unable to accept them on account of the revolutions in Denmark, which entirely broke the union of Calmar, upon which the instructions of the deputies were founded. Certain it is, that the Swedes had recourse to Eric, merely to frustrate the views of the marshal; it is therefore probable, from the king's answer, that they had laid such restrictions on the prerogative as his pride could not stoop to accept; for he told the deputies, that if he returned "He would be a king in fact, and not a king of straw."

Still, however, the Swedes were resolved to disappoint Canutson, whom they heartily detested, on account of his pride, and the treacherous means by which he had destroyed their two great favourites, Engelbert and Pache: they therefore entered upon measures with Denmark for uniting the crowns of the three northern kingdoms on the head of Christopher of Bavaria. Christian Nelson and several lords formed a confederacy against Canutson; they animated the Dalecarlians and Wermelandians to revolt; but the marshal soon had his revenge. By a stroke of artifice he seized Nelson, and obliged him to surrender all the forts in his possession, and to swear he would never attempt any thing directly or indirectly against him, nor seek to revenge the present affront.

*The
Swedes,
assisted by
the Danes,
revolt.*

This success drew upon the marshal another and more powerful enemy. Nils Stenon, or, as some writers call him, Nicolas Stenson, who had married the marshal's sister, without respect to affinity resolved to punish his perfidy. He raised a revolt in East Gothland, and drove out all the governors appointed by Canutson; but the marshal soon appeared with an army in that quarter, besieged Stenon in Steckbergh, and obliged him to save himself by a precipitate flight to the king, in the isle of Gothland. Here he was invested by Eric with the dignity of marshal of Sweden, who commanded all his subjects to receive him as such. In this quality he returned with two hundred horse to East Gothland, and created much trouble to Canutson, though too weak to make head against him in the field. Some time after he was made prisoner, and beheaded

by

by the mareschal's order; though some allege, that, to avoid this disgrace, he swallowed poison.

Every thing succeeded to Canutson's wish, and his prosperity was daily raising him new enemies. Among others, Broeder Suenfon, who had long served under Engelbert and Eric Pache, a bold, resolute, but rash man, assumed to himself the task of chastising the mareschal. He went to him, and upbraided him with having ruined his country, abused his power, and committed every kind of violence and oppression. As his courage and patriotism were not supported with power, his reproaches had no other effect than hastening his own destruction. He was seized, by the mareschal's order, and the same night executed, without form of trial or shew of justice.

*Broeder
Suenfon's
bold expos-
tulation.*

While the mareschal was exercising his power with all the severity of a tyrant, the nobility were using every expedient to bring back the king; but all their endeavours proving abortive, they resolved to close in with the proposals made by Denmark, of electing duke Christopher of Bavaria, nephew to king Eric, a prince who had spent many years at the court of Denmark. A general diet of the three kingdoms being at length held, Christopher was solemnly elected, as we have already seen in the preceding history of Denmark. The mareschal had opposed the resolution of the Swedish states, to consent to a general diet of the three kingdoms; but being over-ruled in this, he found it would be vain to dispute the election of a prince who was already raised to the thrones of Denmark and Norway, and acknowledged by all the nobility of Sweden: he contented himself, therefore, with requesting the diet to pay some regard to all the dangers, troubles, and vexations, as well as the expences he had been at for the service of the kingdom; adding, that he had contracted debts which he could not pay without the assistance of the state: that this consideration alone prevented his subscribing freely to Christopher's election; but that as soon as this difficulty was removed, he would give his vote with as much cheerfulness as any member of the assembly. The senate, rejoiced to find him in this disposition, granted more than he required, and assigned him for life the province of Finland, and the isles of Oeland and Bergholm, to descend to his heirs for ever^c.

Christopher ascended the triple throne upon the same terms as Margaret and Eric had subscribed; he consented to all the limitations specified in the treaty of Calmar, and

*Christopher
ascends the
throne.*

^c Des Roches, ubi supra. Loccen. lib. iv. Puffend. p. 214.

was to reside a certain number of months in each of his kingdoms. On his first arrival at Stockholm, all those who thought themselves aggrieved during the marshal's administration, flocked to him with complaints of that minister's conduct; but Canutson employed the interest of his friends, and fair promises, so successfully, that he escaped for that time.

A.D. 1442.

*Eric makes
depredations on
Sweden,
and ruins
the com-
merce of the
kingdom.*

All this while Eric was doing incredible mischief to the trade of Sweden, issuing out commissions to swarms of pirates, to cruise in the Baltic. His chief resentment was levied against the Swedes; and he not only made prize of their shipping, but ravaged their coasts with all the fury of the most injured enemy. Complaints were perpetually carried to Christopher, but he turned them off with railery, saying, that his uncle must live. In many particulars he too closely copied the unfortunate king Eric. Wholly unmindful of the conduct which had involved that prince in ruin, he preferred foreigners to Swedes or Danes, bestowed upon them his confidence, and all posts of consequence or profit. On his marriage with Dorothy, daughter to John, margrave of Brandenburg, he laid such taxes on his Swedish subjects as were unsupportable; and raised such clamours in the nation, that, to appease them, he was forced to dismiss the foreigners from his service, promise to lower the taxes next year, and to redress all their grievances; promises that were forgot as soon as made. Eric was permitted to continue his piracies, which, with a natural scarcity of corn that prevailed in Sweden, brought on a famine that reduced the nation to the lowest distress.

A.D. 1444.

*Christopher
becomes a
tyrant.*

To increase the public misery, Christopher exerted some very unwarrantable acts of power. He knew that the nobility were divided into factions, and to secure to himself the interest of one side, he granted the fiefs and fortresses of the crown to those who petitioned for them, notwithstanding they were in the possession of others. Loccenius affirms, that this abuse of the prerogative became so frequent, that one fief has been in the hands of seven different masters, in the space of one year^f. Another advantage resulted to the king from this practice, namely, the exorbitant fees paid into the exchequer at each investiture, which brought large sums of money into the royal coffers.

At last Christopher thought it necessary to amuse the people with a pretended expedition against the isle of Gothland; but after vast preparations, which cost the nation immense sums of money, he changed his warlike designs to a friendly visit, made with no other view than to con-

firm

firm his antipathy to the Swedes. Thus he endeavoured by every possible means to alienate the affections of the Swedes from his person, by shewing an open contempt for the nation, preferring the foreigners to his favours, endeavouring to subject the kingdom to Denmark, and in a word, infringing every article of his agreement at his accession, of the treaty of Calmar, and of the most solemn engagements. Had he lived longer, it is probable his conduct would have effected another revolution; but death rid Sweden of a tyrant, and Christopher of the mortification of being degraded from that high station, to which the caprice of the people, and not his own virtues, had raised him. This event fell out on the 14th of January, 1448, at Helsingburg, where he was taken ill, on his way to hold a diet at Jenekoping.

*Christo-
pher's
death.*

The senate, as soon as apprised of the king's death, appointed Bengt Janson, of Salestack, and his brother Nils Janson, regents of the realm, till the first meeting of the diet at Stockholm; for as to the diet called at Jenekoping, it was convoked by the king on some extraordinary occasion. When the members were assembled, they formed themselves into two factions. One was for adhering to the treaty of Calmar, and taking no resolutions touching the election before the states of the three kingdoms should be assembled at Helmstadt. This was the opinion of the two regents, of the archbishop John of Upsal, and their party. On the contrary, the mareschal Canutson, with an infinity of others, were for setting aside the union, and proceeding immediately to the election of a new prince; "The union, said they, is already become void, as, contrary to the express meaning of the treaty, it proved highly prejudicial to two kingdoms, for the sake of advantaging the third." It must be owned, that besides the heavy taxes levied in Sweden, and spent in Denmark, at Christopher's death all the shipping, artillery, arms, and moveables, belonging to the crown of Sweden, were farmed at Copenhagen; and though at his death his majesty had bequeathed great legacies to the Swedish hospitals, by way of atonement for the many oppressions, yet none were ever paid, the Danes detaining all his money and effects.

*A diet of
the states
held, for
his election
of a king.*

The mareschal's faction added, that the Danes had already been guilty of an infraction of the union, by electing Christopher of Bavaria to their throne, before they had consulted their allies, or given the smallest intimation of their intention to the states of Norway and Sweden. Each party enforced their opinion with all the eloquence and arguments in their power; but at last the mareschal's pre-

vailed, and the diet proceeded to the nomination of three persons, one of whom should be chosen king. The three proposed were the two regents and the mareschal Charles Canutson ; but the latter had managed matters so well, that he was elected by a great majority.

A.D. 1448.

Charles Canutson raised the throne.

Wisby besieged.

Charles Canutson was no sooner raised to the throne, than he set out for Merasten, where he was proclaimed, and thence repaired to Upsal, to pass through the ceremonies of coronation. Immediately after his inauguration, he certified his accession to the states of Denmark and Norway, with a view of sounding how their inclinations stood with respect to him, and whether it might be possible to unite the three crowns. In this hope he was disappointed ; nor was he even successful in his demand for the restitution of the Swedish fleets, artillery, and money, which had been carried to Denmark by Christopher. Incensed at their refusal, he sought to revenge himself both on Denmark and king Eric, by a vigorous descent on the isle of Gothland. His general Magnus Green laid siege to Wisby, and took it before the winter. The citadel must likewise have surrendered, had not Green been decoyed into a suspension of arms by Eric who upon this occasion acted with the activity, intrepidity, and caution of a great monarch and skillful general. During the truce, he applied to Denmark for assistance, chusing that the island should fall rather to that kingdom than to Sweden. He always acknowledged his obligations to the former, for leaving him in the quiet possession of this island, and even forgot that the Danes had first abjured his authority ; whereas, he could never forgive the earnest desire the Swedes had always expressed to drive him out of Gothland, the little remaining pittance of all his vast dominions.

Eric's proposals were well received in Denmark. The senate wrote to Charles Canutson to withdraw his forces ; and he not only refusing their request, but sending orders to Green to push the siege with redoubled vigour, they sent a squadron powerful enough to relieve the place, conducting Eric to his native country, where he ended his days, without once attempting the recovery of his crown.

The Danes were now in possession of the citadel, and the Swedes occupied the town of Wisby. Hostilities daily passed between them ; but to gain time, his Danish majesty sent Axelfson to negotiate a suspension of arms with the Swedish general ; a point which he managed with so much address, that the Danes were not only supplied with provisions, but the city invested by Christian in person, before the Swedes had any intimation or even suspicion of his

his intentions. Being, however, disappointed in his design, he had a second time recourse to negotiation, and obtained a suspension of arms. After all the Swedes were obliged to abandon the isle of Gothland, which was immediately annexed to the crown of Denmark².

To balance this loss, his Swedish majesty had overtures made him by the Norwegians to accept their crown, which former experience prevented their offering to Christian, king of Denmark. Immediately he set out for that country, and was elected without opposition, except from a few of the nobility. He was crowned at Drontheim, and having chosen regents to govern the kingdom in his absence, passed without delay to Sweden.

Charles had no sooner arrived in his capital, than he assembled a diet at Abroga, where he nominated twelve commissioners to treat with the Danish commissaries at Helmstadt, about the island of Gothland, his claim to which he had not yet fully resigned. At this congress the Danes insisted not only upon Gothland, but that Charles should surrender Norway to his Danish majesty. They even carried matters farther, and proposed a renewal of the union of Calmar, and even gained over Magnus Green, and some others of the Swedish commissioners; although the whole of their request did not transpire for some time. All that was done at this congress, was concluding a peace between the two kingdoms, and reserving the matter in dispute to be decided in a future congress.

Congress at Abroga.

Charles had no direct evidence of the treachery of his agents, but entertained such strong suspicions of Green, on account of his former conduct in Gothland, that he despoiled him of all his employments. Nor did he fail to express a just resentment of the conduct of the archbishop, and some others, who, he knew, were not well disposed to promote his interest: but however spirited this conduct might appear, experience evinced it was unpolitic. The persons who fell under his censure were of high rank, and had a powerful interest, which they resolved to exert in obtaining revenge for the indignity.

Treachery of the Danish commissioners.

Some time after the peace of Helmstadt was renewed at an interview that passed between the two kings; but nothing was decided concerning Norway and Gothland: yet this ratification did not hinder the Danes of the island of Gothland from making a descent in the neighbourhood of Stockholm, and pillaging, burning, and laying waste the country. His Swedish majesty, regarding this infraction

A.D. 1454.

² Loccen. lib. v.

*Hostilities
between the
Swedes and
Danes.*

of the peace as if it had been committed by order of Christian, retorted it, by a descent on Schonen. He first summoned the inhabitants to surrender, and on their refusal burnt and destroyed the country ; particularly the cities of Helsingborg, Landskrona, and Lund, according to the Swedish writers : though the Danes allege, that the bravery of the archbishop foiled all the king's endeavours to get possession of this last city. Another point in which the writers of the two nations differ, is, the former assert, that Charles defeated and cut in pieces a large body of peasants assembled at Kloster Dalby ; whereas the latter are equally positive, that he was repulsed by them.

This visit was returned by the Danish prince, who marched at the head of a powerful army to West Gothland, took Ladse, and obliged all the inhabitants of the adjacent country, as well nobility as peasants, to acknowledge him for their sovereign, and acquaint king Charles, that they had renounced their allegiance to him. To oppose the progress of the Danish arms, Charles set out with a numerous army, bending his march by the forest of Tyweden ; but he had not proceeded far, when he was informed, that Axelsson, joined by the traitor Magnus Green, lay with a fleet before Stockholm, and that they were joined by the archbishop and lords of Uplandia. His return was so expeditious and unexpected, that the Danes quitted Sweden with great precipitation, and, as some allege, with very considerable loss.

In the mean time Christian was preparing to invade East Gothland ; but the troops he had left to defend the passes of the forest of Tyweden were cut to pieces by the Swedes, a circumstance which opened the way for Charles to march to the relief of that country. He detached Thorde Bonde to surprise Ladse, a commission which that officer executed with great address, and afterwards recovered all West Gothland ; obliging the governors, appointed by Christian, to surrender the fortresses that were in their hands.

Nothing now remained to prevent Charles from being absolute master of all Sweden ; but to reconcile himself to the enemies he had within the kingdom ; to effect which aim, he called the archbishop and seven suspected lords before him, and signed an agreement with them. The archbishop, in particular, took a solemn oath, ever to remain inviolably attached to the service of the king ; notwithstanding

withstanding the event shewed how little the prelate regarded the most sacred obligations^h.

The year concluded with a congress at Waldstena, where they laboured in vain to establish peace between the two nations. *Peace concluded.*

For three years after this transaction, Christian refrained from disturbing Sweden by open force, though he kept the kingdom in perpetual alarm by the preparations he made, which obliged Charles to march his army, two or three times in a year, towards the frontiers. Those marches were extremely oppressive to the peasants, and frequently occasioned their mutinying, which was the very object of Christian's policy; whose designs penetrated farther than obliging Sweden to granting an advantageous peace. He was in hopes, that by keeping the Swedes in this irksome situation, every day expecting to be invaded, and forced to maintain numerous armies for their defence, he should compel them to wish for a renewal of the union of Calmar. What greatly promoted his designs, was the resolution Charles had taken to retrench the revenues of the clergy, and the murder of Thorde Bonde, the best general and most faithful subject of his Swedish majesty.

The Danes grown now more daring, entered the streights of Calmar with a fleet, took the isle of Oeland, and besieged Stockholm for six weeks. *A.D. 1456.*

In the winter the archbishop demanded of king Charles an equivalent for the losses sustained by the capture of certain ships, which he had equipped for his service. Charles, who thought he was not bound to make restitution, submitted the affair to the senate, who determined it in favour of the archbishop. Their sentence incensed the king, and forced him to express his resentment in terms that served only to multiply his enemies. However, he relied upon his own power, or the number of fortresses in his hands, and of troops ready to obey his nod. This confidence enraged the natural vehemence of his temper, made him treat his enemies with haughtiness, when he might have won them by gentleness, and was the chief cause of his ruin. *A dispute between the king and the archbishop of Upsal.*

The senate did not long conceal their discontent, and the coals of sedition were artfully blown up by the clergy. When Charles went to Calmar, with design to reconquer the isle of Oeland, the archbishop seized that opportunity of executing a plot he had contrived against the king. He arrested all the officers of the king's household, and fixed up a manifesto in the cathedral of Upsal, renouncing the oath he had taken to Charles, for the following reasons: *Consequences of their quarrel.* *A.D. 1457.*

^h Loccen. lib. v.

“ that

A.D. 1458.

*The arch-
bishop
openly re-
bels.*

“ that he had oppressed the liberties of the clergy and laity ; that he was a heretic ; that he bestowed the highest places of trust and profit on wretched profligate minions ; that he occasioned perpetual wars, despised all those who gave him wholesome counsel, and plundered his subjects with unsatiable avarice.” Then entering the cathedral, he exchanged his mitre and crozier for a coat of mail and sword ; declaring that he would not resume his ecclesiastical habit before the kingdom was in a better situation, and the grievances of the people redressed. Then he pillaged the palace, assembled a numerous army, and infected the whole nation with the contagion of discontent and faction ; all expressing themselves dissatisfied with the king’s conduct¹.

*The king
surprised.*

On the first advice of the archbishop’s revolt, the king returned to Stockholm at the head of fourteen hundred horse ; then assembling his infantry, he set out with intention to surprise the prelate, but fell into the snare he had prepared for his enemies. The archbishop took his measures so artfully, that he entered Stragnez, where the king lay, while the royal army was wrapt in sleep and security, attacked and defeated them, with great slaughter. Charles himself received a wound, and escaped with great difficulty to Stockholm, where he set fire to the suburbs, to prevent his being pursued.

Nor was the archbishop long behind, but marching with expedition, invested the capital on every side with so much vigour, that the king sent a deputation to offer his pardon, promising henceforward to govern the kingdom agreeable to the laws ; proposals that were rejected by the haughty prelate, who resolved to push matters to the utmost extremity. In this situation, Charles perceiving that the city could not hold out long, that he had no relief to expect, and that he was become odious to the nobility, clergy, and peasants, put all his wealth on board a ship in the night, and set sail for Dantzic ; thus abdicating the crown he had worn for the space of ten years.

*The arch-
bishop’s
power.*

The archbishop, who had the reputation of having snatched liberty out of the hands of a tyrant, disposed of every thing in what manner he thought proper, after the king’s flight. The city and citadel of Stockholm surrendered after a siege of six months. He then convened all the princes, and seized all the fortresses, except Calmar, which Gustavus Canutson bravely defended for a long time. As the warlike prelate had now assumed the title of

¹ Loccen. lib. v. Puffend. p. 228.

protector,

protector, Oluf Axelson came to him from Gothland, and was employed in the conquest of Finland. At the same time Green, and a number of nobility, who had retired to Denmark to avoid the effects of the king's resentment, returned, and were well received by the archbishop. All the powerful lords of the kingdom closed with his intention of renewing the union of Calmar, and calling Christian king of Denmark to the throne of Sweden. They sent ambassadors to invite that prince to Stockholm; but let nothing of their design transpire, because they knew that the inhabitants of the coast and frontiers were extremely incensed at the frequent descents and irruptions of the Danes for several years past^k.

*King
Christian
invited to
Sweden.*

Christian embraced the invitation, which indeed had been given in consequence of the deep scheme he had long contrived for uniting the three crowns on his own head, and came to Stockholm, convoyed by a powerful squadron, and with the utmost magnificence of retinue and equipage. On his arrival, he dispersed a writing through the kingdom, declaring that Charles Canutson was levying powerful forces in Germany to subdue the Swedes, and take severe vengeance on all who had opposed his arbitrary measures; but that, as to himself, he had brought a strong armament, not to subdue, but to protect the kingdom. This declaration was made to efface any bad impressions the people might have received from the extraordinary military force with which they saw him attended. Previous to his election, a certain number of articles were drawn up, which he signed and sealed. He was then chosen in form, and crowned with great ceremony at Upsal.

*Christian
mounts the
throne and
unites the
three
crowns.*

Christian began his reign with great moderation, and the people supported his government with cheerfulness. One declaration of his, indeed, gave offence, as it greatly affected the property of numbers of the nobility. It imported, that the king would resume all the crown-lands which had been mortgaged, without redeeming them, by which means great sums of money would be lost to the people, and the crown revenue augmented by a direct breach of the public faith.

Adolphus duke of Sleswick dying without issue, king Christian claimed the duchy as nearest heir at law, being son to the duke's sister. Otton, earl of Schawemburgh, and the duke's brother, pleaded the right of consanguinity; but the lawyers of those days determined the dispute in favour of the degree of affinity, which they likewise per-

A.D. 1459.

*Dispute
about Sles-
wick.*

^k Des Roches, tom. iv. passim.

*Christian
imposes
heavy
taxes.*

ceived was supported with power. It was, however, stipulated, that forty thousand ducats should be paid to earl Otton, and forty thousand to his brother, by the king, as an equivalent for his right of succeeding to his brother. To raise this money Christian was obliged to tax Sweden for the first time; besides, he drew large sums from the monasteries at Stockholm, which had been left them by the late king at his departure. This tax led the way to others, and the practice became at length so familiar and habitual, that though at first the king made apologies for the necessity of the measure, and gave the strongest assurances that he would henceforward avoid it; yet now heavy impositions were laid without ceremony, and levied without mercy¹.

Disgusted by his arbitrary conduct, the Swedes began to complain of the king's breach of promise. Their clamours grew louder upon receiving intelligence, that king Charles was levying forces in Russia for the recovery of his crown, and many had determined to go over to him as soon as he should arrive. The report was false, for no such armament was ever set on foot; however, it furnished Christian with an opportunity of seizing upon certain persons who had incurred his displeasure, under pretence that they carried on a secret correspondence with his enemies. It is true, the archbishop had suborned certain persons to accuse them; and they were put to the torture, under the excruciating pain of which some of them died, while others languished out the rest of their days in horrible dungeons.

A method of proceeding so extraordinary increased the public hatred, and the king was now considered, not only as an arbitrary prince, but a bloody tyrant. What greatly confirmed the people in their animosity, was the dying declaration of one of the accused, who, expiring on the rack, acquitted all the prisoners of the crimes laid to their charge, throwing the whole upon the malice of the archbishop, and cruel disposition of the king.

The peasants boldly remonstrate.

But what gave the finishing stroke to the misunderstanding between Christian and his people, were the extraordinary taxes he imposed, to support the expences of a progress he intended making to Finland. The archbishop had directions to levy this tax in the king's absence; but when he demanded payment, the peasants began to mutiny, and resolutely answered, that they were under no obligation to pay additional taxes, as the king solemnly

¹ Puffend. tom. i. p. 224.

promised never to increase their present burthen. They added, that it was impossible for them to pay the ordinary rates, and that, unless the assessments were made more equal and light, they would hazard their lives in defence of their privileges.

On the king's return, he found it necessary to disapprove of the prelate's conduct, and highly blamed him for exciting sedition among the peasants, who had never before refused contributing towards the charges of the government. Charles Canutson had adherents in the kingdom, who artfully blew up the fire of contention between the king and the archbishop, which rose to such a height, that the latter was forced to give security, for his not removing out of Stockholm without leave from the king. They Danes took part against the archbishop, represented him as a traitor to both princes, and numberless libels and pasquinades were published in ridicule of his character^m.

The prelate's confinement, for such it might be called, excited a tumult among the peasants, who assembled and seized the isle of St. Esprit, for the inhabitants of the city were apprized of their rising. These the king defeated, and made three hundred prisoners, whom he put to the torture. He afterwards surprised Steckka, a fortress belonging to the archbishop. The bishop of Lincoping wrote to his majesty, demanding the archbishop's release, and security from the king, that he would henceforward govern the kingdom in a manner more agreeable to the laws. Piqued at this insult, Christian, without regarding the bishop's menaces, sent the archbishop prisoner to Copenhagen.

*The arch-
bishop is
confined.*

Katil, bishop of Lincoping, upon advice of this precipitate measure, resolved to keep no bounds. He sent the king notice, that, in conjunction with the states of Sweden, he renounced his allegiance, for a variety of reasons, all of them plausible, and most of them true. But in order to support his allegations, he assembled a numerous army in East Gothland and Norway, at the head of which he marched strait to Stockholm. He knew that the inhabitants round the capital were highly incensed against the king, on account of his exorbitant impositions, and the cruelty he had lately exercised on the peasants.

*The bishop
of Linco-
ping re-
volts.*

On the first report of the bishop's march, Christian ordered several small vessels, well manned, to go up to Meller, and block up the passes: but scarce had this armament arrived at Quickstadt, when it was vigorously attacked by

A.D. 1463.

*Katil be-
sieves the
king in
Stockholm.*

^m Loccen. lib. v.

*Christian
retires to
Denmark.*

Katil, and defeated. Flushed with success, Katil proceeded strait to the capital, invested it, and repulsed strong parties of the enemy that had sallied out. His approaches were pushed with such vigour, that the king perceiving he could not resist the prelate's impetuosity, withdrew to Denmark, with this cutting reflection, that the loss of Sweden was wholly to be imputed to his own arbitrary conduct. Immediately on the king's retreat, Katil assumed the authority of protector of the kingdom, beginning his administration with a necessary act of popularity, which endeared him to the people: he lowered the taxes, and redressed all those grievances against which the peasants had loudly clamouredⁿ.

A.D. 1464.

*He returns
with a
powerful
army, and
is defeated.*

Christian had no sooner set foot in Denmark, than he began levying numerous forces for the recovery of Sweden. He was attended by most of the senators and nobility of that nation, who either accompanied him in his flight, or went over to him, on the bishop's declaring himself protector. When he had assembled a powerful army, he began his march, with full expectation of reducing the prelate, who commanded only a rabble of peasants, without the countenance of a single senator, except Eric Nelson. But he soon perceived what ability and courage could effect with an undisciplined mob against the most numerous forces. He found the roads broken down and blockaded with huge trees, and peasants dispersed among the woods to gall his troops with their arrows. Still, however, he pushed on, and was at length attacked, with such fury, by the bishop in person, that unable to withstand his efforts, he fled precipitately, with the relics of his army, to Stockholm, leaving behind a great number of dead, wounded, and prisoners.

All this while the city and citadel of Stockholm were blocked up. Katil now pursued the king, and again invested the capital, pushing the siege with such spirit, that Christian was a second time forced to abandon it. During the siege, the peasants of Dalia and Upland wrote to the senate, that they would no longer acknowledge Christian for their king, because he was neither lawfully elected, the people not having been consulted, nor had he governed agreeable to the laws of the realm. They declared their resolution to recall the late king Charles, as in all ages Sweden had been in the form of a monarchy, and not that of a kind of republic, under the direction of a protector. Accordingly ambassadors were sent from bishop Katil and the peasants,

ⁿ Puffen. p. 230.

inviting Charles to the kingdom; a request so agreeable to the king's inclinations, that he complied with their wishes, without scruple or hesitation. Putting himself at the head of some forces which he had levied in Poland and the city of Dantzic, he set out for Sweden, and on his arrival had the city of Stockholm put into his hands. He was acknowledged king with loud acclamations and general testimonies of joy; and he solemnly promised thenceforward to govern in such a manner as would merit the strongest returns of affection¹

Charles Canutson recalled.

He commenced his administration with some acts of generosity, in setting at liberty the grand-mareschal of Denmark, and other noble prisoners, that proved displeasing to bishop Katil, who thought of exchanging them for the archbishop, who was still prisoner in Copenhagen, or of having them ransomed at a great price. Disappointed in these expectations, he kept no measures, but pursued the ships in which the prisoners were embarked, and brought them back to Sweden. At length, however, he consented to their release, on condition that the archbishop obtained his liberty, and that peace should be concluded between the two kingdoms. At the same time, he entered into a secret engagement with king Christian, to restore him to the throne of Sweden, provided he would again take the archbishop and himself into favour, and allow Charles Canutson a province for his maintenance (A).

All these conditions were readily granted by king Christian, who immediately set the archbishop at liberty, treated him splendidly, and constituted him governor of Sweden, with orders to all the governors of fortresses and castles to acknowledge him in that quality. He likewise charged him with power to grant a general amnesty; and lastly, he sent him with a numerous retinue to that kingdom, fully assured it could not afford room for him and king Charles together^k.

Bishop Katil hearing of the archbishop's arrival, set out to meet him, and contrive measures for the expulsion of

A. D. 1465.

¹ Pontan. lib. x. Loccen. lib. v.

^k Vid. supra.

(A) The Danish historians take no notice of this second treaty; and Meurf. Vit. Christian, in particular, alleges, that Christian, on his return to Denmark, set the archbishop at liberty, merely from a principle of justice, finding that he had been misrepresented to him, and grossly calumniated (1).

(1) Meurf. Vit. Christian, p. 27.

*King
Charles
besieged in
Stockholm.*

*He sallies
out and is
defeated.*

*He re-
nounces the
crown.*

that prince whom he had so lately placed on the throne, with the most solemn protestations of eternal fidelity. Their emissaries were dispatched to every part of the kingdom, to draw the people to their side. The public taxes were lowered, and every thing done that could engage their affections. They professed themselves equally enemies to Christian and to Charles, and friends only to liberty and the constitution; they appointed four governors in Sweden, assigned Finland for the maintenance of king Charles, took all his officers prisoners, assembled troops, and laid siege to Stockholm. Charles not chusing to hazard a siege, sallied out with all his forces, and gave battle to the prelates. Much depended on the issue of the engagement, and both sides fought with that fury, which might be expected from men in despair. After one of the most bloody actions that ever was fought, victory declared for the archbishop, though Charles made good his retreat without being pursued. Soon after, however, the Dalecarlians, who were marching to his assistance, were repulsed by the enemy, a circumstance which obliged the unfortunate monarch to put himself in the power of the haughty prelates, and by a formal declaration renounce all his pretensions to the crown of Sweden (A).

The archbishop, now master of the whole kingdom, was in the zenith of his power, unopposed by all, except Nils Sture, the intimate friend of Charles, who gave the prelate abundance of trouble, and artfully escaped all the snares laid for him. He was indeed forced to retire to Finland, under the protection of Eric Axelsson, governor of Wiburgh; but they both ventured to appear at the next diet, and boldly impeached the prelate's conduct. Their accusation producing nothing but opprobrious language from the haughty archbishop, Sture retired to Gestricia, where he put to death several of the magistrates appointed by the prelate. Here were kindled the sparks of that civil war which broke out soon after with vehemence. Certain it is, that the archbishop thought of nothing less than recalling Christian;

(A) Instead of the whole province of Finland, only the fortress of Raseburgh, with its appendages, were assigned for his maintenance. Difficulties arose about the surrender of Raseburgh, which obliged the king to live for a whole season at Abo, without any revenue to support his household. Hence he was forced to contract debts, that involved him in great difficulties; and so mean was the archbishop, that he refused to lend him five hundred crowns (1).

and his opponents were as far from any intention to restore Charles. The names of those princes were used only as a cloak to their own designs. The spirit of anarchy took possession of every breast; and while each demanded for himself the supreme authority, the constitution went to wreck, while all government and good order was wholly neglected ¹.

To quiet the outcry raised against him, the archbishop took a solemn oath in presence of the people, that all the reports spread to injure his reputation, and ruin him in the opinion of the people, were false and groundless; and that he had taken upon him the office of regent with no other view than the public good, and to pave the way to the election of a sovereign. He also declared, that he seized on the castle and palace of the late bishop of Lincoping, only to put it into the hands of that person whom the states should think fit to raise to the dignity either of king or administrator. After this public declaration, he called a diet to meet at Walstenar, where, after much altercation, Eric Axelson was chosen administrator, and the archbishop was forced to surrender to him the capital, and all the fortresses of the kingdom, though Axelson was strongly in the interest of king Charles, his brother-in-law, and the intimate friend of Nils Sture, both sworn enemies to the prelate ^m.

Eric Axelson chosen administrator.

Nils Sture advanced, in the mean time, to Westeraas, at the head of a considerable body of forces, declaring every where, that he would restore king Charles. He was opposed by Eric Nelson, who marched to give him battle, which was prevented by the interposition of the administrator. By the treaty concluded on this occasion, Westeraas was surrendered to Nils Sture, to the great dissatisfaction of the archbishop. It only skinned over the sore, without affecting a radical cure. The mutual resentment of both parties was rather inflamed by this suppression, which enabled it to burst forth with redoubled violence, on the first opportunity that offered. Two powerful factions were formed; one headed by the archbishop, Eric Nelson, Trotte Carlson, Yver Green, Eric Carlson, John Scwolke, and Nils Fadergon, supported by an infinity of gentry and magistrates of towns, who were altogether unacquainted with the views and designs of their superiors ⁿ.

A civil war breaks out.

The kingdom divided into two factions.

The leaders of the other factions were Eric Axelson, administrator of Sweden, Yvar Axelson, his brother, governor of the isle of Gothland, Nils Sture, Steen Sture, Birger

¹ Aust. citat. ibid.

^m Puffend. p. 238.

ⁿ Id. ibid.

Trolle, Gustavus Carlsson, Knat Possle, and the city of Stockholm, the inhabitants of which declared, that they would defend the kingdom against the usurpation of all foreigners, and either maintain the administrator in his authority, or restore king Charles. This might be called the country-party, and was espoused as such by a majority of the peasants and common people. It is unconceivable to what a pitch of fury their resentment rose; nothing but massacres were heard of in every quarter of the kingdom. The peasants and mechanics fell upon each other just as they happened to espouse one or the other side, and gave no quarter; in a word, those cruel wars, which for the space of a century distracted Italy, and made the names Guelf and Ghibelline famous in history, were not conducted with more rancour or violence of party spirit, than the present divisions in Swedenⁿ.

Several advantages were gained by the administrator's party; notwithstanding which the archbishop collected so powerful an army, that he laid siege to Stockholm, and would probably have taken it, had not Yvar Axelson defeated Eric Nelson, in Nericia, and then marched to his brother's relief; while Steen Sture, after having worsted Eric Carlsson, was in full march for the same purpose.

A.D. 1467. But neither these disappointments, nor the archbishop's death, could break the spirit of faction, which seemed to rise in proportion to its losses. Assembling all their troops, they now determined upon coming to a decisive battle with the administrator, who upon his side did not decline the trial. After a violent conflict, victory declared for the latter, and the enemy were cut in pieces, except some that were made prisoners, and a few who escaped. At last the people, wearied and exhausted with troubles, expences, and cruel wars, which seemed to have no object in view but the destruction of the kingdom, demanded the restoration of king Charles. In fact, the prince was recalled and forced from his retreat in Finland, by the administrator, who put Stockholm, and the fortresses of the kingdom, in his hands; but Eric Nelson, and Eric Carlsson, still refused to acknowledge him, saying, that they could not think of replacing the crown on the head of a prince who had solemnly renounced it, and sworn that he never would accept it on any terms. This declaration they supported by force of arms and treachery; for taking advantage of a peace which had been concluded for five days with Charles, just as the armies were ready to engage, Eric Carlsson

*King
Charles
recalled to
the throne.*

ⁿ Puffend. p. 241.

fell upon him before the time was expired and defeated him entirely ^a.

According to Puffendorf, king Christian, all this while, kept aloof, suspecting that both parties had their own particular interests more at heart than the restoration of either prince. He was besides employed in defending Iceland from the English, and in certain disputes about Sleswick with the count of Oldenburgh; but these are facts which we do not find mentioned by any other historian. On the contrary, Pontanus, Meursius, and all the Danish writers expressly affirm, that his Danish majesty vigorously assisted the archbishop's faction, made incursions into Halland in the year 1468, where he took Schwisburg and other fortresses, and two years after obtained a signal victory over Yver Axelson, in the plains of Harling. So decisive was this action, that the administrator's party engaged to bring the states to consent to Christian's restoration, and sent ambassadors to Lubec to adjust the terms. Christian, much disposed to peace, signed a treaty with them, relying upon the sincerity of their promises; but finding himself made the dupe of their artifice, and that the ambassadors they promised never came to Lubec, he again had recourse to arms ^b.

After the advantage Carlson had obtained over the king, A.D. 1470.
he was marching to lay siege to Stockholm, where Nils and Steen Sture gave him battle, and defeated him with such loss, that believing he could not be safe in Sweden, he retired to Denmark, where he proposed several schemes to Christian, all of which he affirmed were practicable. To comply with his importunity, that prince entered West Gothland, and was laying siege to Darestein, in the depth of winter, where the two Stures fell upon him, defeated, and obliged him to retire to Denmark, with great precipitation ^c.

*Carlson
defeated.*

The same year king Charles died at Stockholm, on the 17th of May. When he perceived his dissolution approaching, he surrendered the city of Stockholm to Steen Sture, his nephew, who had always assisted him with the utmost fidelity. The nobility immediately sent letters to the members of their body residing in Denmark, acquainting them of the king's death, and urging them to return, in order to elect a new king, or by any means establish the tranquillity of the kingdom. To this summons, Eric Carlson answered, that he would acknowledge no master but Christian, who was already duly and lawfully elected. While Carlson was bringing forces to support the treaty of Calmar, and the

*Death of
King
Charles.*

^a Puffend. p. 260.

^b Loccen. lib. v. p. 159.

^c Id. ibid.

*Christian
invades
Sweden.*

union of the three kingdoms, the Daelcarlians were publishing declarations, that they would never submit to any other master than Steen Sture, for whom they would hazard their lives and fortunes. Eric and Yver Axelson closed in with the Dalecarlians, and wrote letters to the magistrates and burghers, as well as to the garrison in the citadel of Stockholm, exhorting them to stand firmly to their engagements with Steen Sture. In a word, they behaved themselves so vigorously, that Steen Sture was actually chosen administrator in a kind of diet assembled at Jeneckoping. This election proved highly agreeable to the Swedish peasants, but served to convince Christian, that if ever he should wear the crown of Sweden, he must gain it by force of arms and dint of conquest. Immediately he equipped a fleet of sixty-five sail, steered directly for Stockholm, and dropped anchor before the city; but reflecting on the difficulties that would attend a regular siege, he had recourse to negotiation, which continued for six days without effect. Christian perceiving that the Swedes wanted only to gain time to lay in provisions, landed his troops, and threatened that he would sack and pillage the city, scourge the administrator with rods, violate the women before the faces of their husbands and fathers, and castrate the men; with other expressions equally indecent in themselves, unbecoming the character of a king, and unsuitable to the disposition of Christian (A). But as his menaces produced no effect, he marched to Upsal, was proclaimed king by the neighbouring peasants, complained bitterly of the senate and the city of Stockholm, who he said had nothing in view but the gratification of their own ambition. By fair promises, and importing salt, which he sold at a low price, he gained the affections of crowds of peasants, and made an impression on many of the gentry, who were prevailed on to swear allegiance to him^r.

A.D. 1471.

After this excursion, he returned to lay siege to Stockholm, while Steen Sture was assembling a numerous army to relieve it. As soon as Sture had joined a body of troops raised by his brother, he advanced to within two miles of Stockholm, and thence wrote to the king, that if he fought

^r Puffend. p. 265. Meurs. Vit. Joh. p. 29.

(A) Nothing can be more different than the characters drawn of the same princes by the Swedish and Danish historians, each speaking according to his prejudices, and the one celebrating as virtuous, temperate, and mild kings, those whom the others have stigmatized as cruel and bloody tyrants.

to

to avoid the unnecessary effusion of blood, he would immediately raise the siege and withdraw to Denmark. Christian's reply was such as produced an engagement, in which, after having received a wound in the mouth, his Danish majesty was defeated; several hundred of his soldiers were drowned in attempting to save themselves on board the fleet, about fifteen hundred left dead on the field of battle, and nine hundred taken prisoners, among whom was Nicholas Rennau, grand-mareschal of Denmark. Upon this repulse, the king set sail for Denmark, and found, that besides his late disgrace, he had lost several fortresses in West Gothland, which were garrisoned in his name. In a word, Steen Sture was now so firmly established, that no actual attempt was made for several years to disturb his administration, although the kingdom was kept in perpetual apprehension of an invasion from Denmark.

*Is defeated
by Sture.*

From this time to the death of Christian, which happened on the 21st of May, 1481, nothing material occurs in the Swedish history. Steen Sture had so gained the affections of the people, that if we may credit the Swedish historians, he might frequently have obtained the crown^a (B). Several congresses were held, and ambassadors from the three kingdoms ordered to treat about a re-union of the crowns, all of which terminated in nothing. This year indeed a congress was held at Helmstadt, by the consent of the three kingdoms. All men were in great expectations that the renewal of the treaty of Calmar would be the result of this conference. Steen Sture had so readily consented to the congress, that he deceived all parties. They imagined that public spirit had gained the ascendant over ambition, and that he resolved to sacrifice his own grandeur to the good of the state. But his pretended illness on the road, as he was going to attend the appointment, blasted all their hopes. They now perceived he would never consent to see the kingdom in other hands; accordingly the Danes and Norwegians proceeded to elect prince John, the eldest son of their late king Christian. Immediately after this election, a treaty of union was concluded between the three kingdoms, at Calmar; but still the Swedes refused to elect king John, unless he signed and swore to certain restrictions, which he thought derogatory to his dignity.

*John elect-
ed king of
Denmark
and Nor-
way.*

A. D. 1483.

^a Luccen. lib. v. p. 164.

(B) The Danish writers re- who never was beloved by his
present Sture as a crafty, am- own nation,
bitious, cruel, and insolent man,

So politically, however, did Steen Sture conduct affairs, that he avoided an open rupture with Denmark, and yet governed Sweden with all the authority of a sovereign prince, notwithstanding he was surrounded by enemies¹.

Yver Axelson, in particular, was his avowed enemy, on account of the administrator's frequent attempts to retrench his power, and wrest the province of Finland out of his hands. Another cause of contention was the isle of Gothland, which the administrator feared he would surrender to the Danes, and king John was no less apprehensive might fall into the hands of the administrator. Yver Axelson reigned with uncontrouled authority, and committed piracies in the Baltic, which disgraced the Swedish nation, as most people imagined they were countenanced by the government. In vain did the senate and administrator exhort him to desist from such practices, which reflected dishonour on the whole nation. At last, the administrator, accompanied by certain senators, desired a conference with him, which Axelson declined. They then besieged him in the citadel of Borkholm; but he made his escape in the night to the isle of Gothland, and, in resentment of the violence offered by the administrator, surrendered the island to king John.

As no period of history is more confused, or more variously related, than the administration of Steen Sture, it would be equally unentertaining and unsatisfactory to give a detail of such a medley of transactions as occur, under different forms, in the different writers. Sufficient it is to observe, that after repeated congresses, interviews between king John and the administrator, promises from the latter, and great expectations on the side of the former, the politic Sture found means to continue the government in his own hands for the space of ten years longer, during which there happened several wars with the Danes. In these he was assisted by the Hanse Towns, while king John engaged the Russians to annoy Sweden, on the side of Finland, where they were defeated by Canute Possé. Next year they returned, and over-ran Carelia, with all the fury of enraged barbarians, putting all the inhabitants to the sword, and laying the whole country in ashes.

To revenge these injuries, the administrator sent Suante Nelson and Eric Trolle with an army against the enemy, proposing to follow them with more numerous forces; but being some time detained at Stockholm, to quiet certain factions, they drove the Russians out of Finland before his

*The Russians in
wade Carelia.*

¹ Loccen. lib. v. p. 164.

arrival. That his expedition might not be altogether lost, he determined to make an irruption into Russia; but Suante Nelson refused to accompany him, a circumstance which so incensed Sture, that he stigmatised him for a coward. On their return to Stockholm, to attend the diet, Nelson complained loudly of the gross affront put upon him by the administrator, and justified his own conduct by such reasons as induced the diet to declare him innocent. From this time Nelson vowed revenge, and exerted all his abilities to have the administrator removed, engaging in his interest the archbishop of Upsal and all the clergy, who had for some time past expressed an inclination to see the three crowns united. This intrigue produced a conference between the administrator and senate, in which they upbraided him with having occasioned numberless losses and disgraces to the realm; with having governed the kingdom in a despotic manner, without consulting or advising with the senate; and lastly, they highly blamed him for not having bestowed Finland, as a crown-fee, on some person whose valour and power would enable him, and his interest induce him to protect it against the Russians^a.

Suante Nelson revolts.

Sture is accused by the senate.

A.D. 1497.

In answer to this accusation, Sture endeavoured to prove, that his administration had been eminently serviceable to the kingdom; and to demonstrate, that the government of kings, and particularly the union of Calmar, had almost brought ruin on the nation. He represented, that king John had unjustly seized on the island of Gothland, and treated the rest of the kingdom of Sweden with great disrespect. He accused the senate of ingratitude, for endeavouring to deprive him of the administration of the state, which he had rescued from tyranny, and defended under so many dangers and difficulties. In a word, he gave them to understand, that his commission depended not on the will of the senate, but of the whole people assembled in a general diet.

He justifies himself.

When the senate perceived that Sture was resolved to maintain his post, they unanimously deprived him of the administration. This step obliged him to shut himself up in the citadel, where next day he was joined by six hundred horse out of Finland. With this body he traversed the kingdom, to engage the people on his side, and levy forces, bitterly accusing the rashness or treachery of the senate, who would introduce a foreign power into the kingdom, to ruin, oppress, and enslave the Swedish nation. Finally, the two parties came to an open rupture; and Sture

They come to an open rupture.

^a Loccen, lib. v.

refused all terms of accommodation, or admitting any propositions whatever, until the senate should first acknowledge him as administrator, and take an oath of fidelity to him in that capacity ^b.

*King John
invades
Sweden.*

*Sture de-
feated.*

To remedy at once all these disorders, the senate sent to demand the protection of John, king of Denmark, who was at that time committing horrid ravages in the neighbourhood of Calmar and the isle of Oeland. John immediately sent a body of troops to oppose the administrator, who had arrested the bishop of Lincoping, and was besieging the archbishop in Upsal. In the mean time he took Calmar and Borkholm, where he was proclaimed king, by Nils Booson and Asmund Trolle, in the name of the senate and nobility. Then steering his course to Stockholm, he landed his forces, and laid siege to the city. Sture's fortune began now to wear a different aspect: he had got together a considerable army, but sustained a variety of repulses, and at length a total defeat, near Rotebroo. Notwithstanding the check received on this occasion, the faithful and brave Dalecarlians encouraged him once more to try his fortune in the field. Attacking the king's army at Nordmalm, a very bloody battle was fought, and Sture was again defeated. Despairing then of being able to make head against John, the administrator signed a treaty, whereby he acknowledged him king of Sweden, agreeable to the union of Calmar; he had Finland, the Two Bothnias, the city of Nicoping, and some other lands and cities assigned for his maintenance; was fully acquitted with respect to his past conduct, and taken into the king's favour. His majesty engaged Sture to exert his influence with the Dalecarlians, to acknowledge him king; at first they refused, but were brought to consent, on condition that the late administrator should have the government of Westeraas, Bergslagen, and the province of Dalia.

*John pro-
claimed
king of
Sweden.*

Stockholm was now surrendered to king John, and he was immediately crowned king of Sweden. The civil war would seem to be extinguished, and all the discordant members of the state again re-united to the body. Some writers allege, that when the ceremony of the coronation was finished, John asked his privy-council, if any of the forms were wanting? To which one of them answered, "Nothing but a gibbet, to hang up certain Swedes;" a hint that was afterwards pursued to his cost by Christian, but rejected, with indignation, by John, who expressed the satisfaction he would have in seeing evil counsellors su-

^b Puffend. p. 280.

spended to the gibbet they advised erecting. In a word, he so gained upon the senate, and ingratiated himself with all the nobility, that they not only appointed his son, Christian, his successor, but gave his majesty the disposal of all offices, in whatever manner he thought proper.

After having settled the state of the kingdom, John set out for Denmark; and the archbishop of Upsal, and several of the nobility, who hated Steen Sture, embraced this opportunity of ruining that nobleman. They accused him of crimes committed during his administration; but the general pardon he had obtained, under his majesty's hand and seal, obliged them to go another way to work. The archbishop engaged the pope on his side, and imagining he might commit the most horrid and flagrant crimes under the sanction of Christ's vicar, endeavoured, by several stratagems, to assassinate Sture. To such a pitch did he carry his resentment for some injury done him by the administrator, that the Danes themselves were astonished at the animosity and rancour of fellow-subjects, and the king endeavoured to heal their divisions by an accommodation.

In the course of this year, John returned to Stockholm, where his queen, Christina, was crowned, and Oerebro, with the provinces of Nericia, Wermeland, and Dalia, were assigned to support the expences of her household. During the first years of this prince's reign, Sweden enjoyed perfect tranquillity, and the administration was conducted with great prudence and moderation. John was in his disposition easy, forgiving, brave, and open; but, misled by his favourites, he suffered himself to be steered on those shoals which had proved fatal to his predecessors. He complained of the scantiness of the revenue to support his dignity; he forced from Steen Sture some of those provinces which had been assigned to him by the treaty between them; he deprived several other persons of fiefs, which he had granted to them the year before: and these he either kept in his own hands, or disposed of to German and Danish minions. Those who had been instrumental in elevating him to the throne, were rewarded greatly beneath their expectations. They even had less credit with him than with the administrator, whom they had removed. Still, however, they murmured in secret, and durst not put up their complaints to the throne, or make them public to the people, lest they should be taxed with fickleness and inconstancy. However, when intelligence was received of the king's unfortunate expedition against the Dithmarsians, they began to talk

A.D. 1498.

His queen proclaimed, and crowned.

A.D. 1499.

He becomes odious to the Swedes.

more openly, and discover those seeds of discontent, which hitherto lay concealed. Each exclaimed against the king's ingratitude, and aspired at effecting a change in the government, and said aloud, that if one little province could shake off obedience to John, and foil all his endeavours to subdue it, what must all Sweden be able to effect, when united, and unanimous in one design^d.

*Commo-
tions fo-
mented by
Sture.*

Sture was at the bottom of these murmurings. He artfully fomented the people's discontent, with a view to the recovery of his former dignity, the loss of which he had been seen to lament with tears. It is even said, that he plucked his beard, gnashed his teeth, and shewed extreme despair at John's coronation; but it is probable, that the provinces wrested from him were the chief source of his dissatisfaction.

*A bill of
grievances
presented
to the king.*

These commotions required the king's immediate presence. On his arrival, he entered into measures with the senate for crushing them in the birth; but all their endeavours were to no purpose. Matters were now gone too far. Steen Sture, Suante Sture, with others of the nobility, came to Stockholm, attended by seven hundred gentlemen, their vassals and adherents, and presented a remonstrance, containing all their grievances. For six days this remonstrance was under consideration. Negotiations were set on foot, but nothing was determined. Both sides, however, dissembled: the king pretended to be satisfied with the fair promises made by the malecontents, and they affected to put confidence in the assurances given by his majesty; while, at the same time, each heartily hated, despised, and distrusted the other.

When Sture had formed a party which he believed sufficient, he assembled all his friends at Wadstena, and solemnly renounced his allegiance to king John, openly declaring himself his enemy; nor were there wanting plausible reasons to justify this conduct. John had not fulfilled the treaty of Calmar; he had not terminated the differences about Gothland; he had made grants of the fiefs of the kingdom to foreigners; and he had carried into Denmark all the wealth of Sweden.

*John sets
out for
Denmark.*

John perceived, from the spirit of the writing, that he could remain no longer in security in Sweden: leaving, therefore, the queen in the citadel of Stockholm, with a strong garrison, he set out for Denmark, hoping, by the assistance of the archbishop, to appease these murmurings, without proceeding to extremities. The king's departure

^d Loccen. lib. v.

was a signal to the malcontents to begin their operations. They laid siege to Oerebro, and soon reduced it. Next Sture invested Stockholm with all his forces; and had not advanced far in his operations, before the magistrates demanded a truce, in order to come to an accommodation. This was granted; and in the mean time the garrison set fire to the suburbs; an outrage which so incensed the burghers, that they opened the gates to Sture, who then began his approaches against the citadel.

John now perceived, that the strength of his enemies exceeded his expectations. He likewise saw the bishops drop off from his party, and join the enemy; he thought it therefore advisable to write to Steen Sture, offering to appear before a diet, to justify his conduct, and refute all the calumnies thrown out against him. But Sture, looking upon the proposals as an artifice to gain time, rejected them, and was immediately after declared administrator.

The siege of the citadel of Stockholm continued the whole winter, though the severity of the weather rendered the approaches of the besiegers slow and difficult. On the approach of spring, the administrator gave a general assault, which the queen sustained with extraordinary intrepidity; but perceiving preparations were making for storming a second time, her garrison being reduced to a handful, and provisions falling short, she capitulated, on condition of being permitted to pass to Denmark. All the rest of the garrison was made prisoners of war. Sture, however, in direct violation of the articles of capitulation, ordered her majesty to be arrested, and confined in the monastery of Wadstena, till the following year. John appeared with a strong fleet before Stockholm three days after the citadel was surrendered, and was forced to return without attempting to land. It was alleged indeed, that, enamoured of the superior charms of a mistress, he first neglected relieving Stockholm, and afterwards shewed little inclination to obtain the queen's liberty.

A.D. 1503.

The queen besieged in Stockholm, but is forced to capitulate.

The administrator prosecuted his success. The castle of Elsburg was taken, and reduced to ashes, the peasants cruelly massacring Eric Erickson, who commanded the garrison. On the other hand, the Danish army, led by prince Christian, made an irruption into East Gothland, burnt Oeresteen, and committed terrible ravages; Sweden suffering equally under the hands of her friends and her enemies.

Steen Sture was now master of all the fortresses of the kingdom, except Calmar and Borkholm, which the king

A.D. 1514.

*Death of
Steen
Sture.**Debates in
the diet
about a
successor.**War re-
newed
with
Denmark.
A truce
concluded.**John con-
fiscates the
estates of
certain
Swedish
lords.*

found means to relieve. A treaty was set on foot by the regency of Lubec and cardinal Raimond, by which her majesty was released. The administrator paid her the compliment of seeing her safe to the frontiers, and on his return was taken ill at Jenekoping, where he died; a circumstance that greatly affected his party, and rendered a meeting of the diet necessary^f.

Great debates arose in this assembly, whether John should be recalled, or the government be put into the hands of Suante Nelson Sture, who had performed very signal services to the kingdom, and was, besides, descended of an ancient royal family. The latter opinion prevailed, and Suante Sture was elected protector by a great majority of voices. The city of Stockholm, and all the other fortresses of the realm, were put into his hands. The war now recommenced between Sweden and Denmark; and the new administrator began his operations by attempting to relieve Calmar and Borkholm. The former was besieged by the bishop of Lincoping, and taken by assault; then a suspension of hostilities for three months was agreed upon: at the expiration of which, it was proposed a congress should meet at Calmar, to terminate all differences amicably.

On the day appointed for this conference, John appeared with a powerful fleet before the city, exhibiting such appearances of hostility, as prevented the Swedish commissioners from attending. One would imagine, from the indignation the king expressed at their conduct, that his own was perfectly fair and honest. He upbraided them with perfidy, and a breach of the most solemn engagements. He attributed their absence to their guilt, and the dread of resting their cause on an impartial trial. He condemned them to lose their estates, to be degraded from their honours and dignities, and decreed several other punishments, which the Swedish senate despised, because he had not the power to carry them into execution^g.

He, however, seized upon all the effects of the Swedish lords in Denmark; and prevailed upon the emperor to ratify his verdict, and banish the Swedes out of Germany. He likewise gave a general licence to his subjects, to cruize and commit all sorts of depredations and piracies upon the Swedish coasts and commerce. The isle of Gothland proved of the utmost detriment to Sweden on this occasion. It was the most convenient rendezvous for the pirates, who covered the Baltic with their ships, and distressed Sweden more than the king could have done by the most formida-

^f Loccen. lib. v. Puffend. ibid.^g Loccen. lib. iii.

ble invasion. To complete the misery of this unhappy kingdom, the administrator incurred the displeasure of pope Julius II. who threatened to excommunicate him, and lay the whole kingdom under an interdiction; a sentence which, in those days, was dreaded as the most terrible of all punishments: yet so high was the spirit of party become, that even the pope's menaces were disregarded, and the administrator entered upon the most vigorous enterprizes against Denmark. Schonen and Bleking were invaded, and dreadful ravages committed; hostilities that were revenged by the Danes, who suddenly entering Finland, burnt Abo. In the same manner they treated Cattle-haven, in the province of Oeland, and Ladese, in West Gothland^b.

Suante Sture, the administrator, incurs the pope's censure.

Terrible depredations committed by the Swedes and Danes.

Thus both countries were laid desolate, and the inhabitants ruined, without either party's deducing the smallest advantage from such barbarities. It was this consideration that forced them both to consent to a negociation, which, however, ended without effecting the accommodation proposed. John would listen to no terms, unless the Swedes accepted of himself or his son Christian for king; or at least pay a certain yearly sum of money, in acknowledgment of his sovereignty. Many of the administrator's friends relished this last proposal, as the damage done to their shipping amounted to double the sum demanded; but the majority rejected it, as a concession that would reflect disgrace on a free nation. After all, deputies were sent to Malmoe, and a bargain struck up with John, whereby he promised to refrain from all hostilities, on Sweden's paying him thirteen thousand silver marks annually, until such time as the kingdom should be surrendered to him or his son^d.

A treaty concluded.

This treaty, however, produced nothing; the deputies exceeded their commission; and the senate refused to ratify what they had signed. It is certain, that they were particularly instructed to offer no money, unless John consented to restore the islands of Gothland and Oeland, and the city of Calmar, conditions which he rejected with disdain. On this account the war was renewed; and the Swedes prosecuted it with more vigour, as the administrator had formed an alliance with the regency of Lubec, who engaged to support him with all their power. He likewise concluded a peace for sixty years, with the czar George, Belim, whereby the Russians were restricted from entering into any engagements with Denmark, to the prejudice of Sweden, during that period^k.

A.D 1509.

The senate refuses to ratify it.

^a Loccen. lib. iii.

ⁱ Idem. ibid.

^k Puffend. p. 291.

The Lubeckers commenced hostilities against Denmark, by pillaging Borkholm, Langland, Falstre, Laland, Werm, and the coasts of Bleking and Halland. Their fleet was numerous, and they spread terror and desolation wherever they appeared. The Swedes, likewise, retook Calmar and Borkholm; the king being kept so employed by the Lubec fleet, as rendered it impossible for him to relieve those cities. To get rid of so formidable an enemy, John granted the regency such favourable conditions, that they concluded a separate peace, leaving Sweden to fight her own battles. Then the Danes invaded West Gothland, and advancing to Skara, put all the inhabitants to the sword, and laid the country in ashes: but the approach of the Swedish army prevented their penetrating farther; nay, obliged them to retreat with precipitation, and to leave Schonen and Halland exposed to their ravages.

A.D. 1512.

*Death of
Suante
Sture.*

*Debate
about a
successor.*

In the mean time Suante Sture resigned his last breath, after a short illness, at Westeraas. He had governed the kingdom, with great prudence, for the space of eight years, amidst perpetual wars; and his death, far from putting an end to the public confusion, seemed rather to increase the divisions in the senate, by introducing a fresh subject of contention, namely, the election of a prince or governor. All the young nobility were for putting the administration into the hands of the son of Steen Sture, who was greatly beloved by the people, not only out of respect to his father's memory, but on account of his own good qualities, and the services he had done the state. On the contrary, the archbishop, the bishops, and all the old senators and nobility, cast their eyes on Eric Trolle, a man whose age, experience, and wisdom, seemed to justify their choice; but the states of Sweden, exhausted and languishing under the long and bloody wars carried on with Denmark, resolved to restore peace upon any terms; for which purpose they deputed bishop Matthew of Regnez to Malmoe, to accommodate matters with king John. The separate peace concluded by the Lubeckers with Denmark, as well as the specious promises of that monarch, greatly forwarded this resolution.¹

A.D. 1513

In the following year a diet was held at Stockholm, in consequence of the determination of the states; and the Swedes were constrained to accept of one of these three conditions: either to acknowledge king John, or his son Christian, for their sovereign; to pay a sum of money annually to that prince; or lastly, to submit to the decision of

¹ Puffendorf, p. 298.

the Hanse Towns, who took upon them to mediate a peace, and declared, that they would commence hostilities against whatever party should decline their award.

Mean while Eric Trolle and the young Sture both appeared at Upsal, as candidates for the office of administrator. A majority of votes were evidently in favour of the latter, and he was accordingly elected; whereas the pretensions of the former were rejected, because he was of Danish extraction, and descended from a family that had always shown a partiality for that people. The affair was again taken into consideration at Stockholm, and it is probable the dispute would have occasioned a civil war, had not some senators of influence interposed, and effected a compromise. In the end, however, Sture carried his point, was declared administrator in the usual manner, and acknowledged in that capacity by all ranks of the peopleⁿ.

Two candidates for the administration.

The death of John, king of Denmark, furnished his son Christian with an opportunity of renewing his pretensions to the crown of Sweden. Deputies were sent by the administrator to Copenhagen: they demanded to know Christian's claim, and were answered by his insisting upon their subscribing, conjointly with the Danes and Norwegians, to his election; but they excused themselves by asserting, that they had no instructions on that head; that Sweden had been forced to subscribe to the election in 1499; and lastly, that Christian had committed such barbarities both in Sweden and Norway, when he commanded his father's army, as would even deter the states of Sweden from electing him. After much altercation they obtained a cessation of hostilities for the space of four years, which time Christian employed in drawing over the clergy to his interest. With this view queen Christina, his mother, was applied to, and she, by her address, prevailed on Leo X. to pour down all the thunder of the Vatican on the administrator's head. Steen Sture and his faction were formally excommunicated in a council of the Lateran. The pope's taking part with Christian soon drew the clergy to his side, and revived the clamours of the old senators in favour of Trolle^o.

A.D. 1514,

Death of king John.

Young Sture chosen administrator.

About this time the archbishop died, with his last breath recommending Gustavus Trolle, then a student at Rome, to Sture. It is supposed that Sture's assent to the promotion of Gustavus Trolle, was one of the conditions of reconciliation with the old senators. A deputation was immediately sent to Rome, to acquaint Gustavus with the

ⁿ Loccen. lib. v.

^o Auct. citat. ibid.

Gustavus Trolle raised to the see of Upsal.
 A.D. 1515. news of his promotion to the archbishoprick. Passing through Denmark, Christian put a large sum of money in their hands, as a present to the young prelate, thereby to engage his interest. He knew well that Gustavus could not be much disposed to favour the administrator, who had been chosen to that dignity in opposition to his father. In this artful manner did his Danish majesty solicit the interest of the clergy, while he was at the same time either strengthening himself by foreign alliances, or carrying on intrigues at different courts, in order to raise up enemies on all hands against Sweden. Besides marrying Elizabeth, daughter to the king of Castile, and sister to the emperor Charles V. he was in strict alliance with the kings of France and Scotland, the elector of Saxony, the marquis of Brandenburg, and the Hanse Towns; connections so powerful, that he flattered himself Sweden would make but a slight resistance.

His intrigues.
 A.D. 1516. The new archbishop went straight to Upsal, without touching at Stockholm, or paying his compliments to the administrator. No sooner had he taken possession of his diocese, than he expressed his gratitude to king Christian, by thundering out anathemas against Sture, and all who opposed his father's election; and notwithstanding the administrator wrote to him in the mildest terms, that if he had cause of complaint against any one, he need only apply to the courts of justice, where he might be assured of all possible satisfaction; he still continued to shew his resentment by every method in his power. In hopes of reclaiming and bringing the hot-headed prelate to a due sense of his own interest, Sture made him a visit at Upsal, but was received in the rudest manner, and even upbraided with crimes he had never committed. Even the pope's persuasions could not bend the obstinate spirit of this haughty prelate, intoxicated with his elevation. He went on heaping one affront upon another, and laying the foundation of a civil war, that well nigh reduced his country to extreme misery ^P.

Just as Sture was preparing to march against the Russians, who made an irruption into Finland, Gustavus Trolle was inviting Christian into Sweden, promising to surrender to him all the fortresses of any consideration in the kingdom; nay, he had actually engaged the governors of Nicoping, Stockholm, and other cities, to betray their trust. But the vigour of the administrator's measures frustrated this treacherous design. He arrested all the sus-

pected governors, and particularly Eric Trolle, the archbishop's father, and Peter Thorson, governor of Stockholm.

He openly revolts.

On the other hand the prelate fortified himself in Stecka, nor could the intreaties of the other bishops prevail on him to compromise matters with the administrator. Sture, therefore, called a diet at Abroga, where it was determined to intreat his holiness to depose the archbishop as a turbulent person, who would inevitably involve his country in a civil war. It was farther resolved to lay siege to him in his fortrefs, and at the same time to declare war against Christian, who, it was plain, embraced every opportunity of disturbing the peace of Sweden. The siege was accordingly commenced, and Christian made preparations to relieve the prelate. First, by means of the archbishop of Lunden, he excommunicated the administrator and senate, endeavouring, likewise, to prevail on his holiness to confirm the punishment. Next he endeavoured, by every possible means, to gain the states of Sweden, and induce the Lubeckers to break the treaty of commerce with that kingdom. At length he sent a fleet of a hundred and twenty-five sail, with four thousand land-forces on board, to raise the siege. The troops being landed marched to Stecka, and, if we may credit the Swedish writers^a, were defeated by Sture, and driven with great loss to their ships (A). The archbishop, disappointed of relief, demanded a parley, and offered to surrender the fortrefs, provided he was continued in his dignity, and sent safe to Upsal. But the administrator replied, that such terms were now too late, after the shedding so much blood; however, that he would refer him to the judgment of the states, and grant him a passport to attend the diet. Accordingly the prelate attended the diet at Stockholm, was by them degraded and deprived of all his dignities, and treated in every respect with that severity which which an enemy to his country,

A.D. 1517.

He is deposed and confined in a monastery.

^a Loecen. lib. v. p. 183. Puffend. tom. i. p. 305.

(A) Meurfius and the Danish writers give a very particular relation of this expedition, directly contrary to the foregoing. They affirm, that the Danish fleet, consisting of a hundred and twenty sail, commanded by the admirals Norby, Gissel, and Morian, landed the forces

near Stecka. That the Danes eagerly fought to come to an engagement, which the Swedes as industriously avoided; but that proposing to attack the Swedish camp, Sture raised the siege, and the Danes returned with the archbishop home (1).

(1) Meurf. cap. 23.

a seditious, turbulent, and ambitious ecclesiastic merited (B). Indeed, so incensed were the people, that it was with difficulty the administrator could prevent his falling a sacrifice to their rage. All historians agree, that, after sentence, he was shut up in the monastery of Westenas; and, perhaps, the only difficulty in reconciling the Swedish and Danish historians, will be to determine whether the prelate was present when sentence was pronounced. As to his confinement in Westenas, it might possibly be voluntary, to hide his disgrace from the world, and avoid the many mortifications that must necessarily attend such a change of condition. That such a sentence was passed and executed, is certain from the concurring testimony of all historians; and that the pope demanded his release and his restoration under pain of excommunication; menaces which operated but little in favour of a man despised by the whole nation.

A.D. 1518.

*Christian
invades
Sweden,
and is de-
feated.*

Early next year Christian equipped a formidable fleet, and embarked a great number of land-forces, with intention to subdue all Sweden. The troops were landed at Stockholm, and the city was invested on the south side. Hearing that Sture was marching to raise the siege, the king struck his tents, advanced, and gave him battle, was defeated and driven with great slaughter to take shelter on board the fleet. Sture pursued with so much vigour, that thousands perished by the sword, multitudes were drowned, and a great number of nobility and private men taken prisoners; in a word, it was one of the completest victories which the Swedes had ever obtained over the Danes, at that time the best soldiers of the North^r.

His perfidy.

Christian paid down the ransom for the prisoners, and was steering his course to Denmark, when, stopped by adverse winds, he made several descents on the Swedish coasts, ravaging the country with the fury of an incensed barbarian. These hostilities cost him dear. He was forced to retire, and was so distressed for provisions, that half his forces perished with hunger, and the whole army was in the most imminent danger, by the sudden approach of a most rigorous winter. His unfortunate circumstances then suggested a stratagem that had almost been attended with

^r Loccen. lib. v.

(B) It would not be possible and the prelate conducted to Denmark, where he staid for the space of two years. allege, that the siege was raised,

fatal

fatal consequences to the administrator. He sent a message to Sture, acquainting him, that he was resolved upon a perpetual peace with Sweden, as Providence itself seemed to oppose all his designs against that kingdom, and requesting an interview with him, in order to adjust preliminaries. His design was to assassinate, or at least make prisoner the administrator, who never once distrusted the sincerity of his professions; but after having accommodated him with all kinds of provisions, was setting out to make him a visit. This the senate prevented, having some suspicion of the plot, and soon after demonstrative proofs of Christian's perfidy^a.

The Dane having missed his blow, offered to go in person to Stockholm, to confer with the administrator, provided six hostages were sent in his room; the conditions were accepted, and six of the first nobility, among whom was Gustavus Erickson, afterwards king of Sweden, were put on board the Danish fleet. The wind happening to shift at that instant, and prove favourable, Christian ordered the fleet to put under sail, and steered strait to Denmark, where he arrived safe with the hostages.

He sails to Denmark with the Swedish hostages.

A.D. 1519.

On his return, Christian made great preparation for war, under pretence of executing a commission against the Swedes, which had been lately granted him by the pope, but indeed to revenge the disgraces of the former year. First he appeared with a fleet before the isle of Oeland, and took Borkholm; but was defeated in an attempt upon Calmar.

The little success attending this expedition, determined Christian to equip a more powerful armament. Having a very numerous army, he made an irruption into West Gothland, while his fleet was harrassing the coasts. Sture marched to give him battle, fell into an ambush laid for him by the king, and received a wound of which he died at Stregnez. Sweden was now left without a head, and the senate fell into violent disputes about a successor, while Christian was marching, without opposition, to the capital. After the late repulse, and the loss of their general, the army disbanded of itself. Christian took advantage of this state of affairs, and advanced by large strides to the very heart of the kingdom, burning and destroying all before him. On his arrival at Stregnez, he granted a suspension of hostilities, to give the people time to deliberate on their situation, and reflect how easily they might get rid of their troubles, and all the horrors of war, only by electing him

A.D. 1520.

He invades Sweden a second time.

The administrator killed.

^a Idem ibid.

*Gustavus
Trolle pro-
claims
Christian.*

king. In this critical situation, an assembly was held at Upsal, where Gustavus resuming the archiepiscopal function, from which he had been degraded, pathetically represented the deplorable circumstances of Sweden; adding, that his Danish majesty was ready to give them all manner of security for the preservation of their privileges, to forget all that was past, to be reconciled even to his most inveterate enemies, provided they would now lay down their arms, and act in every respect as if he had been elected without opposition, and by the free choice of the people. Then he proclaimed Christian, in the name of the states, king of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, and wrote to all the provinces, enjoining them to receive and acknowledge him as their king and sovereign; threatening, at the same time, the most rigorous punishment, if they refused submission^t.

Christian confirmed all that had been promised by the prelate; signed the articles with his own hand, and sealed them with his seal; conjointly with all the senators of Denmark; he gave fair words to the people in general, but caressed the peasants in a particular manner, and made them donations of salt.

*Stockholm
surrender-
ed to Chris-
tian.*

All this while Christina, the administrator's widow, was besieged in Stockholm, where she made a brave defence, and found means to engage several provinces in her interest. Christian now pushed the siege with redoubled vigour; but the city being well provided, he found the resistance would be obstinate, and had recourse to his usual method of cajolling, which succeeded. The city capitulated, on condition that all the articles signed at Upsal should be strictly adhered to; that Stockholm, in particular, should be continued in all its rights and privileges; that the dowager Christina, and her children, should be put in full possession of all the effects of her late husband; and that Christian should again swear he would govern Sweden, not with the severe hand of a conqueror, but the mild beneficent disposition of a prince, raised to the throne by the universal voice of the people^u.

When the articles were mutually signed, his majesty entered the city, accompanied by two thousand horse, and as many foot, amidst the loud acclamations of the people, who are ever pleased with novelty. Thence he published circular letters, inviting, in the gentlest terms, the states of Sweden to be present at his coronation, which he fixed for the 4th of November. On this meeting of the states,

^t Idem ibid,

^u Puffend. 312.

he obliged them to sign an instrument, acknowledging him the legitimate sovereign, and lawful heir to the crown; then he was crowned with the usual ceremonies by Gustavus Trolle.

It was remarkable, that, on the day of his coronation, *The king crowned.* he bestowed the order of knighthood on some German gentlemen, but neglected paying the same compliment to the Swedes. To some complaints made to him on this head, he replied, that it would be madness to reward men who had so lately laid down their arms, before he had proofs of the sincerity of their professions.

During the entertainments he gave for three days after his coronation, he formed the diabolical resolution of extirpating, at one stroke, all the Swedish nobility, in revenge of the troubles they had excited, and to prevent the people from ever being able to revolt, by depriving them of proper persons to conduct their measures. Even his Danish confidants and minions were struck with horror at the proposal, from which they endeavoured to divert him, but to no purpose. To open this tragical scene, *His diabolical project to extirpate the Swedish nobility.* archbishop Trolle, at the king's desire, began lamenting the demolition of Steckä, and the losses sustained by the fee of Upsal, which amounted to near a million of money. To this prelude he added a bitter accusation of the widow and the son-in-law of the late administrator, comprehending in this accusation about fifteen of the nobility of the same faction, all the senate, and the burghers of Stockholm, and concluding his crafty oration and double-laid accusation with a pathetic request, that justice might be granted, and the criminals punished ^w.

Christina was immediately ordered to give an account of her husband's conduct, which she justified by producing the senate's order for the demolition of Steckä, and the archbishop's degradation. Upon this, all who had signed the order were arrested, except the bishop of Lincoping, who, with a true ecclesiastical cunning, had the precaution to put under the impression of his seal, a protest that he was forced to enter into the measure. Several other noblemen, who had no share in this transaction, were arrested under various pretences, and all together imprisoned in the citadel. Then a tribunal was erected to pass sentence, and the archbishop himself nearly fell into the snare he had prepared for his fellow-subjects, by omitting to condemn to immediate death the criminals; an omission that greatly incensed the king. In a word, to give an air of plausibili-

The execution of the Swedish nobility and senators.

ty to this iniquitous trial, the prisoners were proceeded against as heretics, condemned to death, and forbid confession. Gibbets were immediately erected for their execution, and above three-score senators and noblemen of the first rank in Sweden hanged up as felons and traitors, for having bravely defended their liberties, and opposed the election of a bloody tyrant (A). Before death, they could only call out to their countrymen to revenge their blood¹; a request that would seem to have taken deep root in the heart of every Swede, who now equally opposed the cruelty and perfidy of the bloody-minded Christian, whose name will ever stain the annals of Denmark.

A.D. 1520.

Some Swedish writers affirm, that, not content with the barbarous revenge taken on the living, Christian ordered the dead body of the administrator to be dug up, and divesting himself of humanity, flew like a wild beast upon the corpse, which he tore and mangled with his teeth and nails. To complete the measure of his barbarity, he ordered the widow of the administrator to be brought before him, and asked her whether she chose to be burnt, fled, or buried alive. His savage intentions were, however, diverted by the strong interest made in behalf of that unfortunate lady, whose life was spared, on condition that she consented to spend the remainder of her days in close imprisonment; a miserable alternative, which the principle of self-preservation obliged her to embrace. The brutish monarch, in the next place, vented his rage upon the mother of Christina, a lady whose character was as amiable as her person was elegant. Her he threatened to tie up in a sack, and throw in the sea, and would certainly have executed his menaces, if, to save her life, she had not surrendered to him all her estate and effects. Even after this concession he shut her, with the widows of other lords, who had suffered in the late massacre, in close and perpetual imprisonment. It would be endless to enumerate all the cruelties committed by Christian, his treachery, avarice, and brutality, in some measure acknowledged by the Danish writers, and solemnly affirmed and minutely described by all Swedish historians. At length he departed for Denmark, marking his way with blood, and drawing upon him the curses and imprecations of the whole nation. He even played the tyrant as he passed along the roads, ordering

*The cruelty
of the Danish
monarch.*

¹ Loccen. lib. v.

(A) A few particular circumstances of this horrid transaction, the reader will find in our history of Denmark.

gibbets

gibbets to be erected, and the peasants to be hanged for every trifling offence. At Jenekoping, he caused two boys to be scourged to death; an instance of a bloody disposition that can scarcely be paralleled in history^k.

Gustavus Erickson was among the number of the hostages whom the king perfidiously carried off about two years before. Promises and threats were used to detach him from the administrator; but nothing was able to reconcile him to Christian. His obstinacy almost cost him his life; the king, dreading his valour and constancy, gave secret orders that he should be strangled in prison; but the Danish officer, to whom the commission was delivered, detesting so perfidious an action, boldly remonstrated with the king about the consequences of it, and prevailed upon him to withdraw his purpose, and satisfy himself with closely confining the hostages in the castle of Copenhagen. Here some of them perished, in consequence of the rigorous treatment they received; but the hardy constitution and resolute spirit of Gustavus withstood all the king's cruelty. However, Eric Banner, a Danish nobleman, struck with compassion of his sufferings, requested the king that he would put Gustavus into his custody, to try whether he could not prevail upon him to embrace his majesty's party, and open his eyes to his own true interest. Christian consented, but on condition that he should conduct him to the fortress of Calo in Jutland, of which he was governor, and pay six thousand crowns for his ransom, in case he should happen to make his escape. Banner generously embraced the condition, and carried with him his prisoner, striving by the utmost tenderness and care, to obliterate from his memory the hard usage he had undergone at Copenhagen. The noble qualities of Gustavus gained so strongly upon Banner, and all his family, that he was not long at Calo before he had liberty to walk about and hunt for his diversion. New recreations and amusements were every day proposed, and all the country flocked round to entertain the stranger. But all their caresses were not able to make him forget that he was a prisoner; nor could any civilities he received compensate his chagrin, at being deprived of a share in the glory of the war. His earnest desire to be of service to the administrator, his passion to defend his country against the attacks of Christian, and his resentment at the perfidy of the Danish monarch, had prevented his relishing the sweets of the retirement, and the enjoyment of the most sublime friendship. Still, however, he

*Account of
Gustavus
Erickson,
and of the
great revo-
lution he
effected.*

^k Loccen, lib. v. Puffend. tom. i. p. 319.

bore with his confinement, and supported his situation, until the misfortunes in which he saw his country involved, the death of the administrator, the ruin of his party, the horrid massacre of the senate, and the tyranny of Christian, all convinced him that every expedient for the recovery of his liberty was to be tried ; as that might be the means of rescuing his country from the very jaws of destruction. He could not hope to prevail on Banner to give up the interest of his king, whatever marks of friendship and distinguishing regard he had bestowed on him ; but he flattered himself, that provided he could raise the sum at which Christian fixed his ransom, he might make his escape without injuring his generous protector, or violating the sacred rights of friendship, gratitude, and hospitality. In any event he judged, that obligations to the public, and duty to one's country, ought to supersede all the ties of private affection¹.

With these sentiments, Gustavus one day mounted his horse, under pretence of hunting, as usual, in the forest. When he got at a proper distance, he changed his dress to the habit of a peasant, and quitting his horse, he travelled for two days on foot, through by-paths, and over mountains almost impassable, arriving on the third at Flensburgh. Here no one was admitted without a passport, and Gustavus dreaded presenting himself to the governor, or to the officer upon guard, for fear of being discovered. Happily for him it chanced to be on that season of the year when the merchants of Lower Saxony drove a considerable trade in cattle, which they purchase in Jutland. Gustavus hired himself to one of these merchants, and under favour of his disguise escaped out of the Danish territories, and arrived at Lubec.

Banner was no sooner acquainted with his escape than he set out after him with the utmost diligence, found him at Lubec, and reproached him with great warmth, as ungrateful and treacherous ; but he was soon appeased by the arguments urged by Gustavus, and especially by the promise he made of indemnifying him in the loss of his ransom. Upon this assurance Banner returned, giving out, that he could not find his prisoner. Christian was enraged at his escape, apprehending that he might traverse all his designs in Sweden, and gave orders to Otho, his general, to make the strictest search, and leave no means untried to arrest him. Gustavus, nevertheless, persevered in his designs, without being affrighted at the danger that sur-

¹ Idem ibid. etiam Vertot, *Revol.* p. 185. tom. i.

rounded him. He applied to the regency for a ship to convey him to Sweden, where he hoped he should be able to form a party against the Danes. He likewise endeavoured to draw the regency of Lubec into his measures, representing to them the interest they had in opposing the aggrandizement of his Danish majesty, who, by the conquest of Sweden, was become master of all the commerce of the Baltic. He laid it down as an eternal maxim, that the union of the Northern crowns must be prejudicial to the trade of the Hanse Towns, and particularly of that of Lubec. He reminded the regency of the constant enmity the Danish sovereigns had shewn to their republic; and on the contrary, of the inviolable regard expressed by the kings of Sweden towards the city of Lubec, which owed its liberty to the princes of this country, and in particular to king Eric, who in the year 1248 rescued it from the tyranny of Valdemar II. king of Denmark. In a word, he reasoned with so much zeal and ability, that Nicholas Gemins, first consul, was entirely gained; but the regency could never be prevailed on to declare for a party, without friends, arms, money, or credit. However, before his departure, the consul gave him assurances, that if he could raise a force sufficient to make head against the enemy in the field, he might depend on the services of the republic, and that the regency would immediately declare for him. Gustavus desired to be landed at Stockholm; but the captain of the ship either having secret orders to the contrary, or business elsewhere, steered a different course, and put him on shore near Calmar, a city hitherto garrisoned by the troops of Christina, widow of the regent. In truth, the governor held this place for his own purposes, and only waited to make the best terms he could with the Danes. When Gustavus arrived, he made himself known to him and the principal officers of the garrison, who were mostly Germans, and his fellow-soldiers in the late administrator's army. He flattered himself that his birth, his merit, and connections, would immediately procure him the command. He told them, that, at the hazard of his life, he had thrown himself into their city, to have the glory of sharing with them the fatigues and hardships that might attend resisting the tyrant, and standing in defence of liberty, and all that is dear to brave men; but the mercenary band, seeing him without troops, without attendants, regarded him as a desperate person, devoted to destruction, refused to embrace his proposals, and even threatened to kill or betray him, if he did not instantly quit the city.

Disappointed in his expectations in this quarter, Gustavus retired with great expedition; and his arrival being now publicly known, he was again forced to have recourse to his peasant's disguise, to conceal him from the Danish emissaries. In a waggon loaded with hay, he passed through every quarter of the Danish army, and at last repaired to an old family castle in Sundermania. From thence he wrote to his friends, notifying his return to Sweden, and beseeching them to assemble all their force, in order to force a passage through the enemy's army into Stockholm, which was at that time besieged; but they likewise refused to embark in so hazardous and desperate an attempt. They were no longer those bold intrepid Swedes, jealous of their liberty, and the sworn foes of tyranny and oppression. All plied under the yoke of power, and every one was assiduous to remove from himself every suspicion of dislike to the government.

Perceiving that mean selfishness had supplanted public spirit among his friends, Gustavus applied himself to the peasants. He hoped, that a race of men fierce and independent by nature, who had nothing to fear from Christian, would embrace with ardour the opportunity of expelling the tyrant and rescuing their country. He traversed the villages in the night; harangued the principal persons, and at last exposed himself publicly at their feasts, but all to no purpose. Weary with wars, in which most of them had lost fathers, sons, or relations, the peasants brutally answered, that they enjoyed salt and herrings under the government of the king of Denmark; and that any attempts to bring about a revolution, would be attended with certain ruin, without the prospect of bettering their condition; for peasants they were, and peasants they should remain whoever was king. At length, after several vain attempts to throw himself into Stockholm, after that city was surrendered to the king, after the horrid massacres of the senate, and after running a thousand dangers, and undergoing hardships and fatigues hardly to be supported by human nature, he formed the resolution of trying the courage and affection of the Dalecarlians. While he was in the deepest obscurity, and plunged in almost unsurmountable adversity, he never relinquished his designs or abandoned hope. The news of the massacre had, however, very near sunk him into despondency, as thereby he lost all his friends, relations, and connections, and indeed almost every prospect of safety to himself or his country. It was this consideration that inspired the thought of going to Dalecarlia, where he knew he could live with security in the high mountains
and

and thick woods of that country, if he failed in the attempt of exciting the inhabitants to revolt.

Attended by a peasant, to whom he was known, he travelled in disguise through Sundermania, Nericia, and Westermania, and after a laborious and painful pilgrimage, arrived safe in the mountains of Dalecarlia. Scarce had he finished his journey, when he found himself deserted by his companion and guide, who carried off with him all the money he had provided for his subsistence. Thus forlorn, destitute, and half-starved, he entered among the miners, and wrought, like a slave, under ground, without relinquishing his hopes of one day ascending the throne of Sweden. His whole prospect for the present was, to live concealed and gain a maintenance, until fortune should effect something in his favour: nor did he long wait for the occasion. A woman in the mines perceived, under the habit of a peasant, that the collar of his shirt was embroidered. This circumstance excited curiosity; and the graces of his person and conversation, which had something in them to attract the notice of the meanest of the vulgar, afforded room for suspicion, that he was some person of quality in disguise, forced by the tyranny of the government to seek shelter in these remote parts. The conjecture reached the ears of a neighbouring gentleman, who immediately went to the mines, to offer his protection to the unfortunate stranger; but how astonished was he on recognising the features of Gustavus, whose acquaintance he had been at the university of Upsal! Touched with compassion at the deplorable situation of so distinguished a nobleman, he could scarce refrain from tears, but however had presence of mind enough not to reveal the discovery. At night he sent to Gustavus, made him an offer of his house, and gave him the strongest assurances of his friendship and protection. He told him, he would meet with better accommodation, and as much security as in the mines; and that, should he chance to be discovered, he would, with all his friends and vassals, take arms in his defence.

Gustavus embraced with joy the obliging offers of the hospitable Dalecarlian, and passed several days with his friend, as if he had no other intention than to avoid the pursuit of his enemies; but he employed himself all the while in learning the strength of the province, and enquiring into the sentiments of the inhabitants with respect to the new government. It was with the utmost satisfaction he heard from his generous host, that the Dalecarlians bore with impatience the Danish yoke; that they mur-
mured

mured loudly at certain impositions established by Christian ; trivial indeed in themselves, and inconsiderable, but irksome and intolerable because they were new ; that they abhorred the cruelty and detested the inhumanity of the king of Denmark ; and that he doubted not but the slightest trespass on their liberties would excite a revolt in the province. The Dalecarlian then boasted of the strength of the province, with all that partiality and self-satisfaction generally shewn in enumerating the excellencies of one's own country. He told Gustavus, that the province could raise above twenty thousand men ; that every man was a soldier, and bred from his infancy to arms, and that with this force, and the natural situation of their country, they might bid defiance to all the power of Denmark.

The frequent repetition of this conversation encouraged Gustavus to disclose his designs to his friend, to whom he represented the unhappy condition of the nation, plunged in the deepest adversity, from which neither the faith due to treaties, nor the submission and implicit obedience of the people, could rescue it, while the bloody and perfidious Christian remained in possession of the throne. He told him, that the infernal massacre in Stockholm was but a prelude to other more enormous cruelties, which his troops daily committed in the provinces ; and that it was more glorious and secure to oppose and meet danger, than to wait tamely to be butchered in their houses. All his rhetoric, however, produced no other effect, than to display, in stronger colours, to the Dalecarlian, the danger that attended the vast projects of Gustavus. " Where, says he, are your troops to support your designs ? What army have you to oppose to your formidable and numerous enemies, who seem hitherto to respect our privileges, but will, like a torrent, over-run the province, on the first appearance of an insurrection ?" It would seem that fear had made him forget, that he had been just before boasting of the strength of the province. He now found new arguments to destroy all his former reasoning, and to persuade Gustavus to alter his resolutions. He expatiated with vehemence on his political schemes, less out of attachment to his person than to testify and demonstrate, that it was neither the want of courage nor zeal that prevented him from embracing his party. Seeing, however, that Gustavus still persisted in his first design, of declaring openly against the Danes, he only advised him to defer the measure to a more seasonable occasion, when possibly the whole province might express an inclination to revolt. He said, the

the peasants paid but little regard to the interest of the gentry, upon whom they always looked as severe and rigid masters; that hitherto they had only shewn some tokens of useless compassion at the massacre of Stockholm, which it required some personal injuries to excite to resentment; that this would probably soon happen, as the Danish troops would, in all likelihood, extend their ravages to Dalecarlia, after they had ruined and exhausted all the other provinces; in which case he might depend on an universal revolt. He besought Gustavus therefore to remain quietly in his house, until matters should be more ripe for execution, and not destroy, by his rashness, the glory of being the avenger and deliverer of his country; as his birth and merit would certainly procure him the command, whenever such an event should happen.

Gustavus plainly saw that in this advice there was more fear than real prudence; but the weakness of his host rather excited his compassion than his indignation. He neither believed him a friend to the Danes, nor capable of betraying him; yet he thought remaining longer at his house would turn out to no real advantage, and only serve to disturb the life of a quiet, pacific man. After having enjoined him secrecy, and returned thanks for the friendship and hospitality he had shewn, Gustavus took his leave in the night, and travelling several days on foot, across mountains and woods, without a guide, at length arrived happily at the house of a gentleman named Peterson, whom he had formerly known in the service. Peterson received him with marks of perfect respect and esteem, always so grateful to the unfortunate. He even seemed more affected than Gustavus himself with his misfortunes: he exclaimed against the tyranny of the Danes, and at the very first overture made by Gustavus, of taking up arms, and raising his vassals, he embraced the design with all the appearance of ardour. Our hero was overjoyed at meeting with a Swede generous and bold enough to attach himself to his fortune. He omitted no caresses, promises, or views of interest, to confirm Peterson in his resolution; and he received in return the most solemn assurances of inviolable fidelity. This perfidious wretch named the lords and peasants whom he pretended to have engaged in his party, and a few days after went secretly to a Danish officer, to whom he communicated the retreat and designs of Gustavus, with a view of recommending himself to Christian, and in expectation of being rewarded in a manner proportioned to the importance of his service. The Danish officer flew
with

with all possible expedition to Peterfon's house, which he furrounded with soldiers, flattering himself it would be impossible for Gustavus to escape; but all his precautions were useless. That nobleman had happily saved himself the night before, and owed his preservation to Peterfon's wife, who, touched with compassion, discovered to him her husband's perfidy, put him under the care of a faithful domestic, and had him conducted to the house of a clergyman, her friend. He was received by the clergyman with all the respect due to his own birth and merit, and the recommendations of the lady who had sent him. This gentleman was filled with zeal for his country and the church. His piety was sincere and unaffected; he aspired not at preferment, and attached himself to no party; but he assured Gustavus of his honour and secrecy. Lest the domestic, who had conducted him to his house, might copy after the treachery of his master, he conducted Gustavus to the church, and concealed him in a secret closet, of which he kept the key. Thither he went every day to visit him, and in their conversations took such a liking to Gustavus, that he entered warmly into his designs, and promised that nothing in his power should be wanting to gain a party in his village, and wherever else his influence extended. But he dissuaded him from imparting his projects, or putting confidence in the nobility of the province. He represented to him, that the gentry of Dalecarlia, satisfied with the security and independence they enjoyed in their mountains, gave themselves but little concern about changes at court, and the general good of the nation; that it was with difficulty they were ever prevailed on to arm their vassals, as in the number and industry of these their wealth consisted; that the sure method was, to apply directly to the peasants, by whom he would be more powerfully assisted if they took arms voluntarily than if they were compelled by their masters. The sensible priest added, that, to succeed in his scheme, it would be necessary to propagate a report, that the Danes were about to enter the province, in order to establish new taxes by force of arms; a consideration that would operate more strongly upon the minds of the multitude than any other. With this business he charged himself, promising to Gustavus, that the report would in a few days be general, by means of his relations and acquaintance, in the district. Lastly, he advised Gustavus to repair to Mora, where the annual feast of all the neighbouring villages was in a few days to be held. This, he said, was a conjuncture extremely favourable to his designs, as the peasants were never more bold, nor easily stirred

stirred up to revolt, than at these assemblies, where they judged of their own strength by the numbers present. He assured him at the same time, that he would engage the principal persons of the diocese in his interest.

Agreeable to the advice of this honest and sage counsellor, Gustavus set out for Mora, and on his arrival found the peasants informed of his designs, and impatient to see a nobleman, illustrious by his birth, his valour, and his sufferings. Before he shewed himself in public, he assumed a dress becoming his rank, the better to engage the attention of the people, who are always regardful of these exterior marks of grandeur. At last he appeared in the assembly, with an air of intrepidity and resolution, tempered with that melancholy becoming his situation. All were touched with compassion before he uttered a syllable; but when he came to expatiate on the tyranny of Christian, the horrid massacre at Stockholm, the persecution of the provinces, the miseries of the kingdom in general, in terms the most lively and pathetic, he so inflamed the assembly, that they broke out into exclamations bordering upon fury, menaces against Christian and the Danes, and vows that they would revenge the death of their countrymen with the last drop of their blood. Immediately they resolved to throw off the allegiance they had promised to Christian, and to sacrifice, without distinction, all the Danes in the province, as an atonement for the death of so many Swedes.

There were, however, certain persons who opposed this revolt, under pretence of consulting the other villages, before they should take any final resolution. Whether these were actuated by prudential motives, whether they dreaded the power of Christian, or were in fact in his interest, is not material; their proposal was rejected with indignation by the whole assembly. The most forward in the revolt became the greatest favourites, and all flew immediately to arms, requesting Gustavus, with whose address, stature, and strength, they were charmed, to take upon him the command.

But nothing contributed so much to inspire their confidence in this young nobleman, as the observation of certain old men, that the wind had constantly blown from the north while Gustavus was haranguing the assembly^h; which, among the Dalecarlians, is deemed an infallible omen. Thus, without farther deliberation, and fully persuaded that any delay would be only opposing the will of heaven,

^h Loccen. lib. vi. p. 202.

they instantly formed a body of four hundred men, out of which number they chose the handsomest and best-born, as a body-guard to their general.

Gustavus, desirous of profiting by their ardor, led them directly against the governor of the province. It was his interest to anticipate his measures, and put it out of his power to oppose the insurrection of the villages. With this view he divided his troops into a number of small parties, the better to conceal his march and intentions; and, under favour of the night and woods, arrived with his Dalecarlians, by different routes, at the foot of the governor's castle. The darkness, and surprize of so unexpected an attack, favoured his enterprize. The castle was taken by assault, and the garrison sacrificed to the just fury of the Dalecarlians.

However inconsiderable this enterprize might appear, it served to animate the peasants, and exalt their high opinion of their commander. In a few days, almost the whole province declared for Gustavus. The peasants in crowds flocked to his standard, some out of resentment to the Danes, some in expectation of plunder, others from the love of novelty, and many from that natural inconstancy in the disposition of the Dalecarlians which excites them to revolts and daring attempts. Several of the gentry now appeared in his camp, and he was supplied with money by others, who were still afraid of espousing his cause in public.

Christian was soon acquainted with the designs of Gustavus, but he was not alarmed. He saw himself sovereign of three powerful kingdoms, and hedged round by multitudes of kinsmen, dependents, and allies; but he particularly relied on the security arising from his having possession of all the fortresses in Sweden. In this confidence, he sent but a slender detachment, under the command of Soren Norby, to assist his adherents in Dalecarlia. Gustavus took advantage of his security. He advanced, with five thousand men, to Westeraas, and defeated Meleen, who commanded a body of Danes. Afterwards he sent persons, on whose ability and integrity he could depend, to the provinces of Nericia, Sundermania, Uplandia, and West Gothland, in each of which he gained a great number of friends. The archbishop of Upsal, however, strenuously opposed his designs, and raised numerous forces for king Christian, notwithstanding the advantageous proposals made to him by Gustavus. He was even very near surprising the Swede before Upsal; and was, in his turn, sur-

surprised, attacked, and defeated, with great loss, by that hero; after which exploit Gustavus marched, with his Dalecarlians, to lay siege to Stockholm. His army, however, was too weak for so great an attempt, and he was forced to relinquish it with loss.

Every day increased the number of our hero's forces; a reinforcement joined him from Lubec, and the peasants flocked to him from every quarter of the kingdom. Christian now began seriously to reflect on the consequences of this revolt; and he was so incensed with the progress made by Gustavus, that he removed from Stockholm the mother and sisters of that nobleman, enclosing them in a dismal prison at Copenhagen, and putting them to death by the most cruel tortures, without regard to the prayers and intreaties of his queen, who interceded for their lives. He imprisoned at Lieuward several other Swedish ladies, imposing upon them the horrid task of making sacks, in which they themselves were to be thrown over a precipice into the sea: so mean and savage was the resentment of this bloody tyrant, which he vented on the helpless and innocent.

Gustavus was moved by these instances of barbarity, but it was with indignation. Without desisting from his schemes, in order to appease the tyrant, he pursued them with redoubled vigour, the sooner to revenge the wrongs done to his country. He assembled the states of Sweden at Wadstena, and was unanimously chosen administrator, in which quality the diet took an oath of fidelity to him, giving him besides all possible assurances, that with their lives and fortunes they would assist his generous intentions to deliver his country from the bloody usurpation of Christian. In the mean time, the Danish governor of Stockholm endeavoured to throw in a convoy of supplies into the citadel of Wadstena, which was at that time besieged by Gustavus; but it was intercepted, and the Danish troops were cut in pieces. To pursue the advantage, Gustavus detached certain regiments to Finland, with instructions to extirpate the Danes in that province, marching himself, at the head of his army, to lay siege to Stockholm. His approach struck such terror into the archbishop of Upsal, Slahog, and Beldenacker, the Danish governors, that they immediately fled to Denmark, where they were coldly received; Christian imagining that their flight would be highly prejudicial to his affairs in Sweden. At the same time a commissioner from the pope arrived in Denmark, to examine into the death of the bishops, who had been massacred at Stockholm; and Christian throwing the whole

blame on the two bishops, Slahog and Beldenacker, they were both put to death, in the king's justificationⁱ.

A.D. 1522.

Not satiated with the blood he had spilt, Christian sent express orders to all his governors and officers in Sweden and Finland, to lay violent hands on all the Swedish gentry, whether friends or enemies; an order that cost many brave subjects their lives. The Swedes made reprisals, and massacred the Danes wherever they found them. Forts and castles were taken, the garrisons put to the sword, and the walls razed to the ground, to cut off every retreat from those ministers of the king's oppression and tyranny.

During these transactions, Norby raised the sieges of Calmar, Abo, and Stockholm, with great loss on the side of the besiegers. To revenge himself, and animate the troops, Gustavus again laid siege to the latter city; and the better to succeed in his designs, he solicited the regency of Lubec for succours, and a squadron of ships to block up the harbour. His request was granted; but on such conditions as were thought extremely unreasonable to Gustavus, though the urgency of his affairs obliged him to close with them: the regency demanded, that the administrator should oblige himself, in the name of the states, to pay sixty thousand marks of silver to indemnify the expences of the armament; that until the kingdom should be in a condition to pay that sum, the Lubec merchants trading to Sweden should be exempted from all duties on imports or exports; that all other nations should be prohibited from trading with Sweden, and all such traffic be deemed illicit; that Gustavus should neither conclude a peace, nor even agree to a truce with Denmark, without the concurrence of the regency; and that, should the republic be attacked by Christian, he should oblige himself to enter Denmark at the head of twenty thousand men. However pernicious to Sweden, and unjust, these terms might appear, necessity forced Gustavus to compliance. The treaty was concluded, and the Lubec fleet set sail for Sundercoping, where the forces were landed. Gustavus immediately sent Bernard Milan, their own countryman, to take upon him the command; but the auxiliaries positively refused to obey him, and pressing demanded to see Gustavus, whose fame had drawn them thither to fight under his banners. It was necessary to satisfy them, by granting their request. Accordingly the administrator set out for Sundercoping, and was received

ⁱ *Véríté Révol. de Suede*, tom. i. p. 2. *Löccen. lib. vi.* Puffend. tom. i. p. 326, et seq.

with loud acclamations by the strangers, who were charmed with his figure, his address, affability, and eloquence. Without reluctance they took the oath required, and attached themselves with as much ardor to his fortune as if they had been his own subjects.

Fleming, who commanded a squadron of light frigates equipped by Gustavus, performed a very signal service on his first arrival before Stockholm; in destroying and taking a strong convoy, which the Danish admiral had endeavoured to throw into the city. Norby was chagrined at the loss, and laboured to repair it. He prepared another strong convoy of ammunition and provision, which he determined to throw into the town in spite of all obstruction. The mouth of the harbour was blocked up by Fleming and the Lubeck squadron. On the approach of the Danish fleet, a furious cannonading began, which continued until the fleets were separated by the night. Norby, upon this, retired to a little island on the coast, hoping to renew the engagement next day; but he was locked up by a hard frost that prevented his moving. Gustavus then formed the bold resolution of burning his fleet. With this view, he marched over the ice at the head of the Lubeckers, preferring them in an attack of so extraordinary a nature, to the raw, undisciplined peasants that composed his own army, and advanced, under cover of the night, within a short distance of the enemy, before he was observed. Norby no sooner perceived him, than he began a terrible discharge from his cannon and musquetry; notwithstanding which the Lubeckers boldly continued their march, with lighted torches in their hands. Some of the more intrepid endeavoured to climb up the sides of the vessels, but they were hurled down upon the ice by the Danish foldiers, who fought to great advantage from their ships. In this manner they struggled on both sides, the one for victory, and the other for life. In spite of the brave resistance made by the Danes, several of their ships were set on fire, and abandoned with equal precipitation by the conquered and conquerors. The horrors of darkness, the cries of the wounded, and those who were perishing in the fire, the fall of masts, and wreck of ships, all inspired the most daring with secret terror. The Danes found it as difficult to save themselves from their burning ships as from their enemies. Many of their ships were already destroyed, and they would have found it impossible to have saved any, had the officers who commanded under Gustavus followed their blow, and shewn an inclination wholly to destroy the vanquished. Such, at least, is the account of the Swedish writers; though the Danes affirm, that Norby's valour and perse-

perseverance alone saved the fleet. Whether it was, that the Lubec general was secretly gained over by the Danish admiral, or that he had instructions so to balance matters between both parties, as that neither should prevail, is not manifest; certain, however, it is, that, disregarding the prayers and intreaties of Gustavus, he ordered a retreat to be sounded, just at the time he had the enemy in his power. As the season was not far advanced, the heat of next day's sun dissolved the ice, prevented any farther attempts on the side of Gustavus, and permitted the Danish admiral to set sail.

Gustavus was enraged at the perfidy of the Lubeckers, which had snatched victory out of his hands, and prolonged the siege of Stockholm, on which depended the success of all his designs. He perceived that little confidence was to be placed in such allies: he penetrated their designs, but he dissembled, and suppressed his resentment, because he stood in need of the republic's fleet to block up Stockholm by sea. Instead of shewing any marks of dissatisfaction, he put the Lubec troops into good winter-quarters, and with the Swedes, who were accustomed to the severity of the climate, he kept the city closely blockaded.

In the mean time, Norby was making preparations effectually to relieve Stockholm, now reduced to great extremity; when the news arrived, that all Denmark was in arms against Christian. That prince, always violent and despotic, trampled upon the laws, and disregarded the privileges of the people. He disposed of his subjects effects as his own; even their lives depended on his will. He put to death, without form of trial, several lords of the first rank, whose affection he suspected; but all this was trifling to certain indignities imprudently offered to the clergy, ever jealous and vindictive. His tyranny and oppression, the cruelty and inhumanity of his disposition, were pardonable; but offences against the church could not be overlooked. The people are ever influenced by their spiritual directors; the clergy poured out invectives from the pulpit against Christian, which were signals for the whole nation to take arms. First, the torch of civil discord was lighted in Jutland, and the flames soon spread over the rest of the kingdom. The revolt became general among all ranks and degrees of men, and nothing could appease them but deposing the tyrant. Christian, unable to stem the torrent, retired to Germany, flattering himself, that, through the influence of the emperor, his brother-in-law, the whole empire would take arms for his restoration. Norby, apprised of his abdication, relinquished the design of relieving Stockholm. He retired
with

with his whole fleet to the island of Gothland, and left but a slender garrison in Calmar^b.

Gustavus, like a true politician, turned the confusion in Denmark to his own advantage. He pushed the siege of Stockholm, made himself master of Calmar, putting the garrison to the sword, reduced the island of Oeland and province of Bleking, conquered great part of Norway, and, in a word, subdued all Sweden, except the capital, which still refused to submit, and obstinately defied famine, disease, and all the fatigues and hardships of a long and vigorous siege. At length, pressed on every side by the army and fleet of Gustavus, enfeebled by the length of the siege, and apprehensive of the murmurs of the burghers, who began to express some inclination to the government of the administrator, they yielded to a capitulation, after having acquired immortal honour by their glorious defence. The garrison demanded no other terms than the payment of the arrears due to them from Christian; but Gustavus, to whom the surrender of the city was so important, refused, contrary to his ordinary maxim, a proposition so advantageous. He knew that the garrison was reduced to a very small number, destitute of every necessary, enfeebled with hunger, sickness, and fatigue. Under the appearance of severity, he acted the true politician, by prolonging the siege. He feared, that when Stockholm should be surrendered, and profound peace established throughout the kingdom, the people might forget to whom they owed these blessings, and, instead of expressing their gratitude, fall into parties and civil divisions, about the election of a sovereign. While the capital stood out, there might remain some degree of uncertainty and uneasiness, which would render him necessary. These were the motives of this shrewd prince for refusing terms to a brave garrison, which his own heart dictated; and for assembling a general diet at Stregnez, whither the nobility and people flocked on all hands, to see Gustavus, who was regarded by all Sweden as a hero and their tutelary angel. The first proceeding of the diet was, to fill up the vacancy in the senate, by new creations, in the room of the unhappy senators who had been massacred at Stockholm. Gustavus had the address to have only such persons elected, as were perfectly agreeable to him, and devoted to his interest. Next, the speaker of the assembly represented to the states the necessity of speedily electing a sovereign. He drew the portrait of Gustavus in characterising a true and patriot king, whose vigilance, valour, activity, and prudence, should be

^b Luccen. lib. vi. Hist. de Dan. tom. iv.

*Gustavus
elected king
of Sweden.*

able to withstand all the attempts of Denmark again to subjugate and enslave the nation, under pretence of renewing the union of Calmar. He concluded with observing, that the states would shew themselves equally ungrateful and blind to their interest, if, after the astonishing proofs of heroism exhibited by the administrator, and the obligations he had conferred on his country, they hesitated about electing him sovereign of that people whom he had rescued from servitude. The speaker's harangue was received with universal applause, and the people, urged by their zeal, anticipated the votes of the senators and deputies of the provinces, by loudly proclaiming Gustavus king of Sweden. It was impossible to collect the votes, and pass through the usual forms; the diet was tumultuous in their acclamations; a sort of enthusiasm actuated every breast; peasants and burghers mingled promiscuously with the states, pushed in to behold their prince, filled the air with his praise, and the words Saviour and Deliverer echoed from every quarter.

END OF THE TWENTY-NINTH VOLUME.





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